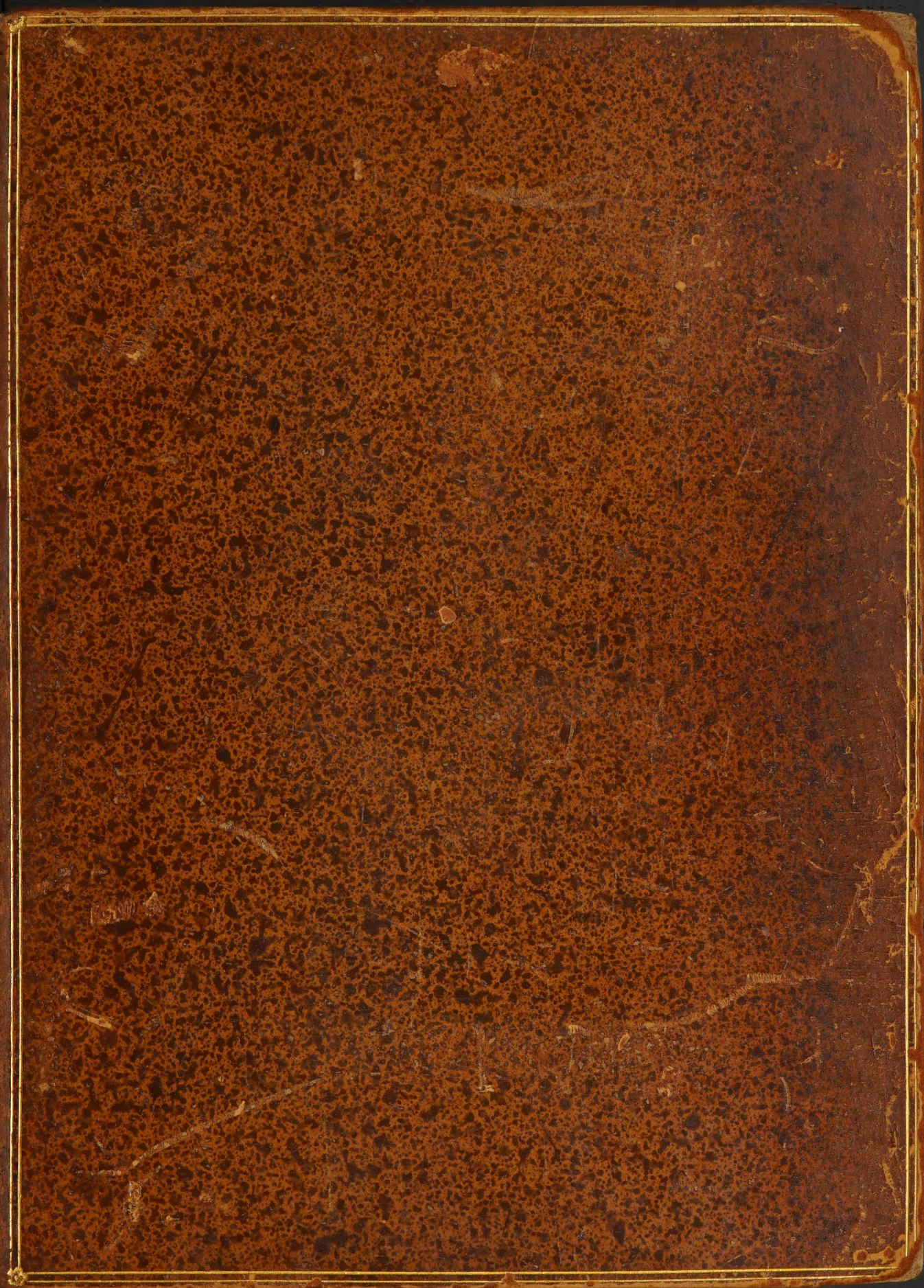




TRACTS BY
THOMAS SCOT
OF
UTRECHT







Duke of Sussex

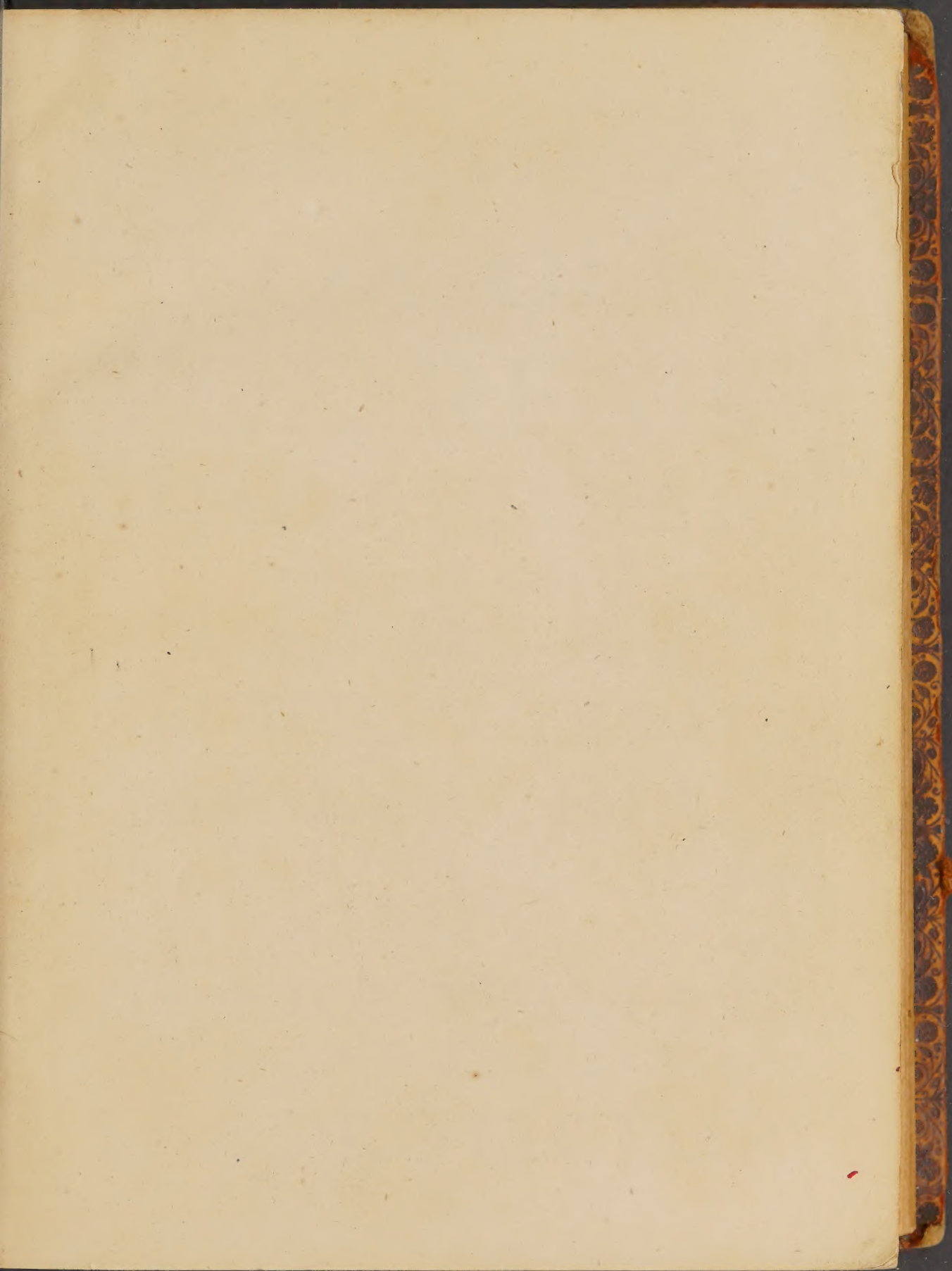


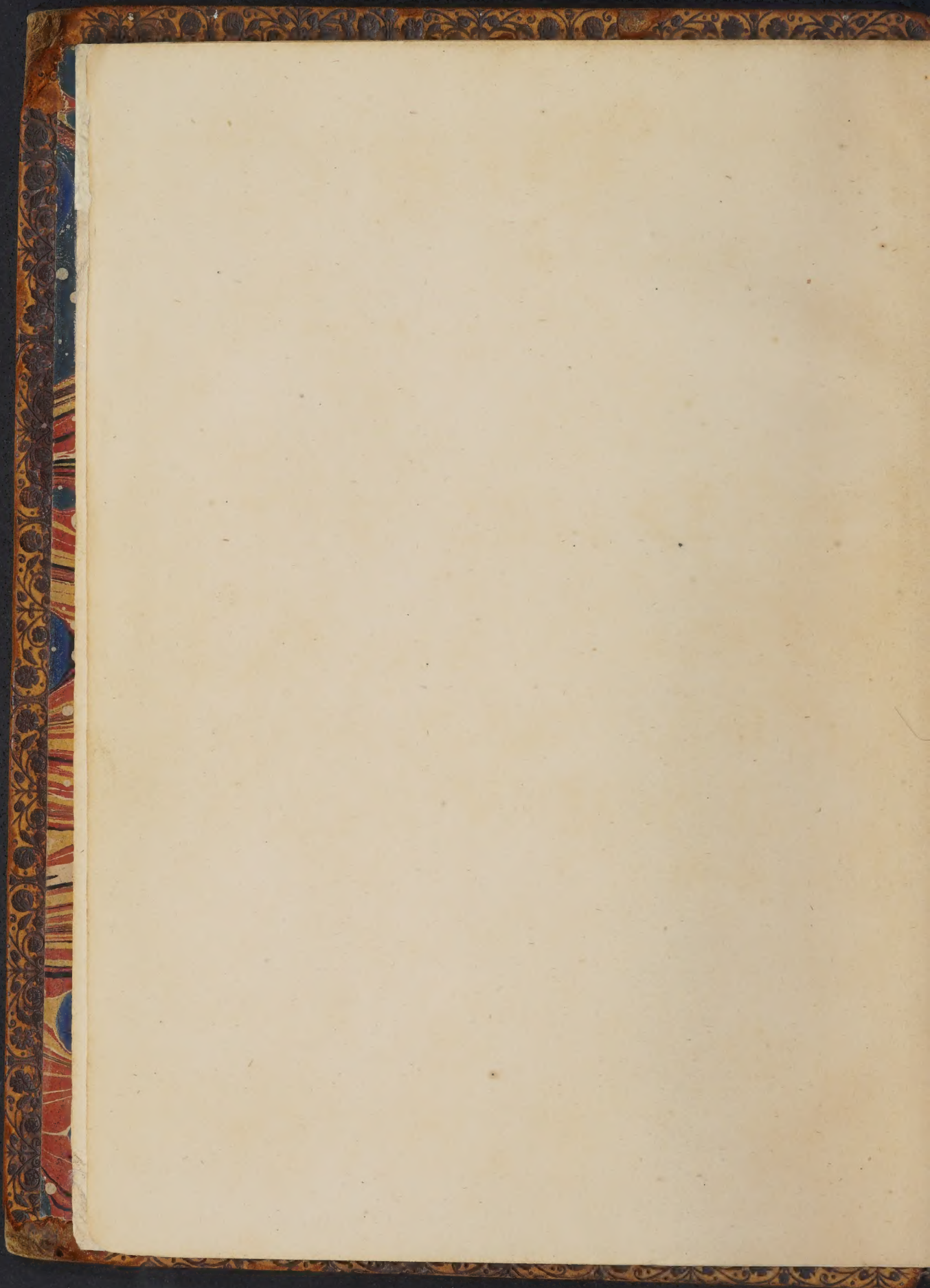
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VOX POPVLI
VOX DEI.

VOX REGIS.
DIGITVS DEI.

THE BELGICK
PISMIRE.

THE TONGVE-COMBAT.

SYMMACHIA
OR THE TRVE-LOVES
KNOT.

THE HIGH-VVAYES OF
GÖD AND THE KING.

THE PROIECTOR

VOX REGIAE

VOX DEI

VOX REGIS

VOX REGIS

VOX REGIS

VOX REGIS

VOX REGIS

VOX REGIS

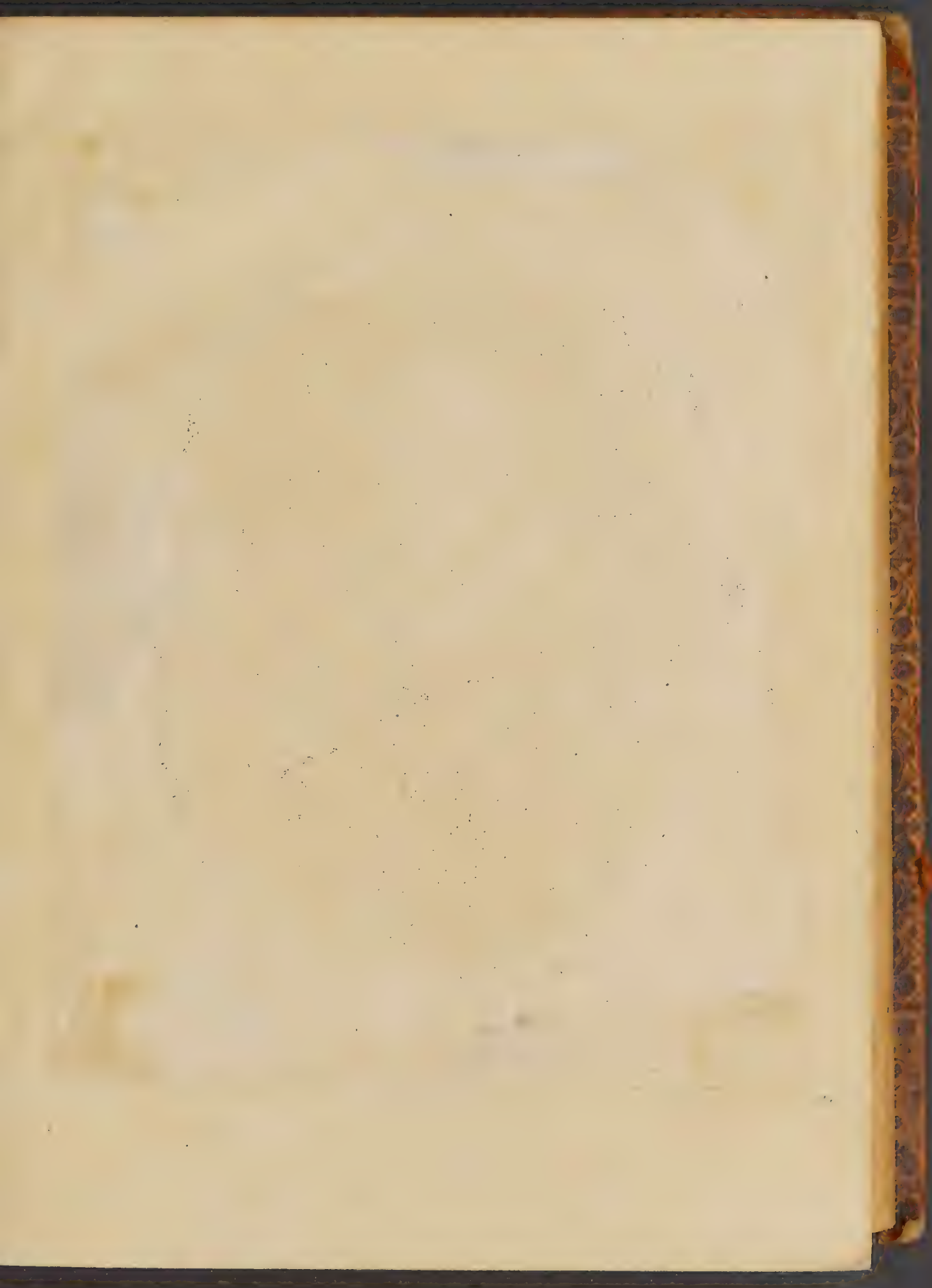
VOX REGIS

VOX REGIS

VOX REGIS

VOX REGIS

VOX REGIS







VOX POPULI.

OR

NEVVES FROM SPAYNE,

translated according to the Spanish coppie.

Which may serve to forewarn both England
and the United Provinces how farre
to trust to Spanish pretences.

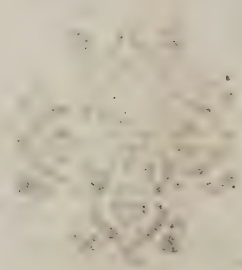


Imprinted in the yeare 1620.

THE HISTORY OF THE
ROYAL NAVY

NEVES FROM SPAIN

By the Hon. Sir
John Mordaunt, Bart.
Knt. of the Bath



LONDON: Printed by J. DODD, in Pall-mall.

To the Reader.

That Comet which appeared to vs in November (1618) gaue occasion of much discourse to all sorts of men. But amongst them all, none, in my opinion spake more probably then a learned knight our Countryman, now with God; who confidently and bouldly affirmed, that *such persons were but abusers and did but flatter greatnes, who gaue their verdict that the Comet was effectuell (as some will haue it) or signall, (as others iudge it) only to Affrica; whereby they layde it farre enough from England, when this knight out of the consideration of the space of the Zodiacke which this Comet measured, the inclination of his sword and blade, and to what places both the heade and taylor became verticall, together with other seacrets, affirmed that not only all Europe to the eleuation of 52. degrees was liable to his threatnings but England especially, yea that person besides in whose fortune (to vse his owne words) wee are all no lesse imbarcked, then the Passenger, with the ship, is, in the Pilots that guides the same. The truth whereof (saith Hec) a few yeeres will manifest to all men. And after Hec adds; The motion of this Comet being * swift in the beginning, & slow in the ending, the effects are to be expected the sooner. I haue (saith Hec) much more to say, but marke the effects heereof in the Empire &c.*

Surely these Comets are not the worke of Chaunce, but of prouidence, and they haue their speciall ends and vses wherefore they were made. Some hould they are effectuell and operative especially in such places where they become verticall in their passage, and that not of them selues, but as second causes appointed by God for some extraordinary worke, as the Creature it selfe is extraordinary; and for my part I can find no impietie in this opinion. Others thinke them signall only and that to all places to which they appeare, and that they are sent to pread-

* The sooner to begin the longer to continue, and to bee slow of operation toward the end. So the alterations in Germany were violent the losse so-daine (as Prague and the Paltz cā witness) the recouerye is like to be circular and slow, I pray God it may sure. Nullum violentum perpetuum. Quod sero est, serio est.

monish of future euents (not as if wee could shun them by this meanes, or so much as know them distinctlie, by any direct and certaine note) but that when they are come to passe, wee may know they fell not out by chaunce, as ignorance and infidelity vse to speake, but by the prouidence, order, and spetiall direction of God, who signified the same beforehand by some extraordinary signe of his. So the Lord sends signes, but reserues the meaning to himselfe, and the reason heereof is rendered Esay. 48.7. *They are created now and not from the beginning, euen before the day when thou heardest them not; lest thou shouldst say, Behold I knew them.* The arrogance of Man, is a cause of his ignorance. Sometime the Lord sends signes to warne men to beware, & reueales the seacret of those signes to his seruants; as Ezech. 33.2.3. where *the watchman seeth the sword.* and Amos the 3.7. Sometime the Lord sends signes after the deliuerance, that men may know how that the Lord did performe the worke; as Esay. 37.30. And sometime the Lord sendeth signes that wee vnderstand not till they be accomplished, but then they manifest that God was the contriuer & disposer of those works, and that they were performed by his direction. Thus doubtles all the visions shewed vnto *S. Iohn* in the Reuelation, are to let vs see, when they are accomplished, that God from the beginning ordered and directed them for his glory, that the faithfull might not shrink from Christ, whilst they see Antichrist preuaile, but attend the end patiently and constantly; and that the simple, to whome God reueales this seacret of *Antichrist*, and to whome he vnlocks the *mystery of the man of sinne*, might not be held in suspence, by seeing diuerse learned men inuolued and inuoloped in the same Common cloud of Antichristian error and Idolatry, but rather praise the mercy of God that he respecteth their humility and simplicity (1. Cor. 1.26.27.) and *hides it from wise learned mightie men*, lest their arrogance should say, *wee knew it before.* as Esay 48.7.

Luk. 10.21

Now those things which this knight deliuered concerning the Comet, were only generall coniectures, out of former observations

seruations, made by wise & learned men vpon the like appariti-
 ons. And yet this Comet, with these constructions & Comments
 vpon it, trobled men the more when they beheld the variable
 changes & violent pecipitations of all things in this age, through
 the world, (especially in our Isle) the like whereof many former
 Ages had not produced; when they saw those sodaine combusti-
 ons kindled in Germany, and the feares they conceaued at home
 increafe, the rather because *D. Didacus Sarmiento De Acuna*
Count of Gondomar, Ambassadoure for the King of *Spayne*, who
 for his able parts and great seruices to that State, stiled himselſe
Gentis Hispania decus, was in speech to returne into England a-
 gaine, from whence he was nuely departed the same yeere (1618)
 where he had long beene to the greefe of many good men, han-
 ging in their eyes, like a prodigious Comet, and threatening worse
 effects to the Church and State, then this other Comet could ef-
 fect or prefigure, if it had beene *effectuall*, as some maintaine, or
 meere *signall* as others iudge. For whilst he continued heere,
 no eclipse of the sunne could more damnifie the Earth to make
 it barraine, and the best things abortiue, then did his interpositi-
 on, betwixt the glory and grace of souereignty, and the distressed
 estate of the Commonalty, insomuch as the * *Wolfe* or *Ba-
 liske* could not effect more with their eyes (if what men write of
 them were true) then this man could doe and did, in silencing
 the tongues, astonishing the senses, and subiecting the Spirits of
 all such as appeared prone, or might be doubted apt, to oppose
 his purposes in the least point. The plough stood still, or with a
 fruitles toyle was constrained and drawne forward by necessitie
 only, with generall complaint and sighing: The Shepheard and
 the sheepe grew both naked and ragged, as if an euill and *enuious*
eye had looked vpon them; yea the wooll was eaten vp with the
 moth, or spun out without profit, & the whole *web was no bet-
 ter then the spiders*. The Cōmon wealth complained of the Mar-
 chant, and the Marchant of the custome. The East complained
 of the West, and the West of the East. The Clergie felt the fury
 * 31 of

*Lupus in
 Fabula.

of the aspect, and that the speech, and manners, and apparell, of such as seemed to thrive best, did plainly bewray. The Court it selfe kept not the native and naturall vigoure and splendor, the glosse and glory of Nobilitie and gentilitie were sullied, the *Genius of Britanie* seemed to bee kept in awe, as *Marke Antony* had wont to bee when he playde with *Augustus*. No other reason could be giuen but that *Gondomar* was present, who brought the imperious *Genius of Austria and Spaine*, linked in league with the *Catholik Genius of Rome*, to outface the modest and bashfull *Genius of England, Scotland, and Wales*; so that as he wrot himselfe *Gentis Hispaniae Decus*, he might with lesse arrogance write, *Gentis Britanniae Dedecus*. For neuer could Spaine before boast so much, nor neede this (I hope) hearten them to a *second inuasion*. For since his departure, it is well knowne and scene, that our eyes, which he thought blind, did but attend vpon his Maiestie to see what he would doe, our eares, which he thought were deafe, because they neglected his scornes and scoffes, were listning to heare his Maiesties resolution, who was our oracle of State; our hands and knees, which he thought feeble and faint, were but lifted vp and bent downe to begge diuine ayde, and our hearts, which he thought deade with feare, were but contracting force to repay his indignities with ample interest. Wee might be then distracted, but wee were not dissolued. Yet for my part, me thought, I found a grear change in my courage vpon the change of ayer and earth, being out of his blasting. For in England I was heauy, dull, flauish, and heartlesse; but assoone as I past the riuer Twede and recovered the Scottish soyle and ayer, my spirits reuiued from death, or returned from exile, and I became more iocund, fresh, and agill. Then it was that I tooke penn in hand, and wrot that vision which I had scene amongst the people; which, as I did it freely, so I desire men would rather impute it to my ingenuitie, then to any other mouie.

Those Pamphlets which haue followed therevpon, may perhaps exasperate and giue more offence then *Vox Populi* it selfe did

did, though they were intended to soften and mollifie humors, which were before accidentally drawne to a heade and hardened against me, by the publicatiō of those Spanish seacrets. For as medicaments and plaisters, so bookes, haue diuerse and seuerall operations vpon sundry dispositions. And as it is impossible for an Artist, much more for an Emperick (as I am) to performe all cures vpon all persons, with one kinde of receipt, howsoever they may quack, so I know it impossible to satisfie all Readers in all points, especially in such wherein they may pretend interest. He that shall speake of Kings, Princes, Nobles, Knights, Gentlemen, Commons and Burgeses, Popes, Bishops, and other Clergymen: Lawyers, Souldiars, Phisicians, Marchants, Statemen and seamen, of rich and poore, old and younge, of diuerse Nations, Sexes, and Sects, it is impossible for such a man to giue satisfaction to all: but eyther that some persons or professions will maintaine their owne iniustice, and think themselues perticularly taxed and taught, by euery plaine truth they heare, or the Author himselfe, by ignorance or want of aduise and true intelligence, may commit some ouersight, which not pardoned but aggrauated, may dangerously impostume. This is my case, who being too deepe laden with vndertakings, am false vpon a flat, where I feare to be broken by the waues, or eaten vp by the sand. I desire helpe to get off, but none will come neere me, as doubting the same danger. Now therefore, feeling the ship to stir vnder me, I strike sayle, cast Anchor to hale my selfe cleere, and expect the rising of more water. For the flood may bring me off, especially now when wee haue a new-moone and a spring tide. And, that it may, I lighten my selfe of this load, by confession and submission.

First if in any lyne or word I haue offended God (as who is he that liues and sinnes not) I humbly craue pardon of his heauenly Maiestie, and hope to obtaine it, because he is mercifull, and sees, that my generall ayme hath beene, howsoever I may miscarrie in particulars, to honoure him and to doe him seruise.

Secondly I craue pardon of my Soueraigne, who is the earthly

substitute of my heavenly father, if in any thing I have instly offended him, and thought, spoken, written, or done, what tends not directly to his honoure.

Thirldy I craue pardon of all persons and professions, if in any thing I haue offended any man, otherwise then becam my person & profession, and was suiteable to him who ought to speake truth, and pretended to doe so.

Mat. 15. 13 Indeede I tooke, and take my selfe to be one of their successors, whome our sauour honours with the title of Salt, and I thought, and do thinke therefore, it becomes me not to be Sugar. I know it is the nature of salt to bite, & this, though it be profitable is painfull; and therefore such must expect to bee bitten againe, as I haue beene, and am content to bee publicquely, though it were at Pauls Crosse or in print. I know there are diuerse, who haue lost
2. Tim. 4. 10. their sauoure, and expect, with Demas, to be counted prudent spirits and moderate men; and these vaine gloriously seeke odd wayes to climbe vp, & to catch the eare of applause & opinion: when how high soeuer they climbe, and upon whatsoeuer Salt-cellar they stand, they are well worthie to be cast out & trodden vnderfoote, being good for nothing, but a shame and staine to their professions; such as will suffer, say, or doe any thing to serue their own turnes; and vse their indifferent breath, to no better end, then blow bladders to beare them vp, whilst they swimme with the streame. Yet, if mistaken, I transgresse vpon this hand, out of ignorance or indiscreet zeale, as the Apostles did Luke. 9. 54. 55. and as I may easely doe, who haue nothing now, but at the second or third hand, and no friend to consult withall, to correct my papers, or direct me, I humbly craue pardon, and submit my self and my poore labours, to the censure of the Church and Commonwealth, for whose prosperity I pray, and am ready not only to sacrifice, but to be sacrificed.

Thom: Scott.

VOX POPULI.

THIS Catholique Maiestie had giuen commandement that presently vpon the returne of *Seigneur Gondomar*, his Lieger Embassadour from *England* (1618) a speciall meeting of all the principall States of *Spaine* (who were of his Councell) together with the Presidents of the Councell of *Castile*, of *Arragon*, of *Italy*, of *Portugal*, of the *Indyes*, of the *Treasure*, of *War*, and especially of the *Holy Inquisition*, should be held at *Mouson* in *Arragon*, the Duke of *Lerma* being appointed President. Who should make declaration of his Maiesties pleasure, take account of the Embassadours seruice, and consult touching the State and Religion respectiuelly; to giue satisfaction to his *Holynesse Nuntio* (who was desired to make one in this assembly) concerning certaine ouertures of peace and amitie with the English, and other Catholike proiects, which might engender suspition and iealousie betwixt the Pope and his Maiestie, if the mysterie were not vnfolded, and the ground of those Councils discouered aforehand.

This made all men expect the Embassadours returne with a kind of longing, that they might behold the issue of this meeting, and see what good for the Catholike cause the Embassadours imployment had effected in *England*.

land, answerable to the generall opinion conceiued of his wisdom, and what further proiect would be set on foot to become matter for publike discourse.

At length he arriued, & had present notice giuen him from his Maiestie, that before he came to the Court he should giue vp his account to this assembly. Which command he gladly receiued, as an earnest of his acceptable seruice, and gaue thanks, that for his honour he might publish himselfe in so iudicious a presence.

He came first, vpon the day appointed, to the Councell Chamber (except the Secretaries) not long after all the Councell of State and the Presidents met, there wanted onely the Duke of *Lerma*, and the Popes *Nuntio*, who were the Head and Feet of all the Assembly. These two stayed long away for diuers respects: The *Nuntio*, that he might expresse the greatnesse of his Master, and loose the Sea of *Rome* no respect by his ouersight, but that the benches might be full to obserue him at his approach.

The Duke of *Lerma*, to expresse the authoritie & dignitie of his owne person, and to shew how a *Servant put in place of his Master, exacts more seruice of his fellow Seruants, then the Master himselfe.*

These two staid till all the rest were weary of waiting, but at length, the *Nuntio* (supposing all the Councell set) launched forth, & came to roade in the Councell Chamber; where (after mutuall discharge of dutie from the Companie, and blessing vpon it from him) he sate downe in solemne silence: grieuing at his ouersight, when he saw the Duke of *Lerma* absent, with whom he stroue as a Competitor for Pompe and Glorie.

The Duke had sent before, & vnderstood of the *Nuntios* being there, and stayed so much the longer, that his boldnesse

boldnesse might be obserued, wherein he had his desire, for the Nuntio hauing a while patiently driuen away the time with seuerall complements to seuerall persons, had now almost run his courtship out of breath, but that the Duke of *Villa Hermosa* (President of the Councell of *Arragon*) fed his humour by the discharge of his owne discontentment, vpon occasion of the Duke of *Lerma* his absence, & beckned *Seigneur Gondomar* to him, vsing this speech in the hearing of the Nuntio after a sporting manner.

How vnhappy are the people where you haue beene: First, for their Soules, being Heretikes; Then for their Estates, where the name of a *Fauourite* is so familiar? How happy is our State, where the *Keyes of Life and Death* are so easily come by (pointing at the Nuntio) hanging at euerie Religious girdle, and where the *Dore of Iustice and Mercie* stand equally open to all men without respect of persons? The Embassadour knew this Ironical stroke, to be intended as a by-blow at the Nuntio, but fully at the Duke of *Lerma* (whose greatnesse began now to waxe heauie, towards declension) and therefore he returned this answer: Your Excellencie knoweth the State is happy where wise Fauourites gouerne Kings, if the Kings themselues be foolish, or where wise Kings are, who hauing Fauourites, whether foolish or of the wiser sort, will not yet be gouerned by them. The State of *England* (howsoeuer you heare of it in *Spaine* or *Rome*) is too happy in the last kind: They need not much care what the Fauourite be (though for the most part he be such as preuents all suspition in that kind, being rather chosen as a Schollar to be taught and trayned vp, then as a Tutor to teach) of this they are sure, no Prince exceeds theirs in

B 2

personall

personall abilities, so that nothing could be added to him in my wish but this one, that he were *our Vassaille*, and a *Catholike*.

With that the noyse without gaue notice of the Duke of *Lerma's* entrance, at whose first approch, the whole House arose, though some later then other, as Enuie had hung Plummets on them to keepe them downe. The *Nuntio* onely sate vnmoued. The Duke cherished the obseruance of the rest, with a familiar kind of carriage, too high for courtesie, as one not neglecting their demeanors, but expecting it. And, after a filiall obeysance to the Popes *Nuntio*, sate down as President vnder the Cloath of State, but somewhat lower; then after a space giuen for admiration, preparation, and attention, he began to speake in this manner :

The King my Master (holding it more honourable to doe then to discourse, to take from you the expectation of Oratorie vsed rather in Scholes & Pulpits, then in Councils) hath appointed me President in this holy, wise, learned, and noble Assembly : A man naturally of a slow speech, and not desirous to quicken it by Art or Industry, as holding *Action* onely proper to a *Spaniard* as I am by birth, to a *Souldier* as I am by profession, to a *King* as I am by representation. Take this therefore briefly for declaration both of the cause of this meeting, and my Master his further pleasure :

There hath beene in all times from the Worlds foundation, one chiefe Commander or Monarch vpon the Earth. This needs no further prooffe then a backe looking into our owne memories and Histories. of the World : Neither now is there any question (except with Infidels and Heretikes) of that one chiefe Commander in Spiritu-
tuals,

tuals, in the vnitie of whose person, the Members of the visible Church are included; but there is some doubt of the chiefe Commander in temporals, who (as the Moone to the Sun) might gouerne by night as this by day, and by the Sword of Iustice *compell to come in*, or cut off such as infringe the authoritie of the Keyes. This hath beene so well vnderstood long since, by the infallible Chayre, as that thereby, vpon declension of the Romane Emperors, and the encrease of *Romes* Spirituall splendor (who thought it vnnaturall that their Sun should be sublunary) our Nation was by the Bishop of *Rome*, selected before other People, to conquer and *rule the Nations with a Rod of Iron*, and our Kings to that end adorned with the title of *most Catholike*, as a name aboue all names *vnder the Sun* (which is) vnder Gods Vicar generall himselfe the Catholike Bishop of Soules. To instance this point by comparison, looke first vpon the grand Seigneur the great Turk, who hath a large title, but not vniuersall. For besides that he is an Infidell, his command is confined within his owne territories, and he stiled not Emperour of the World, but of the Turks and their Vassals only.

Among Christians, the *Defender of the Faith* was a glorious stile, whilst the King to whom it was giuen by his Holinesse, continued worthy of it. But he *stood not in the Truth*, neither yet those that succeed him. And besides, it was no great thing to be called what euerie Christian ought to be, *Defender of the Faith*, no more then to be stiled with *France, The most Christian King*, wherein he hath the greatest part of his title common with most Christians. The Emperours of *Russia, Rome, Germanie*, extend not their limits further then their stiles, which are locall; only my Master, *The most Catholike King*, is for

dominion of Bodies, as *The vniuersall Bishop*, for dominion of Soules; ouer all that part of the World which we call *America* (except where the English intruders vsurp) and the greatest part of *Europe*, with some part of *Asia* and *Africa* by actuall possession, and ouer all the rest by reall and indubitable right; yet acknowledgeth his right to be deriued from the free and fatherly donation of his Holynesse, who as the *Sun* to this *Moone*, lends lustre by reflection to this Kingdome, to *this King of Kings*, my Master. What therefore he hath, howsoeuer gotten, he may keepe and hold; What he can get from any other King or Commander, by any stratageme of warre, or pretence of peace, he may take; for it is theirs only by vsurpation, except they hold of him from whom all *Ciuilt power* is deriued, as *Ecclesiasticall* from his Holynesse. What the ignorant call *Treason*, if it be on his behalfe, is *Truth*, & what they call *Truth*, if it be against him, is *Treason*: And thus all our peace, our warre, our treaties, our mariages, and whatsoeuer entendment else of ours, aimes at this principall end, to get the whole possession of the World, and to reduce all to *vntie*, vnder one *temporall head*, that our King may truly be what he is stiled, *The Catholike and vniuersall King*. As Faith is therefore vniuersall, & the Church vniuersall, yet so as it is vnder one head the Pope, whose Seat is and must necessarily be at *Rome* where *S. Peter* sate: so must all men be subiect to our and their Catholike King, whose particular Seat is here in *Spaine*, his vniuersall euerie where. This point of *State*, or rather of *Faith*, we see the *Romane Catholike Religion* hath taught euerie where, and almost made naturall; so that by a Key of gold, by *intelligence*, or by way of *confession*, my Master is able to vnlocke the secrets of euerie Prince, and to withdraw their

their Subiects allegiance ; as if they knew themselves rather my Masters Subiects in truth, then theirs whom their birthes haue taught to miscall Soueraignes. We see this in *France*, and in *England* especially, where at once they learne to obey the Church of *Rome* as their *Mother*, to acknowledge the Catholike King as their *Father*, and to hate their owne King as an *Heretike* and an *vsurper*. So we see Religion and the State are coupled together, laugh and weepe, flourish and fade, and participate of eithers fortune, as growing vpon one stocke of policie. I speake this the more boldly in this presence, because I speake here before none but *Natiues*, persons, who are partakers both in themselves and issues of these Triumphs about all those of ancient *Rome*, & therefore such (as besides their oaths) it concernes to be secret. Neither need we restraints this freedome of speech for the Nuntio his presence, because that besides that he is a *Spaniard* by birth, he is also a *Iesuite* by profession ; an order raised by the prouidence of Gods Vicar, to accomplish this Monarchy the better, all of them being appropriate thereunto, & as publike agents and priue Councillers to this end. Wherein the wisdom of this State is to be beheld with admiration, that as in Temporall warre it imployes or at least trusts none but *Natiues*, in *Castile*, *Portugall*, or *Arragon* ; so in Spirituall it imployes none but the *Iesuites*, and so imployes them, that they are generally reputed, how remote soeuer they be from vs, how much soeuer obliged to others, still to be ours, and still to be of the Spanish faction, though they be *Polonians*, *English*, *French*, and residing in those Countreys and Courts. The Penitents therefore, and all with whom they deale and converse in their Spiritual traffike, must needs be so too, and so our Catholike King must
needs

needs haue an inuisible Kingdome, and an vnknowne number of Subiects in all Dominions, who will shew themselves and their *Faith*, by their workes of *disobedience*, whensoever we shall haue occasion to vse that *Iesuiticall vertue of theirs*. This therefore being the principall end of all our Councils (according to those holy directions of our late pious King, *Philip* the second, to his sonne now raigning) *to aduance the Romane Catholike Religion, and the Catholike Spanish Dominion together*, We are now met by his Maiesties command, to take account of you (*Seigneur Gondomar*) who haue beene Embassador for *England*, to see what good you haue effected there towards the aduancement of this worke, & what further proiect shall be thought fit to be set on foot to this end. And this is briefly the occasion of our meeting.

Then the Embassadour (who attended bare headed all the time) with a low obeysance began thus: This most laudable custome of our Kings in bringing all Officers to such an account, where a reuiew and notice is taken of good or bad seruices vpon the determination of their imployments, resembles those Romane Triumphs appointed for the Souldiers; and as in them it prouoked to *courage*, so in vs it stirres vp to *diligence*. Our Master conuerseth by his Agents with all the World, yet with none of more regard then the *English*, where matter of such diuersitie is often presented (through the seuerall humours of the State, and those of our Religion and Faction) that no instructions can be sufficient for such negotiations, but much must be left in trust, to the discretion, iudgement, and diligence of the Incumbent. I speake not this for my owne glorie (I hauing beene restrayned, and therefore deserved meanelly) but to forwarne on the behalfe of others,
that

that there may be more scope allowed them to deale in as occasion shall require. Briefly, this rule deliuered by his Excellencie was the Card & Compasse by which I sayled, *To make profit of all humors, and by all meanes to aduance the state of the Romish Faith, and the Spanish Faction together, vpon all aduantage either of oaths, or the breach of them*; for this is an old obseruation, but a true, that for our pietie to Rome, his Holinesse did not onely giue, but blesse vs in the conquest of the *New World*, and thus in our pious perseuerance, we hope still to be *Conquerours of the Old*. And to this end whereas his Excellencie in his excellent discourse, seemes to extend our outward forces and priuate aimes onely against Heretickes, and restrain them in true amitie with those of the Romish Religion: This I affirme, that since there can be no securitie, but such Princes though now Romish Catholikes, may turn Heretickes hereafter; my aimes haue euer beene to make profit of all, and to make my Master, Master of all, who is a faithfull and constant Son of his Mother *Rome*. And to this end I beheld the endeauours of our Kings of happie memorie, how they haue achieued Kingdomes and conquests by this policie, rather then by open hostilitie, and that without difference, as well from their *allies & kinsfolkes*, men of the *same Religion and profession*, such as were those of *Naples, France, and Nauar*, though I doe not mention *Portugall* now vnited to vs, nor *Sauoy* (that hardly slip from vs) as of an aduerse and hereticall Faith. Neither is this rule left off, as the present Kingdome of *France*, the State of *Venice*, the *Low Countreys*, *Bohemia* (now all labouring for life vnder our plots) apparantly manifest. This way therefore I bent my Engines in *England*, as your honours shall particularly heare. Neither
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shall I need to repeat a Catalogue of all the seruices I haue there done, because this State hath been acquainted with many of them heretofore, by the intercourese of Letters and messengers. Those only I will speake of that are of later edition, done since the returne of the Lord *Rosse* from hence, and may seeme most directly to tend to those ends formerly propounded by his Excellencie; that is, the *aduancement of the Spanish State, and Romish Religion together.*

First, It is well obserued by the wisdome of our State, that the King of *England*, who otherwise is one of the most accomplit Princes that euer raigned, extreemely hunts after Peace, and so affects the true name of a *Peacemaker*, as that for it he will doe or suffer any thing. And withall they haue beheld the generall bountie and munificence of his mind, and the necessitie of the State so exhausted, as it is vnable to supply his desires, *who only seeks to haue, that he might giue to others.* Vpon these aduantages they haue giuen out their directions and instructions both to me and others, and I haue obserued them so farre as I was able.

And for this purpose, whereas there was a *mariage* propounded betwixt them and vs (howioeuer I suppose our State too deuout to deale with Heretikes, in this kind, in good earnest, yet) I made that a couer for such intelligence, and a meanes to obtaine whatsoeuer I desired, whilst the State of *England* longed after that mariage, hoping thereby (though vainly) to settle peace, and fill the Exchequer.

Here the Archbishop of *Toledo*, Inquisitor generall slept vp and interrupted *Gondomar*, saying, that mariage was not to be thought vpon; First, for Religions sake, lest
they

they should indanger the Soule of the young Lady and the rest of her companie, who might become Heretikes: Secondly, for the State, lest by giuing so large a portion to Heretikes, they should enrich and inable them for warres, and impouerish and weaken the Catholikes.

To the first obiection the Popes Nuntio answered, that his Holynesse for the *Catholike cause*, would dispense with the mariage, though it were with a *Turk or Infidell*. For first, there was no valuable danger in hazarding one for the gayning of many, perhaps of all. Secondly, That it was no hazard, since women (especially young ones) are too obstinate to be remoued from their opinions, & abler to worke *Salomon* to their opinions, then *Salomon* to worke them to his Faith. Thirdly, That it was a great advantage to match with such from whom they might breake at pleasure, hauing the Catholike cause for a color: and besides, if need were, to be at libertie in all respects, since there was *no Faith to be kept with Heretikes*. And if his Holynesse may dispence with the murther of such, and dispose of their Crownes (as what good Catholike doubts but he may?) much more may he, and will he in their mariages to preuent the leprous Seed of Heresie, and to settle Catholike blood in the Chaire of State.

To the second obiection the Embassador himselfe answered, saying, That though the English generally loathed the match, and would as he thought buy it off with halfe of their Estates (hating the Nation of *Spaine*, and their Religion, as appeared by an uproare and assault a day or two before his departure from *London* by the Apprentices, who seemed greedie of such an occasion to vent their owne spleenes, in doing him or any of his a mischief) yet two sorts of people vnmeasurably desired the match

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might

might proceed. First, The *begging and beggerly Courtiers*, that they might haue to furnish their wants. Secondly The *Romish Catholikes*, who hoped hereby at leſt for a *moderation* of Fines, & Lawes, perhaps a *tolleration*, and perhaps a totall *reſtauration* of their Religion in *England*. In which regard (quoth he) I haue knowne ſome zealous perſons proteſt, that if all their Friends, and halfe their Eſtates could procure them the ſeruice of our Lady (if ſhe came to be married to their Prince) they would freely uſe the meanes faithfully to fight vnder her Colours, when they might doe it ſafely. And if it came to *portion*, they would, *underhand*, contribute largely of their Eſtates to the Spaniſh Collector, and make vp halfe the Portion out of themſelues, perhaps more. So that by this marriage it might be ſo wrought, that the State ſhould rather be rob'd and weakened (which is our ayme) then ſtrengthened, as the English vainly hope. Beſides, in a ſmall time they ſhould worke ſo farre into the Body of the State, by *buying Offices and the like*, whether by *Sea* or *Land*, of *Juſtice Ciuill* or *Eccleſiaſticall*, in *Church* or *State* (all being for Money expoſed to ſale) that with the helpe of the Ieſuites, they would vndermine them with meere wit (without Gunpowder) & leaue the King but a few Subjects whoſe faithes he might rely vpon, whiſt they were of a Faith aduerſe to his. *For what Catholike body that is ſound at the heart, can abide a corrupt & hereticall head?*

With that the Duke *Medina Sidonia*, Preſident of the Councell of Warre, and one of the Councell of State roſe vp, and ſaid, his Predeceſſors had felt the force and wit of the English in Eightie eight, and he had cauſe to doubt the Catholikes themſelues that were English, and *not fully Ieſuited*, vpon any Foraine inuaſion would rather take
part

part with their owne King (though a Heretike) then with his Catholike Maiestie a stranger.

The Embassadour desired him to be of another mind, since first for the persons generally their bodyes *by long disuse of Armes*, were disabled, and their minds effeminated by peace and luxurie, farre from that they were in Eightie eight, when they were daily flesht in our blood, and made heartie by customarie conquests. And for the *affection of those whom they call Recusants* (quoth he) I know the bitternesse of their inueterate malice, and haue seen so far into their natures, as I dare say, they will be for *Spaine* against all the World. Yea (quoth he) I assure your honours, I could not imagine so basely of their King and State, as I haue heard them speake. Nay their rage hath so peruerterd their iudgements, that what I my selfe haue seene and heard proceed from their King beyond admiration, euen to astonishment, they haue slighted, misreported, scorned, and peruerterd to his disgrace & my reioycing, magnifying in the meane time our defects, for graces.

Here the Duke *Pastrana*, President of the Councell for *Italy*, steps vp and said, he had lately read a Booke of one *Camdens*, called his *Annalles*, where writing of a treatie of mariage long since betwixt the English *Elizabeth* & the French Duke of *Aniou*, he there obserues that the mariage was not seriously intended on either side, but politikly pretended by both States, counterchangeably, that each might effect their owne ends. There (quoth he) the English had the better, and I haue some cause to doubt, *since they can dissemble as well as we*, that they haue their aymes vnderhand, as we haue, and entend the match as little as we doe: And this (quoth he) I beleene the rather, because their King, as he is *wise to consult and consider*, so he is a

constant Master of his word, and hath giuen strong reasons against matches made with persons of contrarie Religions; which reasons no other man can answer: And therefore doubtlesse he will not goe from, or counsell his Sonne to forsake, those rules layd downe so deliberately by himselfe.

Your Excellencie mistakes (quoth the Embassador) the aduantage was then on the side of the English, *because the French sought the match*; now it must be on ours, *because the English seeke it*, who will grant any thing rather then breake off; and besides, haue no *patience to temporize and dissemble* in this or any other designe, as the French haue long since well obserued: For their necessities will giue them neither time, nor rest, nor hope else where to be supplied. As for their King I cannot search into his heart, I must beleue others that presume to know his Minde, heare his Words, and reade his Writings; and these relate what I haue deliuered. But for the rest of the people, as the number of those that are truly religious are euer the *least*, and for the most part of *least account*; so is it there, where if an equall opposition be made betwixt their truly religious and ours, the remainder, which will be the greatest number, will stand *indifferent*, and fall to the stronger side where there is most hope of *gaine and glorie*; for those two are the gods of the *magnitude & the multitude*. Now these see apparantly no certaine supplies for their wants but from vs.

Yes (quoth the Duke) for euen now you said the generall State, loathing this match, would redeeme the feare thereof, with halfe of their Estates. It is therefore but calling a Parliament, and the businesse were soone effected.

A Parliament? (quoth the Embassador) nay therein lies one of the principall seruices I haue done, in working
such

such a dislike betwixt the King and the Lower House, by the endeavour of that honourable Earle and admirable Engine (a sure seruant to vs and the Catholike cause whilst he liued) as the King will neuer endure Parliament again, but rather suffer absolute want, then receiue conditionall reliefe from his Subiects. Besides, the matter was so cunningly carried the last Parliament, that as in the Powder Plot the Fact effected should haue beene imputed to the Puritans (the greatest zealots of the *Caluinian* Sect) so the propositions which damde vp the proceedings of this Parliament, howsoeuer they were enuented by *Romane Catholikes*, and by them intended to disturbe the Session, yet were propounded in fauour of the *Puritans*, as if they had beene hammered in their Forge. Which verie name and shadow the King hates, it being a sufficient aspersion to disgrace any person, to say, *he is such*, & a sufficient barre to stop any suit, and vtterly to crosse it, to say, *it smells of, or enclines to that party*. Moreouer, there are so many about him who blow this Cole, fearing their owne stakes if a Parliament should inquire into their actions, that they vse all their art and industry to withstand such a Councell; perfwading the King, he may rule by his *absolute prerogative*, without a Parliament, & thus furnish himselfe by maying with vs, and by other domesticke proiects, without Subsidies; when, leuying of Subsidies & taskes, haue beene the only vse Princes haue made of such assemblies. And whereas some free minds amongst them, resembling our Nobilitie who preserue the priuiledge of Subiects against Soueraigne inuasion, call for the course of the *Common Law* (a Law proper to their Nation) these other time-seruers, cry the Lawes down, and cry vp the *prerogative*, whereby they prey vpon the Subiects, by suits and exactions.

exactions, milke the Estate, and keepe it poore, procure themselves much suspition amongst the better and more iudicious sort, & hate amongst the oppressed Commons. And yet if there should be a Parliament, such a course is taken as they shall neuer choose their *Shiere Knights and Burgessees freely* who make the greater halfe of the Body thereof; for these being to be elected by most voyces of Freeholders in the Countrey where such elections are to be made, are carried which way the great persons who haue Lands in those Countreys please, who by their *Letters* command their Tenants, Followers, and Friends to nominate such as adhere to them, and for the most part are of our *Faction*, and respect their own benefit or grace, rather then their Countries good; yea the Countrey people themselves will euerie one stand for the *great man their Lord, or Neighbour, or Master*, without regard of his *honestie, wisdom, or Religion*. That which they aime at (as I am assured of by faithfull intelligence) is to please their Landlords, and so to renue their Lease, in which regard they will betray their Countrey & Religion too, and elect any man that may most profit their particulars. Therefore it is vnlikely there should euer be a Parliament, and impossible the Kings debts should be payd, his wants sufficiently repayred, and himsele left full handed by such a course, & indeed (as it is generally thought) by any other course but by a mariage with vs. For which cause, whatsoever proiect we list to attempt, enters safely at that dore, whilst their policie lyes asleepe *and will not see the danger*. I haue made tryall of these particulars, and found few exceptions in this generall rule.

Thereby I, and their owne wants together, haue kept them from *furnishing their Nauie*, which being the wall
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of their Iland, & once the strongest in Christendome, lies now at roade vnarmed and fit for ruine. If euer we doubted their strength by Sea, now we need not, there are but few Ships or men able to looke abroad or to liue in a storme, much lesse in a Sea fight. This I effected by bearing them in hand the furnishing of a Nauie bred suspition in my Master, and so would auert his mind from this match; the hope of which rather then they would loose, they would loose almost their hope of Heauen.

Secondly, *All their voyages to the East-Indies I permit*, rather with a colourable resistance then a serious, because I see them not helpfull but hurtfull to the State in generall, carrying out Gold and Siluer, bringing home Spice, Silkes, Feathers, and the like toys, and insensibly wasting the common stocke of Coyne and Bullion, whilst it filles the Customehouse & some priuate Purcses; who thereby are inabled to keep this *discommoditie* on foot by bribes; especially so many *great persons* (euen States-men) being Venturers and Sharers in the gaine. Besides, this *wasteth their Mariners*, not one of ten returning, which I am glad to heare, for they are the men we stand in feare of.

Thirdly, As for their *West Indian voyages*, I *withstand them in earnest*, because they begin to inhabite there & to fortifie themselues; and may in time there perhaps raise another *England* to withstand our *New Spaine* in *America*, as this old *England* opposeth our present State, and cloudes the glorious extent thereof in *Europe*. Besides, there they trade for commodities without wast of their Treasure, and often returne Gold for Knives, Glasses, or the like trifles, and that without such losse of their Mariners as in other places. Therefore I crost whatsoeuer *entendments* were projected for *Virginea* or the *Bermudas*;

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because I see they may be hereafter really helpfull vnto them, as now they serue for draines to vnload their populous State, which else would ouerflow its own bankes by continuance of peace, and turne head vpon it selfe, or make a body fit for any Rebellion. And so much I preuailed herein, as I caused most of the *Recusants, who were Sharers, to withdraw their venters and discourage the worke*, so that besides priuate persons vnable to effect much, nothing was done by the *publike purse*. And we know by experience such Voyages & Plantations are not effected without great meanes to sustaine great difficulties, and with an vnwearied resolution and power, to meet all hazards and disasters with strong helpes and continuall supplies, or else the vndertaking proues idle.

Fourthly, By this meanes likewise I kept the *voluntarie Forces from Venice*, till it was almost too late to set out, and had a hope that *worke of seacrecie* should haue broken forth to action, before these could haue arriued to succour them.

Fifthly, I put hard for the *Cautionarie Townes* (which our late King *Philip* of happie memorie so aimed at, accounting them the *Keyes of the Low Countreys*) that they might be deliuered to his Catholike Maiestie, as to the proper owner. And had perhaps preuailed, but that the profest *Enemie* to our State and Church, who died shortly after, gaue counsell to restore them to the rebellious States; as one that knew *Popular Common-wealthes to be better Neighbors, surer Friends, and lesse dangerous Enemies, then Monarchies*; and so by his practise rescued them from my hands, & furnished the Exchequer from thence for that time. Neither was I much grieued at this; because the *dependencie* they had before of the English seemed

now to be cut off, & the interest the English had in them and their cause to be taken away: which must be fully and finally effected, before we can hope either to conquer them or *England*, who holding together are too strong for the World at Sea, and therefore must be *disunited, before they can be overcome*. This point of State is acknowledged by our most experienced Pensioner & sure Friend *Monsieur Barnevelt*, whose succeeding plots to this end, shall beare witness for the depth of his Iudgement.

Sixthly, But the last service I did for the State, was not the least; *when I underwrought that admirable Engine Raleigh*, and so was the cause his voyage (threatning much danger and damage to vs) was overthrowne, and himselfe returning in disgrace, I pursued almost to death, neither (I hope) need I say almost, if all things hit right, & all strings hold. But the determination of my Commission, would not permit me longer to stay to follow him to execution; which I desired the rather, that *by concession* I might haue wrung from the inconsiderate English, *An acknowledgement of my Masters right in those places, punishing him for attempting there, though they might prescribe for the first foot*: And this I did to *stop their mouthes hereafter*, and because I would *quench the heate and valour of their Nation*, that none should dare hereafter to vndertake the like, or be so hardie as to looke out at Sea, or breath vpon our Coasts. And lastly, because I would bring to an ignominious death, that old *Pyrat*, who is one of the last now liuing, bred vnder that deceased English *Virago*, and by her flesht in our blood and ruine. To doe this I had many Agents, First, *diuerse Courtiers*, who were hungry and gaped wide for Spanish gold; Secondly, *some that bare him at the heart for inneterate quarrels*; Thirdly, *some For-*

reiners who hauing in vaine sought the *Elixer* hitherto, hope to finde it in his head; Fourthly, *all men of the Romish Faith, who are of the Spanish Faction*, and would haue beene my Blood-hounds, to hunt him or any such to death willingly; as persons hating the prosperitie of their Country, and the valour, worth, & wit of their own Nation, in respect of vs and our Catholike cause; Lastly, I left behind me such an Instrument *composed artificially of a Secular understanding and a religious profession*, as he is euerie way adapted to scrue himselfe into the closet of the heart, and to worke vpon feminine leuitie, *who in that Countrey haue masculine Spirits to command and pursue their plots vnto death*. This therefore I account as done, and reioyce in it, knowing it will be verie profitable to vs, gratefull to our Faction there, & for the rest, what though it be crosse to the people, or the Clergie? We that onely negotiate for our *owne gaine*, and treat about this mariage for our *owne ends*, can conclude or breake off when we see our time, without respect of such as can neither profit vs, nor hurt vs; for I haue certaine knowledge that the Commons generally are so *effeminate and cowardly*, as that they at their Musters (which are seldome and slight, *only for the benefit of their Muster Masters*) of a thousand souldiers, scarce one hundred dare discharge a Musket, and of that hundred, scarce one can vse it like a Souldier: and for their *Armes* they are so ill provided, that *one Corselet serueth many men*, when such as shew their Armes vpon one day in one place, lend them to their Friends in other places to shew when they haue vse. And this if it be spied is only punished by *a mulct in the purse*, which is the Officers aime, who for his aduantage winkes at the rest, & is glad to finde and cherish, by conniueance, profitable faults, which

which increase his reueneue. Thus stands the state of that *poore miserable* Countrey, which had neuer *more people and fewer men*. So that if my Master should resolute vpon an *inuation*, the time neuer fits as at this *present*, *securitie of this mariage*, and the *disuse of Armes* hauing cast them into a dead sleepe, a *strong and wakening Faction* being euer amongst them readie to assist vs, and they being vnprovidid of Ships and Armes, or hearts to fight, a vniuersall discontentment filling all men. This I haue from their *Master Masters*, and *Captaines* who are many of them of *our Religion*, or of *none*, and *so ours*, readie to be bought and sold, and desirous to be my Masters Seruants in fee.

Thus much for the State particularly, wherein I haue bent my selfe to weaken them and strengthen vs, and in all these haue aduanced the Catholike cause, but especially, *in procuring fauours for all such as fauour that side, and crossing the other by all meanes*. And this I practise my selfe and giue out to be generally practised by others, that whatsoever successe I find, *I still boast of the victorie*; which I doe to *dishearten* the Heretikes, to make them *suspicious* one of another, especially of their Prince and their best Statesmen, and to keepe our *owne in courage*, who by this meanes increase, otherwise would be in danger to decay.

Now for Religion and for such designes as fetch their pretence from thence, I beheld the policie of that late Bishop of theirs (*Bancroft*) who stird vp and maintained a dangerous schisme, between our secular Priests & Iesuites, by which he discovered much weaknesse to the dishonor of our Clergie, and prejudice of our cause. This taught me (as it did *Barnevelt* in the *Low Countries*) to worke secretly and insensibly between their *Conformists* and *Non conformists*, and to cast an eye as far as the *Orcades*; knowing

that businesse might be stirred vp there, that might hinder proceedings in *England*, as the French euer vsed *Scotland* to call home the Forces of *England*, and so to preuent their conquests. The effect you haue partly secne in the Earle of *Argile*, who sometime was Captaine for the King and Church against the great Marques *Huntley*, & now fights vnder our Banner at *Bruxels*, leauing the Crosses of Saint *George* and *S. Andrew*, for the Staffe of *S. Iames*. Neither doe our hopes end here, but we daily expect more reuolters, at lest such a disunion as will neuer admit solid reconciliation, but will send some to vs, and some to *Amsterdam*. For the King (a wise and vigilant Prince) labouring for a perfect vnion betwixt both the Kingdomes, which he sees cannot be effected, where the lest difference in Religion is continued (diuerse sharpe and bitter braules from thence arising, whilst some struiuing for honor more then for truth, prefers their owne way and will, before the generall peace of the Church, and the edification of Soules) he I say seekes to worke both Churches to *uniformitie*; and to this end made a iourney into *Scotland*, but with no such successe as he expected, for diuerse of ours attended the traine, who stirred vp humors and factions, and cast in scrupels and doubts to hinder and crosse the proceedings, yea, those that seeme most aduerse to vs, and auerse from our opinions, by their disobedience and example helpe forward our plots, and these are encouraged by a factious and headie multitude, by a faint and irresolute Clergie (many false brethren being amongst their Bishops) and by the prodigall Nobilitie who maintaine these stirres in the Church, that thereby they may safely keepe their Church liuings in their hands, which they haue most sacrilegiously seased vpon in the time of the first deformation,

on, and which they feare would be recovered by the Clergie if they could be brought to brotherly peace and agreement; for they haue seene the King verie bountifull in this kind, hauing lately increased their Pensions, and settled the Clergie a competent maintenance; and besides, out of his owne meanes, which in that kingdome is none of the greatest, hauing brought in & restored whole Bishopricks to the Church, which were before in Lay-mens hands, a great part of the Nobilities Estates consisting of Spirituall Lands, which makes them cherish the puritanicall Faction, who will be content to be trencher fed with scraps, and crums, and contributions, and arbitrarie beneuolences from their Lords, and Lairds, and Ladyes, and their adherents and followers.

But (quoth the Inquisitor generall) how if this act of the Kings *wherein he is most earnest and constant*, should so far thrive as it should effect a perfect vnion both in the Church and Common wealth? I tell you it would in my conceite be a great blow to vs, if by a generall meeting a generall peace should be concluded, and all their Forces bent against *Rome*; and we see their politike King aymes at this.

True (quoth *Gondomar*) but he takes his marke amisse, howsoeuer he vnderstand the people & their inclination better then any man, and better knowes how to temper their passions and affections, for, besides that he is hindred there in *Scotland* vnderhand by some, for the reasons before recited, and by other great ones of ours who are in great place & authoritie amongst them, he is likewise deluded in this point euen by his owne Clergie at home in *England*, who pretend to be most forward in the cause. For they considering if a generall vniformitie were wrought,

wrought, what an inundation would follow, whilst all or most of theirs (as they feare) would flocke thither for preferment (as men pressing towards the Sunne for light and heate) and so their owne should be vnprovided; these therefore (I say) howsoever they beare the King fairely in hand, are vnderhand against it, and stand stiffe for all *Ceremonies to be obtruded with a kind of absolute necessitie* vpon them, when the other will not be almost drawne *to receiue any*. When if an abatement were made, doubtlesse they might be drawne *to meet in the midst*; but there is no hope of this with them where neither partie deales seriously but only for the present, to satisfie the King, and so there is no feare on our side that affections and opinions so diuerse, will euer be reconciled and made one. Their Bishop of S. *Andrews* stands almost alone in the cause, and puls vpon himselfe the labour, the losse, and the enuie of all, with little proficiencie, whilst the aduerse faction haue as sure friends, and as good intelligence about the King, as he hath, and the same Post perhaps that brings a Packet from the King to him, brings another from their abettors to them, acquainting them with the whole proceedings and counsels, and preparing them aforehand for opposition: This I know for truth, and this I reioyce in, as conducing much to the Catholike good.

But (quoth the Nuntio) are there none of the hereticall Preachers busie about this match? Me thinkes their fingers should itch to be *writing*, and their tongues burne to be prating of this businesse, especially the *puritanicall sort*, howsoever the most *temperate* and *indifferent* carie themselves.

The truth is my Lord (quoth the Embassador) that priuately what they can, and publicly what they dare, both in
England

England and Scotland, all for the most part (except such as are of our Faith) oppose this match to their utmost, by prayers, counsels, speeches, wishes: But if any be found longer tongued then his fellowes, we haue still meanes to charme their sawcinesse, to silence them, and expell them the Court, to disgrace them and crosse their preferments, with the *imputation of pragmaticke puritanisme*. For instance I will relate this particular; A Doctor of theirs, and a Chaplaine in Ordinarie to the King, gaue many reasons in a Letter against this marriage, and propounded a way how to supply the Kings wants otherwise; which I vnderstanding, so wrought vnderhand, that the Doctor was *committed*, and hardly escaped the danger of his presumptuous admonition, though the State knew his *intent was honest, and his reasons good*. Where we on the other side (both here and with the *Arch-Duke*) haue had Bookes penned, & Pictures printed, directly against their King and State, for which their Embassadors haue sought satisfaction of vs in vaine, not being able to stay the print, or so much as to *touch the hem of the Authours garment*. But we haue an euasion which Heretikes misse, *our Clergie being freed from the temporall Sword*, and so not included in our Treaties and Conditions of Peace, but at libertie to giue any hereticall Prince the Mate when they list: whereas theirs are *liable to account and hazard*, and are mused for barking, when ours may both barke and bite too. The Councell Table, & the Star Chamber do so terrifie them, as they dare not riot, but run at the Stirrop in excellent command, and come in at the left rebuke. They call their preaching in many places *standing vp*, but they couch and dare not *stand vp*, nor *quest*, but behaue themselues like *Setters*, silent and creeping vpon their bellies, licke the
E dust

dust which our Priests shake from their *beautifull feet*.

Now (quoth the Duke of *Lerma*) satisfie me about our owne Clergie how they fare, for there were here Petitions made to the King in the name of the *distressed, afflicted persecuted, and imprisoned Priests*, that his Maiestie would interceed for them, to free them from the intolerable burdens they groaned vnder, & to procure their liberties: and letters were directed from vs to that end, that you should negotiate this demand with all speed & diligence.

Most Excellent Prince (replied *Gondomar*) I did your command with a kind of *command my selfe*: not thinking it fit to make it a suit in your name or my Masters, I obtained them libertie to walke freely vp & downe, to face and out-face their accusers, Iudges, Magistrates, Bishops; and to exercise their function, almost as *freely*, altogether as *safely* as at *Rome*.

Here the Nuntio obiected, that he did not well, as he thought, in procuring their libertie, *since they might doe more good in prison then abroad*; because in prison they seemed to be *vnder persecution*, and so were *pittied* of others; and *pittie of the person, prepares the affection further*. Besides, then they were *carefull ouer their owne lines to giue no offence*. But abroad they might be scandalous in their liues, as they vse to be in *Rome* and *Spaine*, and other Catholike Countreys; and so the opinion of their *holynesse* which vpholds their credit & cause against the married Clergie, would soone decay.

But the Embassador replied, he considered those inconueniences, but besides a superiour command, he saw the profit of their libertie more then of their restraint. For now they might *freely confer* & were euer practising and would doublesse produce some worke of wonder. And besides,

besides, by reason of their *authoritie*, & *meanes to change places*, did apply themselves to many persons; whereas in prison they onely could deale with such as *came to be taken*, or were *their owne before*. And this (quoth he) I add as a secret, that as before they were maintained by *private contributions* of deuout Catholikes, euen to excessse: so much more now shall they be able to *gather great sums*, to *weaken the State*, and *furnish them for some high attempt*, by the example of Cardinall Woolsey, barrelling vp Gold for Rome. And this they may easily doe, since all Catholikes *rob the hereticall Priests*, and *withhold Tythes from them by fraud or force*, to *giue to these of their own*, to *whom they are properly due*: and if this be spied, it is an easie matter to lay all vpon the *Hollanders*, and say, *they carie the Coyne out of the Land* (who are forward enough indeed, in such practises) and so ours shall not only be excused, but a *flaw made betwixt them* to weaken their amities and beget suspicion betwixt them of each others loue.

But amongst all these Priests (quoth the Inquisitor generall) did you remember that *old, reuerend Father Baldwin*, who had a finger in that admirable attempt made on our behalfe against the Parliament House? Such as he, deserving so highly, aduenturing their liues so resolutely for the Catholike cause, must not be neglected, but extraordinarily regarded, thereby to incourage others to the like holy vndertakings.

Holy Father (quoth *Gondomar*) my principall care was of him, whose life & libertie when I had with much difficultie obtained of the King, I solemnly went in person attended with all my traine, and diuers other well-willers to fetch him out of the Tower where he was in durance. As soone as I came in his sight I behaued my selfe after so

lowly & humble a manner, that our aduersaries stood amazed to behold the *reuerence we giue to our Ghostly fathers*. And this I did to *confound them* and their *contemtuous Clergie*, & to beget an extraordinarie opinion of *holynesse in the person*, and *pietie in vs*, & also to prouoke the English Catholikes to the like deuout obedience; and thereby at any time these Iesuites (whose authority was somewhat weakned since the Schisme betwixt them and the Secular Priests, and the succeeding powder-plot) may worke them to our ends, as Masters their Seruants, Tutors their Schollers, Fathers their Children, Kings their Subiects. And that they may do this the more boldly & securely, I haue somewhat dasht the authoritie of their *High Commission*; vpon which whereas there are diuerse Purseuants (men of the worst kind and condition, resembling our Flies & Familiars, attending vpon the Inquisition) whose office and employment it is to disturbe the Catholikes, search their houses for Priests, Holy vestments, Bookes, Beades, Crucifixes, and the like religious appurtenances, I haue caused the execution of their office to be slackned, that so an open way may be giuen to our Spirituall Instruments for the free exercise of their faculties. And yet when these Purseuants had greatest authoritie, *a small bribe in the Country* would blind their eyes, or *a little greater at Court* or in the Exchequer, frustrate & crosse all their actions, so that their malice went off like Squibs, made a great cracke to fright children and new borne babes, but hurt no old men of Catholike Spirits. And this is the effect of all other their courses of proceeding in this kind, in all their Iudiciall Courts, whither knowne Catholikes (conuicted as they stile them) are often summond & cited, threatned and bound ouer, but the *danger is past as soone as the Officer*
hath

hath his Fee payd to him, then the execution goeth no further. Nay vpon my conscience they are glad when there are offenders in that kind, because they are bountifull: and the Officers doe their best to fauour them that they *may increase*, and so their reuenue and gaine come in freely.

And if they should be sent to prison, euen that place (for the most part) is made a *Sanctuary* to them: as the old Romanes were wont to shut vp such by way of restraint as they meant to preserue from the peoples furie: so they liue safe in prison till we haue time to worke their libertie and assure their liues. And in the meane time their place of restraint is a *Studie vnto them*, where they haue opportunitie *to conferre together as in a Colledge*, and to arme themselves *in vnitie against the single aduersarie abroad*.

But (quoth the Inquisitor generall) how doe they for books when they haue occasion either to write or dispute?

My Lord (replies *Gondomar*) all the Libraries belonging to the Romane Catholikes through the Land; are at their command, from whence they haue all such collections as they can require, gathered to their hand, as well from thence as from all the Libraries of both Vniuersities, and euen the Bookes themselves if that be requisite. Besides, I haue made it a principall part of my imployment, to buy all the *Manuscripts and other ancient & rare Authors out of the hands of the Heretikes*, so that there is no great Scholler dies in the Land, but my Agents are dealing with his Bookes, in so much, as euen their learned *Isaack Causabon's* Librarie was in election without question to be ours, had not their vigilant King (who foresees all dangers, and hath his eye busie in euerie place) preuented my plot. For after the death of that great Scholler, I sent to re-

quest a view and catalogue of his Books, with their price, intending not to be out-vied by any man, if monie would fetch them; because (besides the damage that side should haue receiued by their losse, prosecuting the same Storie against Cardinall *Baronius*) we might haue made good advantage of his Notes, Collections, Castigations, Censures and Criticisms, for our owne pattie, and framed and put out others vnder his name at our pleasure. But this was foreseene by their *Prometheus*, who sent that *Torturer* of ours (the Bishop of *Winchester*) to search and sort the Papers, and to seale vp the Studie; giuing a large and princely allowance for them to the *Relickt* of *Causabon*, together with a bountifull Pention & prouision for her and hers. But this plot failing at that time, hath not euer done so: Nor had the Vniuersitie of *Oxford* so triumphed in their many *Manuscripts*, giuen by that famous knight *S. Thom. Bodley*, if either I had beene then imployed, or this course of mine then thought vpon. For I would labour what I might this way or any other way to disarme them, & either to translate their best Authours hither, or at least to leaue none in the hands of any but Romane Catholikes who are assuredly ours. And to this end an especiall eye would be had vpon the Librarie of one *S. Rob. Cotton* (an Ingrosser of Antiquities) that whensoever it come to be broken vp (either before his death or after) the most choice & singular pieces might be gleaned & gathered vp, by a Catholike hand. Neither let any man thinke, that the descending thus low to pettie particulars is vnworthy an Embassador, or of small auaille for the ends we aime at, since we see euerie Mountaine consists of seuerall Sands, & there is no more profitable conuersing for Statesmen then amongst Schollers and their Bookes, especially where the King for whom

whom we watch is the King of Schollers, & loues to liue almost altogither in their Element. Besides, if by any meanes we can continue differences in their Church, or make them wider, or beget distast betwixt their Clergie & Common Lawyers (who are men of greatest power in the Land) the benefit will be ours, the consequence great, opening a way for vs to come in betweene, *For personall quarrels produce verball questions, and reall breaches.*

As he was further prosecuting this discourse, one of the Secretaries (who waited without the chamber) desired entrance; and being admitted, deliuered Letters which he had newly receiued from a Post directed to the President and the rest of the Councell from his Catholike Master, the contents whereof were to this effect:

Right trustie and welbeloued Cousens and Councillors,
 We greet you well. Whereas We had a hope by our Agents in England and Germanie, to effect that great worke of the Westerne Empire; and likewise on the other side to surprize Venice, and so incircling Europe at one instant, & infolding it in our armes, to make the easier roade vpon the Turke in Asia, and at length reduce all the World to our Cotholike command. And whereas to these holy ends We had secret and sure plots and proiects on foot in all those places, and good intelligence in all Courts: Know now, that We haue receiued late and sad newes of the apprehension of our most trustie & able Pentioner Barneuelr, and of the discouerie of other our intendments; so that our hopes are for the present adiourned till some other more conuenient and auspicious time. We therefore will you presently vpon sight hereof, to breake off your consultation, and repaire straight to our Presence, there to take further directions,

directions, and proceed as the necessitie of time and cause shall require.

With that his Excellencie and the whole house strooke with amazement, *crost their Foreheads*, rose vp in sad silence, and brake off this Treatie abruptly, and without tarriance tooke Horse and posted to Court: From whence expect more newes the next faire Wind.

In the meane time, let not those be secure, whom it concerns to be rowsed vp, knowing that this aspiring Nabuchadnezzar will not loose the glorie of his greatnesse (who continueth still to magnifie himselfe in his great Babell) untill it be spoken, Thy Kingdome is departed from thee.

Dan. 4.

∴

FINIS.

THE SECOND PART OF VOX POPULI.

OR

Gondomar appearing in the likenes of
Matchiauell in a Spanish Parliament,

wherein are discovered his treacherous & subtile Practises

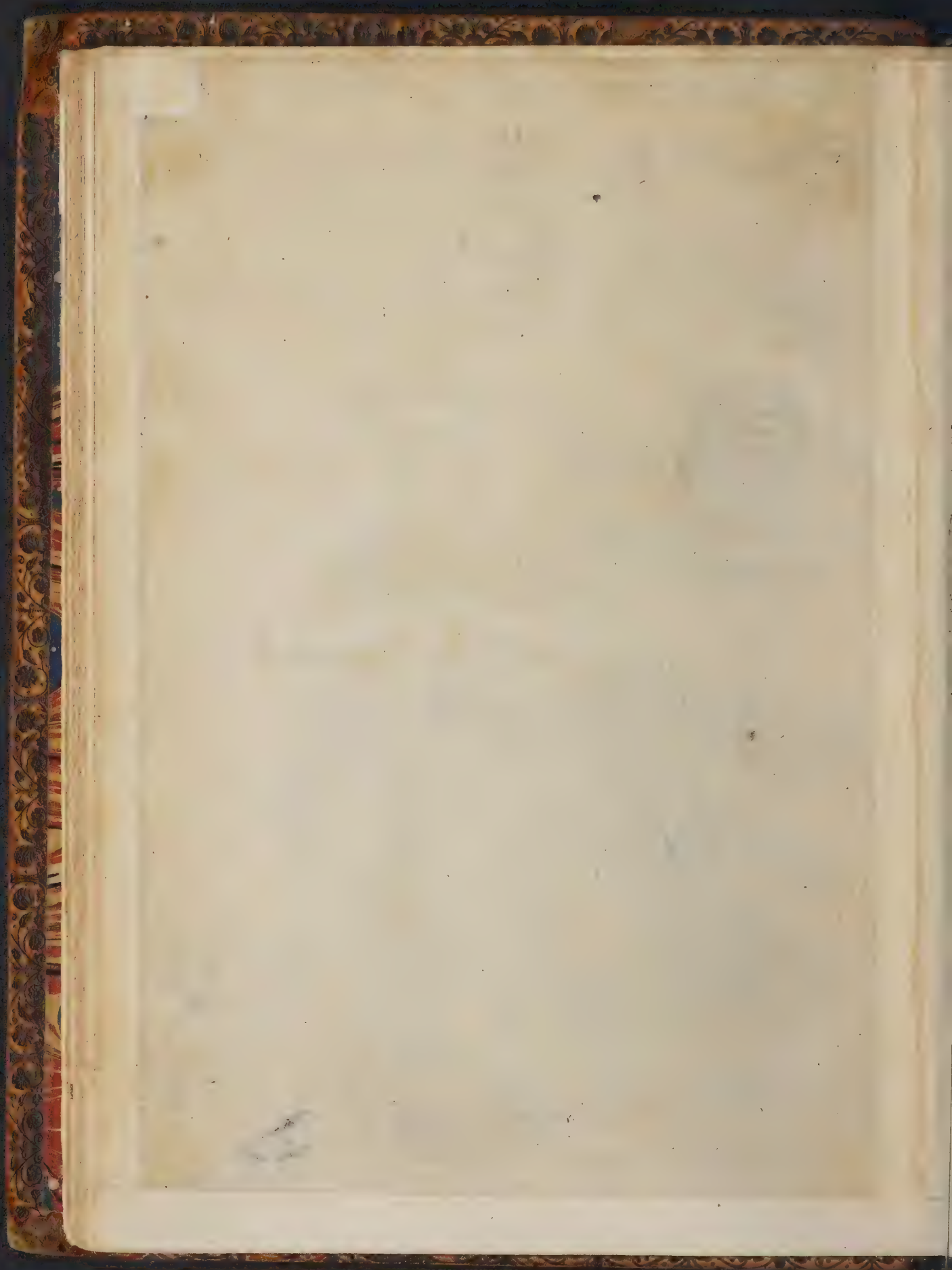
To the ruine as well of England, as the Netherlandes.

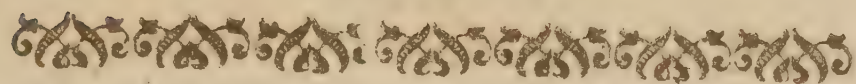
Faithfully Translated out of the Spanish Coppie by a well-willer
to England and Holland.



Gentis Hispaniæ decus

Printed at Goricom by Ashuerus Ianss.
1624. Stilo nouo.





TO
THE HIGH AND
MIGHTIE PRINCES,

FREDERICK and ELIZABETH,
by the Grace of God, *King and*
Queene of Bohemia, Princes Pa-
latines of the Rhine, &c.

AS ALSO

To the most Illustrious and victo-
rious, *Maurice*, Prince of *Orenge*,
Count of *Nassau*, &c.

Most High
Most Illustrious
Princes,



HAT I haue adventured in
these vnfaithfull times, so
full of suspition and danger,
to passe (without leaue)
your guardes, and to presse
into your Presence, I most humbly craue
pardon, having I confesse no other excuse

A

then

The Epistle

then that common one of the Country, it was out of my loue, out of my loyalty, for such (most gracious Q: *Elizabeth*) hath heeretofore your respect beene towards mee (farre vnworthy God knowes of any of the least favours from so Magnificent a Princeesse) that ever since, I haue contended with my selfe, to adventure and Act something, that might haue power still to preferue mee in your Royall Memory, but albeit I had the will, I finde my selfe wanting in my Ability. And most Illustrious, Prince *Maurice*, since I haue had sometime dependance on your Excellence, I hold it my Duty gratefully to repay, some part of what (I cannot say iniustly) I haue gained vnder you that is *Observation*, especially of the double dealing, and cunning Iuggling of the *Spaniard* with all Nations, And since a little *Treatise* of a *Spanish* Consultation (whether really acted, or poetically faigned I knowe not) came to my hands, first written in *Spanish*, now by my selfe Translated into *English*, onely for the behoofe and loue I beare as well to *England* my Natiue Country, as

Dedicatorie.

to the *Netherlands*. I haue sent it abroad,
good it may doe, hurt it cannot. *Abundans
cautela non nocet*: heerein you shall perceiue
the Curtaine (though not fully) drawne,
from before the *Spaniard*, that the world
may for certaine see, that hee is not so
beautifull, as many of our *English*) who so
long haue doated on him) would make
him to bee, nor on the other side so terri-
ble, that your *Dutch* need to feare him,
how grimme & terrible soeuer he looks
vpō them. But your Excellence knoweth
him (as we say) *Intus & in cute*: & can linne
to the life better, then any penne in the
world can decipher him, wherefore I
vrge him no farther. I only leaue it to
the world to thinke of (since hee aymeth
at the Monarchy of the *West*, euery thing
els being to little for his Ambitiō (whose
great Grand-sier the Earle of *Halspurge* was
within these ninescore yeares, of as meane
estate and reuenue, as an ordinary knight
of *England*,) how much I say, concernes it
England, and your vnited *Prouinces*, to hold
fast each by either, which now by all
meanes he laboureth to part and divide,

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

*Divide, et
Impera.*

not vnmindfull of a Matchiavillian and
old Maxime ; But I trust Almighty God
(as hee hath already begun) will open
the eyes of all Christian Kinges and Prin-
ces, in time not onely to pricinto, but ef-
fectually to oppose, these his immense
and ambitious designes, which else in
time may fall heavy vppon our Children
and Posterity, I end ; humbly beseeching
the King of Kings and Kingdomes, the
Almighty Lord of Hoastes : Most High,
Most Illustrious Princes, to protect the
persons of your selues and children, with
his grace to multiplie your Honors and
Dignities, foure-fold to restore your e-
states, and after many yeares to Crowne
you in Heaven, with the Diademes of
Glory and endles happines.

VVho is most devoted
vnto your *Hightnesses*,
in all Loyall affection

T. S. of V.

THE SPANISHE PARLAMENT .



Ingentibus exidit ausis .

After the shouts and acclamations of all true hearted English, for the safe & single returne of the Prince of Great Brittain, had made the rooffe of Heauen to resound, and with the noyse had shooke such a terror into the ill affected body of Spayne, that a cold, and benumbing feare, ran through her ioynts.

loynts, her friends began to bethinke themselves of a timely recomfort, to finde the meanes a fresh to rouse vp her spirits (by this time halle repenting her selfe of parting with so precious a pawne) the possession whereof she imagined, might haue tyed vs to haue precisely kept day (though it were likely to haue had prooued more fatall vnto her, then ever was the gold of *Thousonse* to *Scipio's* Souldiers) and as it falleth out among sicke persons, some of sounder iudgement then the rest, about her in particular and euery one in generall, giuing their best opinions, vndertooke (so she would be ruled) to rid her off that fit and distempered perplexity.

Parliament at
Sevill.

And for this purpose appoynting for a further consultation to be at *Sevill* in *Audaluzia*, whether already the King with most of the Nobility had retired themselves in regard (they sayd) the English who were in number about seven-score, had not long before eaten vp all the prouision in *Madrid*, and within thirty miles about, there came as truest and old friends to her estate, the Arch-bishop of *Toledo*, the Dukes of *Medina Cæli*, of *Braganza*, of *Ville Hermosa*, of *Hijaz*, D. of *Infantado*, D. of *Cea*, D. of *Sesa*, D. of *Veragua*, Marquesse of *Malagon*, Count de *Penna-fiore*, Count de *Monterry*, Count de *Sanstephano*, &c. *Escalona*, the Marquesse of *Castello*, *Rodrigo* the Admirant and Constable of *Castile*, Count *Olivares*, Count *Gondomar*, *Pedro de Toledo*, *Gonzales de Cordua*, *Lewes de Velasco*, with sundry others of remarke and note, of the chiefeest Nobility, whither being come, and hauing made choyce of a goodly and faire Pallace, anciently belonging vn-

to

to the D. of *Beiar* principall of the family of the *Zanigas*, in a faire great Chamber hung with rich Aras, ouer the leather gilded. *Guara Mazilla's*, after many an enterchange of complement, each as his precedence required tooke his place, like a Colledge of wise Physitians to consult of the state of that body and Kingdome, how with medicines (as Physitians call them) to preuent her future danger, withall for the present to repayre the ruine of her reputation and credit with the world, (since now her plots and practises are smoaked, their gordian knots vntwisted euen by children: Lastly, how to gaine by strong hand, what all this while she could not compasse by artes and policy.

Being all set and silent, the Duke of *Medina Cali*, stoode vp and spake as followeth.

My Lords, it hath pleased his Catholique Maiessty the King our Mr. to giue way to this our meeting and Parliametary assembly, to consult and aduise among our selues, what course is most fittest to be holden of vs, in these tempestuous times, for the weather being changed, and the bright beames of our hopes ouer-cast, we are from euery side to expect rage and stormes. You are not ignorant how there is now a Parliament holden in *England*, that bode vs no good, in *Holland* a dayly consultation with present preparation, In *France* a Councell together with an vnamiety of Kings and Peeres, for some great vndertaking: How nerely then concernes it vs of *Spaine*, to be vigilant, and to looke about vs: first, for the maintenance and advancement of

(4)

the Catholique Religion, and holy Church: Secondly, for the defence of his Maiesties Kingdomes and Territories: Thirdly, to heare the grieuances of the people groaning vnder the heauy burthen of exaction and oppression, though the couetousnesse of publique offices. Fourthly, for the supply of the Treasury which a late hath beene much exhausted, partly by preparation by Sea against our Common enemies, *Turkes*, and *Hollanders*, and partly by the extraordinary entertainment of *Charles* Prince of *wales*, the charge wherof amounted to 49. thousand Ducates. Fift, and lastly, for giuing the world satisfaction, and the taking away of those vile scandales and imputations, which euen within these few dayes haue beene, and are hourelly cast vpon vs, especially, (as they giue it out) in dealing doubly and dishonorably with *England*, concerning the Treaty of the Match.

He hauing ended, the D. of *Braganza* the next began thus.

I am sorry that I liue to see the day, that the Honor of *Spaine* which was wont to dazle the eye of *Europe* with the vsufferable splendor of its brightness, should now be ouer cast with the blacke cloud of disgrace, and the name of a Spaniarde so redoubted ouer the world, become branded with the infamous attributes and epithites of false, ambitious, proud, and cruell, and those Nations who were wont to adore vs for our faith, contemne, and scorne vs now for treachery and falshood. Certes loyalty and the Religious obseruance of our promises,

ses and faith, was anciently held our prime vertue, insomuch that *Fey de Spagna* grew into a Prouerbe, like the gold of *Ophir*, our valewing any other, that I speake no new thing, or vntruth, you may plainly perceiue it by the multitude of discourses, pamphlets and pasquills that are dayly vented against vs from all parts of the World, wherein we are iested at, derided, disgraced, by verses and vnseemely Pictures, especially of late dayes, from *Holland*, *France*, and *England*: yea as I vnderstand in Songs and Ballads, Sung vp and downe the Streetes in many places: whence this imputation, vpon so iust and braue a Nation, so potent a Monarch (at the brandishing of whose sword *Europe* trembles) should proceede, I cannot ghesse, yet desire to be satisfied herein, in the King my Mr. and Kinsmans behalfe, my Kinsman, (for you all know my neere alliance vnto his Majestie,) and my Poesie may intimate so much vnto the world, which is *Pues vos, nos*, After you, Wee, being next in blood, if the issue Royall should faile.

But I am afraid the ill carriage no lesse priuate men at home, (perhaps our Embassadors in Foraine parts,) haue throwne this aspersion vpon vs, hauing eyther giuen abroad to many ouertures of our designs, or attempted their ends with ouermuch hast and violence, which in time and by gentle hand might haue beene easier won, as a bough whose fruite we meane to gather, is brought downe by degrees, which else might breake and we loose our longing.

Surely, in the first, me thinke our Nation should not easily offend, wee being esteemed the most close
and

and reserved to our selves in the world, as the event of our greatest and most important actions have sufficiently shewn. Did we not in 88. carry our business for *England* so cunningly and secretly as well in that well dissembled treaty which the English neere *Ostend*, whereto for vs were deputed, *Arimberge*, *Champigny*, *Richardot*, and other, as in bringing our Navy to their shores, while their Commanders and Captaines were at bowles vpon the hoe of *Plimouth*, and had my Lord *Alonso Guzman*, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* had but the resolution (but in truth his Commission was otherwise) hee might haue surprized them as they lay at Anker, and the like. In *Ireland*, when *Don Ivan d' Aquila* had gotten footing in the Irish ground, ere any of the mist, how were our plots and correspondences with *Biron* carryed, with infinite the like examples.

Touching the latter, the Spanish Nation hath of all other in the world beene held for the most sober, stayd, and wise, and were wont neuer to attempt any thing but vpon great and long aduice, accounting it with *Quintus Fabius* more honorable to bee accounted droanes or cowards, then to hazard our affaires, or Armies, French-like, onely in a vaine-glorious hastinesse to gaine the Honour of charging the first. So that it seemeth strange to me that we haue I know not vpon what ground incurred the hate and scorne of other Nations, and that we especially of the Nobility should be thought ill of since of Nobility ours of *Spaine*, hath beene euer held the most illustrious and eminent of the world.

The Duke hauing made an end, *Gondomar* easily
raysing

rayſing himſelfe from his chayre wherein he ſat vpon two doune pillowes, and reſting himſelfe vpon a little Braſill ſtaffe, ſpake as followeth.

My Lords, I can deriue this ſlaunder of our Country, and hate of our ſelues from no other fountaine then the Fanaticall humors and diſtracted ſpirits of ſome of the Engliſh, who finde themſelues not a little gall'd and vexed with our politique delays heretofore, and now our ſmall reiection, and (I hope) ſhaking hands with that Hereticall Nation for euer, for if your Alteſes and Honors will but conſider what aduenture and boote we haue made by them, I thinke you will ſay we might well endure theſe Brittiſh Northen and cold blaſts: meane time in ſo ſuffering for our Catholique King, and in the Catholique cauſe wee ought to take ſuch approbation rather as an Honor vnto vs then otherwiſe.

Moreouer, if we ſhall conſider who are the Authors of theſe flying Plamph'ets, wee ſhall finde to proceede from the pennes of light and vnſtayed wits, with intent eyther to winne the opinion of good intelligencers and ſtatistes together with the aierie applauſe of the Vulgar, or to rayſe to their deſperate Fortunes, when the tempeſt is ouer, (as it oft hath happened) and now likely wee being fallen off from *England*, and the Treaty at an end.

Yea, but quoth the Duke of *Medina Cæli*, what ſhould bee the reaſon of that inbred and Naturall hate the Common people of *England* ſhould beare to vs, and our Country aboue any Nation in the world, the *Hollanders*, *Turkes*, and *Indians* excepted.

B

Quoth

Quoth the Arch-bishop of *Toledo*, herein we are much deceiued, for his Catholique Maieſty and our ſelues all haue very many faithfull and faſt friends in *England*, who would not ſticke to hazard their liues and Fortunes in the Seruice of his Maieſty, might time and occaſion be offered, yea, and ſome none of the meanest.

The Marqueſſe of *Caſtello Rodrigo*, then' ariſing vp with a graue countenance, and a deliberate vtterance ſayd, is it poſſible that any place in the world ſhould bring forth ſuch a monſter, as a Traytor to his Country, or allow bread to any one ſo vnnaturally baſe, as to draw his ſword, and ſide with an enemy againſt her, I will ſay that for our *Spaine*, I doe not remember or euer had read, that ſhee affoorded a Traytor, or ſo much as one that ſerued a ſworne enemy againſt her Prince.

By your fauour, quoth *Lewes de Velasco*, what Country-man was he of Count *Iohn* of *Naffau's* regiment, that tooke the Admirant of *Arragon* priſoner at the battaile of *Nenport*.

It is true quoth *Gonzales de Cordua*, he was a Spaniard, but examples hereof are very rare.

Quoth *Gondomar*, ſo they are, and though *England* be the colder Country, yet it hath bred more venomous Creatures of this Nature, then euer *Spaine*, yea euen vnder the Sunne-ſhine of their mildeſt and moſt moderate governments.

Whence quoth the Duke of *Eſcalona* ſhould this proceede?

I will tell you (quoth *Gondomar*) my opinion, the

the English naturally are desirous of nouelties, and innovations, and as it were sicke in the soft beds of their long liberty, peace, and plenty, (which they enioy vnder as wise and as good a King as euer liued) they suppose nothing wanteth to their full happinesse but change and variety: I must liken them to *Giotto* of *Florence* his Asse, who when he went along with a rich saddle of beaten gold on his backe with a Crowne and Scepter lying thereon, yet hee could not choole but smell vpon a Carriers packesaddle as it lay at an Inne doore.

Hence are strangers the most admired and entertayned amongst them, and if of quality preferred many times to place and preferment before the English, though perhaps there are many who deserue better. I haue seene there a torne and tatter'd French Lacqua, but as this day arriued out of *France*, and the next, he hath ietted in the Court in his Tissue or Scarlet at the least: What preferment came that arch-hypocrite *Spalato* vnto. *Ascanio* the Frier, who left his wife in *St. Martins* Lane, and ranne againe to his Order. And a poore and ignorant Italian Mountebanke, sought after for his skill as if *Æsculapius* or *Machaon* were againe raised from the dead, yea when but a Spanish gowne (happily of the Embassadours Lady, or of her gentlewoman) how was it sought after by Ladies, and Taylors for the fashion, happy was shee that could first get her into the Spanish fashion, to their no small charge, the Spanish garments exceeding all other in fulnesse, compasse, and length, which by this time it may be they haue conuerted into Cusions.

shions. My Lords, you would hardly haue borne laughter, to haue heard how I haue beene inquired after for Masters for the Spanish tongue, (that I may say nothing of so many bills set vpon euery corner of the City by Professors) nay I could haue no seruice almost done me of my Mullettors and Groomes, for being employed in teaching the Spanish among Ladyes and their maydes, though I knew I tell you, English must be that they were to trust too when all was done.

Touching my selfe being Embassadour there from his Catholique Maiesty, and the sole instrument in the Treaty for the match, which the Catholiques there so long thirsted after, if I should relate vnto you the particulars of mine owne entertainment, you would (I suppose) imagine I told you wonders beyond beleeffe, for beside the great and gracious respect I found, and fauors I receiued from his Maiesty of Great Brittain, and sundry of the Nobility, who seemed who'ly to be compounded of curtesie and Noblenesse, there passed not a day wherein I was not visited, by some of the best ranke, or receiued some present or other, from Catholique Gentlemen, or their Ladyes, (so welcome was the very thought of the Spanish match vnto them) I returning them againe, with thanks, large promises, and apparant hopes of preferment, when the time should come.

And be it spoken among our selues, since wee are falling off from *England*, I made better vse of their kindnesse then so, for there were few Catholiques in *England* of note, from whom in this regard,

gard, I wrested not out a good round summe of money: Sir *Robert Cotton* a great Antiquary, I heare, much complaineth of me, that from his friends and acquaintance onely I got into my purse the summe at the least of ten thousand pounds, I deny it not; and true it is, I borrowed of the good old Lady *W.* in the Parish of *St. Martins* in the Fields 300 pounds, or thereabouts, promising her repayment (whereof I will not faile) so soone as *Donna Maria*, the *Infanta* should arriue in *England*, and for the vse hereof, I promised to make her Mother of her Maydes, perswading her, it was not fit that so graue and good a Lady as her selfe should lye obscured in priuate, but rather attend vpon my young Mistresse, the brauest and most hopefull Princeesse of the World, vpon these hopes she turned Catholique, and since I neuer saw her, I sold moreouer, the place of Groomesse, of her highnesse Stoole, to six seuerall English Ladyes, who were eager of it, on'y cause be they might take place before their fellowes: I lost nothing neither by a Noble Gentleman, whom I caused to be knowne for a kinsman of the King my Mr. for that he was descended from the Noble and ancient family of *Aiala* in *spaine*, these are but mites and crums in regard of those great presents, and many pentions I had sent me vnder-hand, from the Catholiques from all parts of *England* during my aboade there, had my finger but aked, or beene ill disposed (as I often was in body) I had sent me iewels, sweet meates, perfumes, linnen, Rose-water, and a thousand of such trifles, only I returned them thanks, and promised them or their friends preferment, when time serued.

If you were my Lord, so nobly entertained in *England*, quoth *Braganza*, whence is it, or vpon what occasion haue wee gotten to our selues the ill will and distast of that Nation.

I must confesse, quoth *Gondomar*, the Common people of *England* beare generally an inbred spleene towards vs, as it seemeth by many rude affronts, we were offered there by the baser sort, contrary to the will and pleasure of his Maiestie of Great *Brittaine*, who published many Edicts and Proclamations in our behalves, punishing many times the offenders seuerely as they could be taken, but why the name of a *Spaniard* should be so become odious vnto them, is a question I cannot easily resolue.

Some thinke that there is a naturall antipathy or contrariety of affection betweene our disposition and theirs, they liuing in the North, and we in the South; which being (as *Charron* a French Author obserueth) neerer to the Sunne, the inhabitants are more crafty, politique, and religious, (though he is in that) euen to superstition and Idolatry, whereas on the contrary, those of the North (howsoeuer goodlier in person, better faced, and more beautifull then our selues, by reason of the coldnesse of the climate, preserving inwardly the naturall heate, and radicall moysture) are plainly simple, nothing so religious contemners withall, of the glorious ceremonies of our Church, wherewith we haue drawne more Heathen in eyther India to Christianitie, in one yeare, then they can with their Lutheran and Caluinisticall Sermons in all their liues.

This very selfe same thing (quoth *Gonzales*) I
once

once vrged by way of Argument to an Earle of *Germany*, who was a professed Lutheran Heretique, and his reply herein was, so are fooles and children taken with bells, gilt pouches, and colours, and our Ladies and faire Gentlewomen, (we see) oftentimes wooed and wonne, only with a braue out-side on the backe of a base knaue, when an honest man, and of deserving parts is reiected, in a plaine and ordinary suite of clothes, and not held worthy the looking after.

They talke as they are (quoth *Gondomar*) I am sure these drew more to my little priuate Chappell in *Holborne*, then their best Preachers of Sermons could do to any Church they had.

But quoth the Duke of *Hijaz*, it may be they hate vs for the same cause, that *France, Germany, Italy* and the rest of the Countries of *Europe*, for that many of vs are discended of the Moorish race: wherefore we are termed of them in *Italy, Marani*, and of other, *Moros Blancos*, and *Nue vos Christianos*: For indeede it was but in the yeare 1492. when *Granado* was recovered from the Moores, *Mahomet* surnamed the Little, and sonne of *Muley Albohacen* being King thereof, though *Toledo* and *Cordona* long before, and it may be they hold vs still infected with Moorish mindes, and a spice of their manners, though they are assured we are Christians, yea and the most Catholique too.

I heare (quoth Signior *Gondomar*) it is objected in their now present Parliament, that in all treatises for the space of these two hundred yeares, *Spaine* hath dealt with the English, *sic punicis*, neuer kept touch

touch with them in any serious capitulation, but euer aiming at her owne ends, vsed their alliance and friendship but as a stale or stalking-horse ouer their backs to shoote at others, or serue her owne necessities for the present, and hereof their Antiquaries (they say) haue found many Presidents. Among others they affirme and proue, to the preiudice of our Treaty, that *Charles* the first was first himselfe betrothed to *Queene Mary*, and I know vpon what tricke and policy hee vntied himselfe againe, and vsed the meanes to conferre her vpon Prince *Phillip* his sonne.

But the very truth is, they carry a vindictiue resolution against vs euer since our intended Conquest of them in 88. and peraduenture the Powder-plot in 1605. which yet seemeth *Manere alta mente repostum*. Indeede *Henry* the 4. of *France*, surnamed the Great, laboured at one time a reconciliation betweene vs, but he found the rootes of eithers discontent so deepe, and the sore so vnalueable, that hee gaue it ouer in the end. Touching mine owne person, I was generally hated, I confesse, of the common people: for no other cause, I imagine, then for the great grace and fauour I was in with his Maiesty, vnto whom I had free access at all times, and his gracious care to any reasonable suite or request I could demaund, the particulars of the Seruice I did to the King my Master (whom God long preserue) I thinke are not vnknown vnto you, I omitting no one houre or minute of time wherein I did not benefit either him by my seruice, my selfe by experience, or a friend by a good turne.

For

For during the time of my abode in *England*, and whilest I lay in *London*, I got partly by the meanes of well affected friends, and partly by mine owne experience (for in sommer time, vnder the colour of taking the ayre, I would take view of the countrey) I had perfect knowledge of the estate of the whole Land: for there was no Fortification, Hauen, Creeke, or Landing-place about the Coast of *England*, but I got a platforme and draught thereof, I learned the depth of all their Channels, I was acquainted with all Sands, Shelves, Rockes, Riuers that might impeach or make for inuasion, I had perpetually in a Role the names of all the Ships of King *James* his Nauy Royall, I knew to a haire of what burthen euery ship was, what Ordinance she carried, what number of Saylors, who were the Captaines, for what places they were bound, which were in re-
 paire and fit for seruice, and which not, I knew the strength of the Tower of *London*, what Armour, Ordinance, small Shot and Powder it might afford. You know moreouer my Lords, I acquainted the King my Maister with Sir *Walter Raleigh's* intended voyage to *Guiana*, and euery particular thereof, when it was but in embryone, and when he himselfe vowed onely three were acquainted with his purpose and resolution, but the fourth should neuer know what he intended vntill hee had set footing in *America*: yet I say, I knew what he aimed at, what course he meant to hold, where to land, what places he meant to surprise, what force he carried, and by what way hee resolved to returne: with all which particulars (as I haue already sayd) I acquainted you
 C long

long ere he went, and he was no sooner gone but I was assured I had his head at my deuotion, to take it when I list (hauing sufficient matter to alledge against him) and at last, though his treason for which he stood condemned many yeares before) was the hatchet, yet the hand was mine that gaue him the blow: For it concerned vs above all the rest in case we should fall off from *England*, and burst out into our old enmity, to make away with him, who would haue proued the onely Boutefeu and Cendiary of the world, in stirring vp the hatred of the *English* and other Nations against vs, he being a Darling of our late deadliest enemy, *Queene Elizabeth*, and one of the last men to be borne of those great Spirits, and experienced Captaines the time of her raigne produced. His Maiesty (I humbly thanke him) rooke especially notice of this seruice of mine (and as it was told me) gaue me great thanks for it above the rest.

I was no lesse diligent for the discouery of the Inland, then for the Shores and Sea-coasts: For there was neuer a Sheire in *England*, but I better know the estate, power and quality thereof then the Inhabitants, euen the best of them themselues did. I could in particular relate the nature of the soyle, what power of men and horse they were able to raise, who were the chiefe and of most ability and credit in the Countrey, who the most ancient Gentlemen, what they were worth in their reuenues and estates, how they stood affected in Religion, who were Puritanes, and who Catholiques, and among Catholiques who were for vs, and who (for such there

there were) were indifferent or against vs. And which moreouer is of equall consequence, there was not a Sermon preached at *Paules Crosse*, or indeed in any other Church of the City or place in the Kingdom, that did but touch the hemme of my maisters garment, or was any way preiudiciall vnto vs or the match (which we seemingly intended) but I had my Leame-hounds ready in euery corner to drawe after them dry-foote, and fetch the Authors *Coram nobis*, to their cost, as one Dr. *Everard* of *St. Martins*, was for his bold and malapert inueighing, and continually preaching against vs and the match silenced by my onely meanes, for (I sayd) and often told my best friends, till the mouthes of such *Rabshcahs* were stopped, no vnitie or sincere reconciliation of either Nation: (for the effecting of which now was the time) could possibly be expected. One *Whiting*, besides a Dr. of Diuinity, Mr. *Clayton* for his *Spanish Ewe*, in a Sermon at *S. Paules Crosse* was layd vp for his lanish tongue, and had like before to haue smarted for a Sermon hee made before his Maiestie at *Wansted* in *Essex*, in *August* some two yeares since, taking for his Text, *Remember Lots Wife*, *Luk. 17. 32.* And I thinke *ward* of *Ipswich* escaped not safely for his lewd and profane picture of 88. and their Powder Treason, one whereof my L. Arch-bishop I sent you in a letter, that you might see the malice of these detestable Heretiques, against his Holinesse and the Catholique Church.

Neither was there any publicke speech made openly in any Court of Iustice, were it in either house of Parliament, Starre Chamber, Countrey Assize,

yea, many times vttered priuately in the Court, but I got an inckling, and made good vse thereof: yea, I was partaker of Gossips newes in the Citty, brought to mine owne bed-chamber by my well knowne and priuate friend, &c. *Mrs. M. of Fleet-streete.*

Indeede Signior *Gondomar*, quoth one, herein consisted the pyth and marrow of your seruice, but if you please proceed.

I againe entertained, to my no small charge, Intelligencers in euery Country (indeed Catholicke Priests) whose liberty out of prison I obtained for that very purpose: for being abroad, they did vs a three-fold seruice: First, they gained soules to God, friends to the King my Maister, and money good store into our purses: for I got out of *English* Catholiques to mine owne vse threescore thousand pounds at the leaist.

For the first, it hath bene certifie me for a certaine, & by report from many of their own mouths, that the number of soules which they haue gained into the bosome of the Church since the remission of the penall Lawes against them, and their freedom by my meanes obtained, amounteth to the number of eight and thirty thousand and odde.

Secondly, they haue confirmed the Catholicks, and made them so fast for the King our Maister, that they haue auowed vnto me diuers times, that rather then misse of the Match, they would make vp the best part of the *Infanta's* portion out of their owne purses, yea, though it were with the selling or pawning of all their plate and Iewels.

Within the City, for a small matter, I fed
certaine

certaine discontented and necessitous Catholickes of the *English*, to walke the common and most frequented places of the City of *London*, as *St. Pauls Church*, the Exchange, now and then among the Ordinaries, to learne the common newes; out of which many times I picked good matter.

Neither could the States of *Holland*, or the Embassadors of any other Forraine Prince carry their businesse so close, but with my Maisters golden Key, I could finde a meanes to diue into their Cabbinets, reseale and seale againe their Packets, without the helpe cyther of *Arthor Gregory*, or his old acquaintance *Phillips*.

It was not one of my worst peeces, to hold the English in suspence, with an apparent ouerture of the match, and a dilatory promise of golden mountaines, with the age of old *Saturne* againe, when euery oake in *Greenwich Parke*, *Sudar ei roscida metla*, till the *Palatinate* was lost beyond recovery, a matter of maine consequence: for hereby *Bohemia* with the rest of the Emperours Territories being secured aboue, our Maister may at pleasure call to his ayde the Emperours forces (who it seemeth for this purpose hath made a League with the *Turke* for these twenty yeares) together with the strength of *Tilley*, *Die Caese camer.* and the D. of *Bawaria* ioyned, and with his owne forces suddainly (for now is the time) giue *Holland* such a Camisado, as the best wits of the * *Chiefe Chamber*, * So the Spaniard scornfully calls the *Huge* where the States usually reside. will bee to seeke of their old-ward, and wonted policy.

Yea (quoth *Don Pedro*) but imagine this plot were resolved vpon, shall we thinke the Princes of

Germany, King of *France*, and *England*, and other their old friends and allies, will stand still as idle Spectators, and not runne in with their swords drawne to their rescue? Or that the *Hollander* who hath beene so long weather-beaten at Sea, is not able to discern this storme a farre off, and take in his Sayles ere it shall hazard his Shippe, yes without doubt; and howsoever wee may flatter our selues with the easinesse of the Conquest, wee shall assuredly finde it as hard a taske as euer *Spaine* vnder-tooke.

It is true, you say (quoth the Admirant of *Castile*) what haue wee gained of them for these fifty yeares space and vppward, euer since *Don Iohn* of *Austria*, the Duke of *Alva*, *Lewes Requesens*, were Gouvernours, and vndertooke the Low-Country Warres, but sound knockes, with the fruitlesse expence of many a million.

The error of
the Duke of
Alva.

Quoth (*Lewes de Velasco*) a shorter cut for the Conquest of those Rebels, had beene long since taken, had the Duke of *Alva* beene so wise as to haue secured himselfe of *Brill*, *Flushing*, and the rest of the Frontier, and Sea-Townes, he then might haue beene Maister of all the rest within at his pleasure, for so long as they were open and free, they were to the others, as the mouth to the stomacke or body, which could not possibly famish, so long as it was supplied continually from *England*, and other places, but this by the way.

All what (quoth *Gondomar*) I haue already said is but a *praeludium* or small Preface, to those projects I had in my braine, if (as vnluckily it hapned) the

the Treaty had not suddainly broken off, but beene
 spunne out a yeare or two longer, which indeede The Prince in
 Spaine before
 he was looked
 for. was the maine plot, and had beene effected, had not
 the comming ouer of Prince CHARLES in Person
 into *Spaine*, with the Duke of *Buckingham* spoyled
 all, for howsoeuer wee made a seeming shew of re-
 ioycing at his comming, and did him all Honor
 becomming so great and worthy a Prince, yet to
 speake the truth my Lords, you all know we wished
 him a thousand miles off; and I belecue some of the
 English themselves were here sorry that he had enga-
 ged himselfe in so long and tedious a journey.

But quoth the Duke of *Hijaz* standing vp, and
 turning himselfe to the Duke of *Medina Cæli*, and
 the Archbishop of *Toledo*.

How may it be conceiued that the Prince of *Eng-
 land* his arriuall in *Spaine*, should either præiudice
 vs, or the Treaty of the Match a whit, since he found
 here the greatest content he could deuise, he had a
 sight of the Lady *Maria la Infanta* his Mistresse,
 whose selfe knowne and seene exceeded her fame, he
 was entertayned and attended vppon by the most
 compleate and generous Nobles of *Europe*, and
 had that entertaynement, no Nation could affoord
 the like. Lastly, *Maiores habemus fides quæ oc-
 culis usurpamus, quam quæ auribus haurimus.*

Quoth the Duke of *Escalonia*, the effect hath
 fallen out quite contrary, for the English report
 since their comming home, they neuer came into a
 baser Country in their liues, where they could get Great want of
 victuall and
 prouision in
 Spaine,
 meate neither for themselves or their horses, nor
 saw so much as one handfull of Grasse in two hun-
 dred.

He that surfeits
at a Spaniards
Table, trust me
I will pay for
his physicke.

dred miles riding, and if they dined at one place, they were faine to go 30 or 40 miles ere they could get any thing to their supper, and then perhaps a peece of leane Kid, or Cabrito, a Tripe, Tone's or such like, indeede I remember when the Prince lay at *Madrid*, we were faine to send seauenteene miles off for a Calfe, for his highnesse Dyer, as for Mutton we may kill none without especial Licence from the King, for fish our Riuers affoord none, and wee being most temperate our selues, how should our dyer agree with their stomackes, who are accounted the greatest feeders of the World.

I verily belecue indeede (quoth *Gondomar*) that those places they call in *England*, East-cheape, and Smith-field Barres, kills, and vtters more Beefe and Mutton in a month, then all *Spaine* eates in seauen yeares, which plenty our men meeting withall, at our first comming ouer into *England*; and since some who attended *Don Iniosa* (as I lately heard) did ouer eate themselves, and died shortly after.

The Princes
going ouer in
person, was
happy for *Eng-
land*.

The poore and miserable surface of our Country; (quoth *Escalona*) the scarcity of victuall and hardnesse of lodging was not all, the Prince of *Wales* by comming in Person discovered our plot, and found how faire so euer wee pretended, wee meant nothing lesse, when he thinking (as also did the King of Great *Brittaine* his father) nothing had beene wanting to the absolute consumation of the marriage, but the Rites of the Church, he found all as Raw and as backward, as hee had beene all this while in a Dreame, and no such matter euer thought of: So that hee found the Honor of our glorious enter-

entertainment to be but as a delicate sawce to helpe digestion.

The Marques of *Castello Rodrigo* then stepping vp, sayd, I will adde one thing more, and whereof if he liues, he vowes not to be vnmindfull of; and that is as I am inform'd, some affronts done him by the Clergy, as that rude and barbarous putting him out of a Church which his Highnesse came into view: The arresting and taking away of a young youth a Page, who attended, (I thinke) on Maister *Monteague* in a manner from his heeles, which young Gentleman (they say) cannot be heard of to this day; with that (insolent and african pride) of restraining him from that liberall accessse and conuerse (not denied elsewhere to a meane person) with the Lady *Maria Infanta* his Mistresse (which Princes by their his owne right may challenge, hee being equivalent in birth, and the rarest endowments of body and minde, to any Prince whatsoever in the world) with whom in all the time of his being here, hee had not aboue twice talked, and then before either the Queene, or your selfe Signior *Olivares*, or some other, if he had any thing to say afterward, it was by vs to be penned to his hand, and to be spoken before witnesse, we must assuredly thinke and expect that so great and eminent a Prince, and the darling of that Nation, howsoever he could wisely smother his discontent amongst vs in *Spaine*, we may one day perhaps finde the fruites of our double dealing, and the effects of his haught and incensed courage, well knowing how, like a young Lyon, though yet in his Denne, and scarce acquainted with ranging, his

D

teeth

Adde more
ouer the dig-
ging vp of the
bodies of our
buried dead,
casting them
into the Sea.

teeth and nayles are growne to that length, that he is past iesting or playing withall.

The Infanta
by her Fathers
will, bequea-
thed to the Em-
perors Sonne,

Inpeede my L. *Olivares*, you are much blamed for that discouery and light you gaue to *Buckingham* of our designe, and the secret and tenor of the last Kings will, wherein he charged vs not to match with *England*, but rather to hold a faire Treaty with them, hauing as you all know bequeathed *Maria the Infanta* to the Emperours sonne, so that now the English suppose themselues manifestly deluded.

Quoth the Duke of *Sesa*, they know it well enough, and I belecue wee shall finde them so sensible of it, that we had beene better to haue played faire, then to hazard the loosing of our rest by such an encounter.

Now I pray you let vs take into our considerations the mischiefes which are like to follow.

First, it is thought hereupon they haue called a Parliament, which consisteth of the King, Prince, all the Lords Spirituall, and Temporall, of the Gentry, and Commons of the ablest iudgement, and vnderstanding in the land, vnto this Parliament: the King (they say) hath wholly referred himselfe, not onely for the examination and redresse of all abuses and misdemeanors at home, but for the discussing and searching into all plots and practises of others abroad, that may seeme any way to preiudice the quiet and well gouerned estate of his Kingdomes, without interposition or mediation, so that the King and people go all on and together, with that alacrity and constancy, in prouiding for the good

The vnity and
sweete consent
of the King &
his people in
this present
Parliament ob-
serued.

good estate of the Kingdome, as the like hath not
 beene seene these many yeares, Prince CHARLES
 himselfe being there earely and late, *Asiduos & ac-*
cubans, amongst them, whom (I am informed) with
 the Duke of *Buckingham*, wee haue our prime and
 principall opposers.

I must confesse (quoth *Count Olivares*) there
 fell a difference betweene the Duke of *Buckingham*,
 and my selfe, which some haue rashly and inconfide-
 rately giuen out, to be the onely cause of this breach,
 for they say before that time all things went forward
 in as faire a way as might be.

Indeede quoth *Toledo* the Catholiques of *Eng-*
land haue so giuen it out, laying all the fault vpon
 the Duke of *Buckingham*, who is not guilty of any
 such thing, I will excuse him, that peece was ham-
 mered vpon our owne Anuile: *Buckingham* is a No-
 ble, Wise, and a Generous Prince, vppon whom
 the King his Maister hath deseruedly conferred his
 grace, and those transcendent Honors, yea though
 for no other former merit else then the resolute and
 wise carriage of himselfe, in the businesse of this
 Treaty amongst vs, whereby he hath not onely assu-
 red himselfe of the affection and heart of the King
 and Prince, but infinitely for his faithfull seruice,
 (another *Fidus Achates*) vnto him gained the gene-
 rall loue of the Common people, as it not long since
 appeared, when he was ill after his tedious Voyage
 by Sea, (The Prince himselfe all the time healthy
 and sound) for whose returne the people had beene
 excessiue, and beyond measure, had it not beene
 somewhat allayd, and tempered with the report

A difference
 betweene the
 Duke of *Buc-*
kingham, and
 Count *Olivares*
 which the pa-
 pists giue out
 (though falsly)
 to be the first
 occasion of the
 breach of the
 match.

The Duke of
Buckingham for
his true seruice
to the King &
Prince, and
State, heartily
beloued of the
people.

of *Buckingham's* sicknesse, they praying as heartily for his recouery, as if he had beene some good Landlord, or great House-keeper amongst them, whose losse had beene halfe their vndoing.

It were to be wished, quoth *Don Mendosa*, that the Prince of *Wales*, and himselfe with the rest of the Parliament, were not vpon iust cause I confesse, so bent against vs. I remember, quoth the Arch-bishop, when I was a young Student, a saying of *Seneca*, *Ingenuitas non recipit contemptum*, Ingenuitie or a generous spirit can in no wise brooke contempt, shall wee imagine then a Prince, yea such a Prince as *CHARLES* of *Wales*, and onely Sonne to the King of *Great Brittain*, vpon whom and whose actions as a bright blazing Comet *Europe* begins to fixe her eye, affraid and doubtfull, where the fatall effect of his discontent will light, will carry coales, and not cry quittance with his enemies, yet doubtlesse, his mettle is of another temper, and not so flexible as some take it; for mine owne part I would not haue him our enemy, if his friendship could be had, though with the expence of many millions of Ducates.

Quis contra-
rium est.

As if *Spaine*, quoth *Rodrigo*, needed to feare that angle of the world *England*, haue not wee euermore giuen them their hands full? haue they not more feared our Fleetes and Armies, then wee theirs? do we not equall them in men, and expert Commanders, as well by land as by Sea? do we not exceede them in Treasure, and money from our *Indian* Mines? that like euer-running Fountaines, are netter drawne dry, that I may say nothing of the courage of our people,

ple, our wisdom and policy whereby wee haue made our selues maisters of so many goodly Territories, and gained so many braue victories both at Sea and Land.

Had wee an enemy, quoth the D. of *Cea*, of farre lesse ability and power then *England* is, wee ought not so slightly to contemne him, the wofull experience whereof our Nation naturall haughty and opinionate of their valour, as well as others haue proued, the Duke of *Burgundy* out of an insolent pride so contemned the *Swisses*, the quarrell arising betwixt them but for the tole of a load of Calues-skinnes; that at the last by them, he was deprived both of his estate and life, at that vnfortunate encounter at *Nancie*.

A quarrell about a load of Calues skins cost the D. of *Burgundy* the losse of his life & whole estate.

Who could with-hold the Arch-duke *Albertus*, and our grand Captaine from bidding Prince *Maurice* battle at *Newport*: But scorning the enemy in regard of his small number, in respect of theirs, together being puffed vp with that petty victory against the *Scots* the same morning, they had the reward of pride and contempt of a weake aduersary, for the Arch-duke was forced to flye, sauing himselfe very hardly, leauing dead behind him, the oldest and best Souldiers *Spaine* had. Let vs beleue the weakest may doe vs a mischief, as is wittily showne by *Aesop* in that Fable or Apology of his betweene the Eagle and the Conies. But by your fauour my Lord, you are much mistaken in the estate and strength of *England*, and quality of the people, and so you will tell me, if wee shall haue to doe with them, as we haue found, and had in former times, let

The Spaniards pride and contempt of vs, how deare it cost them at *Newport*.

The strength
of Ireland at
this present.

vs thinke two of the accession of *Scotland* vnto that Kingdome, and how *Ireland* standeth in good termes, and is at this time so well peopled with English and Scottish, that there is not so much as a starting-hole left for Rebellion, or so much ground to spare in that Country, that might affoord any friends Horse of ours a Bottle of Hay, much lesse suffice for an Army to march ouer, and to bee maintained vpon.

I might hereto adde the valour and sufficient fidelitie of that Noble Gentleman, Sir *Henry Carie* Lord Viscount *Falkland*, the now present Lord Deputy thereof, with many other braue Spirits, that are imployed in his Majesties Seruice in that good Country.

But to returne to the Parliament of *England*, what effects heare you is it likely to produce, or wherein is it thought to prooue prejudicious to the King our Maister, or to the Catholique Religion?

First replyed *Gondomor*, it is likely to goe worse with the Catholiques then euer, as who must expect no fauour, but must prepare themselues to vndergo the sharpest censure, and animaduersion of the Law against them, yea whosoever shall be found abettors, maintainors, concealors of their plots or harborours of their persons, shall suffer for the same in like manner; and I heare say, that there is a Proclamation eyther comming foorth, or published already to that effect, and how they are to depart the Realme by a prefixed day.

But what (quoth Count *de Monterey*) will then be-

become of them, or by whom shall they be enter-
 tained? will they returne to their Colledges againe
 at *Domay, Rhemes, Roome, Villadolid*, and other places
 some whereof I haue lately seene, and obserue to
 stand empty.

The Seminary
 Colledges be-
 yond the Seas,
 almost empty
 at this time

Nothing lesse (quoth *Gondomar*) for I am per-
 swaded though many will colourably depart though
 returne againe shortly by new ports and new names,
 moe will remaine behind, (and since neuer likely a-
 gaine to haue such an opportunity of professing
 themselues openly, and exercising their functions,
 which they could doe in a friends Chamber, and
 many times in the common Innes) for the better a-
 voyding suspition, and concealing themselues, some
 will turne Schoole-maisters in priuate men houses,
 as there are many in *England*, some Gentlemen Vi-
 hers vnto Collapsed Ladies are, some such there are
 in *Drury-lane*: the L. T. in *Yorkeshire*, hath one fol-
 lowes her in that Nature: The L. S. not farre from
 my old house in *Holdborne London*; the L. M. neere
 vnto *Stratford-bow*: Some *Falcons* whereof I know
 two, the one in *sussex*, the other in high *Suffolke*, on-
 ly one I was acquainted withall, who was the Keeper
 of a Parke, and a good Huntsman, and of whom
 I haue had many a good peece of Venison, if hee be
 liuing; I know another Priest who hauing liued
 with an ancient Lady of great estate, and of good
 credit, by reason he was environed with a pestilent
 crew of Puritanes on euery side, and the better to
 colour his absence from the Church, learned the arte
 of Cookery, and is growne so expert therein, with-
 in a short space, that hee is able to dresse a Dinner
 with

with such Arte, and good meate after the English fashion, that neuer a Cooke in all *Spaine*, is able to set the like by it, and his manner is, when hee hath layed his meate to the fire, to goe and say Masse, which finished by that time, or soone after his meate is boyled or roasted, which with a cleane Apron, and white sleeues with some small helpe of a kitchin Boy, he serueth vp to his old Mistresse.

Quoth the Arch-bishop, this was the condition of the old Christians, vnder the persecuting Emperors, of which times it is sayd; *Ingeniosiores fuit illis temporibus esse Christianum.*

Erasmus.

The number of Priests and Leuits in *London* only, is 255 in a manner for euery parish two if Masse were vp againe

Without doubt quoth *Gondomar*, they will be seuerely proceeded against in this present Parliament, and that for many respects.

First, by reason of their number, and dayly increase, whereby they became formidable to the State.

God be thanked, the house is well rid of them.

Secondly, because of the correspondence they held with vs, for by their meanes we vnderstood the secrets of their State, knew what they did, or spake in their Parliaments, in a word, they were our onely instruments for any imployment, were it neuer so desperate.

The Kings Lenity abused.

Thirdly, (wherein I must needs say, they were to blame) they abused the Kings grace, and Lenity towards them, with their insolency and affronts oft times brauing their Aduersaries in the streetes to their faces, Preachers in their Pulpits, Iudges and Iustices on the Bench, that had they so done with vs in *Spaine*, they should haue soundly smarted for it, of what Religion soeuer they had beene.

For

For example, vpon *Easter* munday last, in the af-
 ter-noone, came a Iesuite formally attired in blacke Aske Maister
 Primrose of the
 truth hereof.
 to the Court, then at White Hall (the day follow-
 ing being the day of the Kings healing of that di-
 sease, they call there, the Kings euill, what time a
 great throng of people of all sorts being gathered
 together, at the doore of Sericant *Primrose*, who
 was to take the names, and to search such as had
 neede of helpe) thrust into the Chamber, and be-
 ing demaunded what businesse he had there, faining
 himselfe to bee in drinke, made answere hee had
 none, neither knew he how hee came there; they
 seeing him in such a case, would haue carried him
 into another roome, and haue layd him vpon a
 bed, but he refused it, and hearing by chance Mr.
Primrose, and one Mr. *white* conferre in Latine to-
 gether, he suddainly brake out, and sayd, know you
 not such a one who attendeth vpon such a Lord, hee
 is my Brother and a Catholique, whereat Mr. *white*
 replied, I pray get you gone, I care for no such com-
 pany, where vpon he would haue drawne his dag-
 ger, and had not company been nigh, he had doubt-
 lesse slaine him; and no sooner was hee out of the
 Chamber, but he returned with three or foure more
 of his friends and acquaintance, daring him to come
 forth, and deeply vowing to be reuenged vpon him,
 and the rest within, &c.

Fourthly, because (say the English) they are the
 only engines and complots of all Treasons, Aurlors No treason
 commonly
 without a
 Priest or Iesuit
 at one end of it.
 of Tumults, and seditious within the land, they in-
 stance long since the rebellion in the North, of late
 the Gun-powder Treason, *Watsons* plot with that
 E of.

of Sir *Walter Raleighs*, and many more the like.

After the naming of St. Francis you are to licke your lippes.

Fift and lastly, because their carriage not answering the reuerend and high dignity of their profession, they are growne odious (say they) to those euen of their owne side, for indeede they are the only boone Companions about the Towne, loosing hereby much of their valew, which I like not of. Sr. *Francis* was reputed so holy a man, that the Popes Holinesse ordained, that whosoever did but name St. *Francis*, he should licke his lippes after, so sweete and Saint-like was his life and conversation: Yet now I remember at my departure out of *England*, I gaue it some of them in charge, to get what they could, of whom, or by what meanes soever, because I foresaw their haruest would bee short, and the money would stand vs all instead, for indeede the greatest part was at my deuotion, and to be employed as I saw cause.

And this stirred vp one *Gee* an Apostate Calvinist to publish a pestilent and a malicious against the Priests and Iesuites, residing in and about *London*, wherein after hee hath discovered their practises, he setteth downe in a Catalogue at the end of their names, with the places of their lodging, what bookes they haue at any time published, with the names of Catholique Doctors of Physicke, and Apothecaries, to their no small disgrace, and prauiudice.

The things my L. quoth *Sesa*, at your beeing in *England*, were by your meanes wont to be seuerely looked into, and punished.

It is true, quoth *Gondemar*, either hanging or losse of the Authors eares had ensued, or else I had missed

missed of my ayme; but the case is now altered I was then powerfull, and in grace, and by my policy effected those things, which were they now to be wrought againe, would requier the labour and all the strength of *Hercules*.

But my L quoth the D. of *Braganza*, what newes lately from *England*, in what state stand things there, and how doth D. *Iniofa* carry himselfe among the English, at this turbulent season, and amidst the deepest of their discontent, & displeasure against vs?

Well enough (quoth *Gondomar*) and the better if he be carefull to obserue some directions I gaue him, at my last departure, but for nouelty sake, I will produce a Letter I receiued from him, written with his owne hand, within these few dayes.

My L. all health and happinesse euer attend our Soveraigne, his Catholique Maiesty, next your selfe and yours: You are much desirous I know to heare what the English Parliament hath already effected, or what they intend touching our selues, and the Catholiques, and the rather by your wisdom, that you might preuent further dangers, which if fore-seene, are euer the better encountered withall, and withstood: Either house of Parliament with great vehemency against the Catholiques, having published a Proclamation for their finall banishment; and our selues euery day grow more odious in contempt with that Nation then other, which I cannot remedy I did what lay in my power, and according to my direction, to breake off this Parliament, by laying an aspersiō vpon the Prince, and D. of *Buckingham*, to breed a ieaiousie in the Kings Maiesty, which is heynously taken of all the land, whereupon I hoped that

The Proclama-
tion against
Preists and
Iesuits.

So all the
Wo ld suppo-
seth.

The better fort
neuer gaue
you ill vse.

the Parliament would soone haue beene dissolued but my arte fayled me; and I haue gained nothing but disgrace, the enmity of the Prince and Duke, together with the hate of the whole Land, insomuch that your selfe *S. Gondomar* were wont to passe free and vnmolessted, (except at once, or the second time, when the offenders were imprisoned and punished) we cannot passe (though no violence I confesse is offered) but we haue the bans and reuillings of the multitude, I meane the baser sort, wishing we had neuer come here.

The diuell driue vs home againe, withall I had three or foure of the Proclamations for the banishing of the Priests and Iesuites, pasted on my wall, hard by my doore: a Coachfull of my Gentlemen were by chance, hard by the *Savoy* ouerthrowne, but Lord what a shout was there among the multitude for ioy; some interpreting the same to be *malum omen* to our Nation, but *Deo gratias* there was no harme done.

But are not these affronts and vnseemely dealing of the Common people with Embassadors, soundly punished?

Yes indeede (quoth *Gondomar*,) it is much against his Maiesty, and the will of the State, who by publique Proclamation, haue vpon a seuerer penalty forbidden any whosocuer, eyther by word or deede, to do them any affront or iniury, but it seems our dealing hath deserued it, how hapneth it then that these are not restrayned, replied the M. of *Mandesario*.

It is vnpossible (quoth *Gondomar*) to charme the tongues of a multitude, beside they are people of

the worser condition, for of the better sort we are respected with all obseruance : but let vs proceede with the contents of my Lords Letter.

No Nation
more benigne
and curteous to
strangers then
English.

Here came forth about *February* likewise, a Proclamation for the banishment of all Priests, &c. out of the Kingdome of *Ireland*, but it is to be hoped, that there be so many of the chiefe Magistrates and Gentlemen in *Ireland*, so well affected to the Catholique cause, that it will do vs no great hurt in those parts, though the cracke be terrible.

Court Mansfield arrived not long since in *England*, and had great entertainment, but what his errand or businesse was, I could neuer learne, though I tryed all the meanes I could to know, I am wanting in nothing insomuch as in some ingenious and good intelligencer. That (quoth *Gondomar*) is a fault which must be remedied, I remember of late yeares, there

came a great personage, a messenger (call him Embassador I may not) from a Visier in *Constantinople*,

A notorious
practise of the
Spaniards, to
discouer the
businesse of a
Turkish Em-
ballador with
the States, at
the Hage in
Holland.

to the States of *Holland*, to the Hage, and there was sent from *Antwerpe* to insinuate into his acquaintance, afterward into his seruice a naturall borne Spaniard, who had beene formerly a slaue in *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and could speake the Turkish Language, as naturally as if he had beene borne there, withall he knew the friends and kindred of the sayd Turkish Gentleman, and could call them by their names, and told him he was such a mans sonne of the City, who being taken Prisoner when we was young by the Spaniards, he was detayned as a Galley-slaue amongst them many yeares, and hauing now made an escape, fled to him for succour, and desired to serue him as an Interpreter, he belec-

Of the truth
hereof enquire
of Capt. A.B.

uing all true that he said, entertayned him to attend on him in his Chamber, it fortun'd that on a time when the Estates of *North-Holland* were invited by the Prince of *Orange* to a Supper or Banquet at his Court in the *Hage*, and with them this Turkish Embassador, one of the Company a Dutch-man, of *North-Holland*, obseruing his carriage and countenance, and remembring that his garbe and condition was Spanish, and moreouer avowing he had seene him in *Spaine*, caused him in despite of his new Maister to be searched, and at the instant found about him directions how to carry himselfe, and which was the maine plot, to discouer what was the *Turkes* errand to the Estates, hereupon it being the time of Peace, hee was banished, and at *Delft* put into a Boate and sent away, vpon paine of his head neuer to returne into *Holland* againe: but these diuises are like Stratagems in warre, once eluded neuer to be put in practise againe.

Provision for
making ready
the Navy.

Well to proccede, he writes vnto vs moreouer how and with what alacrite the Parliament with one consent haue granted Subsidies for furnishing and rigging vp the Navy, and preparing for warre.

But writes he nothing, quoth *Velasco*, where it is thought they will appoint *Sedem Belli*, the home of that warre.

That quoth *Gondomar* is a secret among them, but I thinke his Maiesty will reserue that to himselfe.

Why quoth *Lewes de Velasco*, there should be nothing so secretly carried amongst them, but wee should know it.

The times (replied *Gondomar*) are not now as heretofore, and when I was in *England*, our best intelligen-

telligencers, and the Catholiques are not in that grace as they haue beene: we haue had in times past many friends, euen in the Parliament House, but they haue now so sifted and cull'd them out, yea if but suspected that we haue little hope of diuing into their Actions.

The Prince of *Orange* with the Estates of the Low-Countries, haue taken the same course, for whereas their entendments and resolutions, where and when to make a warre, was knowne in common to them all of the Councell, (so that what they determined or concluded of, wee knew it the same night, or the next morning, witnesse the surprize of *Breda* with a tuffe Boate, and their enterprize vpon *Antwerpe*) the Prince of *Orange* reserves that within his owne brest, whereby things are now carried with farre more secrecy, and good successe then before. But how hapned it quoth *C. Monterey* that *Breda* (as I haue heard) was surprized notwithstanding.

By meere accidents (quoth *Gonzales de Cordes*) for *Antonio Lancavechia* the Gouvernour, which happened not in seauen yeares before, lay that night from home (I meane the Castle) at *Geertrudenberg* fixe miles off, when the same night came letters vnto him from a friend, on the other side, which reuealed the plot, but leauing his sonne Deputy Governour he durst not open them (for vpon the opening once of a loue letter that came to his Father from a Lady, his Father charged him neuer to meddle with looking into any letter that was directed to him againe) but laying them vp till his Father came home, the Castle and Towne wherein were 5000. horse and foot, with threescore and ten men hidden close vnder
turfes

The enterprise
vpon *Breda*
in *Brabant*.

The friend was
suspected to be
Monsieur *Barnet*.

turfes miraculously taken, the griefe whereof as some thinke, cost the Prince of *Parma* his life.

But quoth *Castello Rodrigo*, Signior *Gondomar*, if there remaine any more newes from *England*, impart it freely, we are I hope of one minde.

Quoth the Arch-bishop of *Toledo*, I haue heard that since this little time of respite and freedome, wherein the Catholique Religion hath taken breath a little, there haue beene many miracles done in *England*.

This is as true
as St. Francis
eate a Spider,
and scratched
her againe out
of his thigh.

Yes assuredly very many (quoth *Gondomar*) I heard it credibly reported for a truth, that St. *Patricke* visibly appeared to many religious Priests and Friers at his Purgatory, confirming and preaching vnto them daily, prophesing moreouer, a great time of persecution ere long to befall vpon them. Moreouer our Blessed Lade appeared to an English mayd, arrayed as bright as the Sunne, with the Moone vnder her feete, whereupon she became wholly to be conuerted Catholique.

No doubt quoth the Duke of *Medina Cæli*, many of this Nature are meere impostures, what think you my L. Arch-bishop.

No question, quoth *Gonzales de Cordua*, I cannot be perswaded that, that which they call the holy Blood of *Boxall*, which the *Brabanders* and all the Netherlands visit in Pilgrimage, and euery yeare lookes as red and fresh, as if it had beene taken from the body but yesterday, can be the very blood of Christ.

Nor that a young married wife shall haue a child the same yeare if shee can stride ouer at once Saint

Rombauts

Rombauts breeches at Mechlin.

Nor that as many of the *Hollanders* hold that *Mary* was buried at *Hueclom*, for which cause it hath beene in times past a place by Pilgrimes much frequented since we hold her Assumption into heauen, for quoth the Arch-bishop, Signior *Gonzales* these are *Contraria in eodem obiecto*, you are a Souldier, and you know for the most part they are none of the deuoutest men, I wish you rather modestly and piously with the Church, that all these things are true. Abuses may creepe in by accident, but neuer to be publickly allowed by the Sacred Authority of the Church.

No, how chanced it (replied *Gonzales*) that a Painter of *Sheretogenbosch* (my Lord of *Grobbendonck* I my selfe haue often seen the picture, though neuer worshipped it.) beeing gouernour of the Towne, told me the tale) beeing deadly in loue with a faire and beautifull Lady neere to *Pirroy Huesden*, and being to drawe our Ladies Image for a Chappell, either in *St. Iohns*, or some other Church in the *Bosch*, to insinuate himselfe the farther into this Ladies fauour, drewe her picture with her young sonne in her armes, which hee hung vp for our blessed Ladies picture, and is at this day worshipped with as great deuotion, as if her selfe were descended from heauen, and were there in person.

The Church of *Rome* like one of her images take off the golden coate of ceremony, vnderneath it is rubbish, or a rotten block.

I cannot beleue (quoth the Arch-bishop) there was any such thing, if there were) so long as it brings in good store of mony to the poore Priestes of the Church, it may easily be endured: besides, if these things shold be ouer narrowly looked into, it would hazard the credit of the Catholicke Church, betraying

traying to the vulgar and ignorant her greatest mysteries, and as it were, pulling off her fairest plumes, expose her naked to vulgar scorne and contempt.

But the D. of *Escalona*, who had sitten silent this good while, now stepping vp sayd: The end of our present assembly, is not to trouble our selues about these by-discourses and triuiall matters, now it stands vs in hand to looke to our selues, to prouide money men, and all necessities for the warre withall speede, holding it fit to call home our Embassadour, who I belecue hereafter is like to get no better answere concerning our affaires with *England*, then *Mendoza* did of *Henry Cary*, Baron *Hunsdon*, and Lord *Chamberlaine*, in the dayes of *Queene Elizabeth*, who beeing commanded by the Q. to giue him his answere, she denying him acceffe, by reason (say the English) his demaunds were insolent and vnreasonable, told him the *Queene* hath commanded me to answere you, my answere is, *Setting your Oranges and Limmons a side, a figge for your Embassage*, his meaning was sauing for saule for their Hennes and Capons, they could liue, neither caring for vs, nor our Country.

A Banquet
sent out of
Spaine to
Prince Charles,
not long since.

It seemeth (quoth *Villa Hermosa*) they care not much for that neither, for when as a varous and a delicate Banquet, such as *Spaine* afforded, was sent ouer, whether by your selfe my *L. Olivares*, your Lady, or some other, to the Prince of *Wales*, I heard that the Prince touched not any whit of it, but the figges and other iankettings were giuen some to one, some to another, and at last refused, euen of Boyes and Pages, for feare there should be dropped in

in a figge or two worse relished then their fellows.

Then *Castello Rodrigo* stood vp and sayd, Since the English are so busie at home to provide for themselves, and happily to offend some body else, (whom as yet we know not) let vs also timely provide least we be to seeke, *Paries cum proximus ardet*, and like true-hearted Patriots, and loyall Subiects to our Catholique King and Countrey, euery one sincerely and freely deliuer his opinion and reasons, how our Religion, our Selues, Friends and Allyes might be best secured, in case the storme should fall vpon our heads, for this was the maine end of our meeting.

Then, quoth the Duke of *Medina*, Signior *Gondomar*, Since you are best acquainted with the state and affaires of *England*, giue your aduise what is best to be done, whither to haue open warre with them, to wind them vp still with new pretences and ouertures of the Match, or to entertaine a (seeming) league of amity and vnity, and the *Infanta* to take her fortune else where.

For the first, (quoth *Gondomar*) I vtterly disallow it, that we vpon no apparant ground, and probable reason, should prouoke so potent and irreconcilable a Nation, who are content to let vs alone, so that they may but enioye their peace and quiet. You know the daunger of awaking of a sleepey Lyon: but hereof by the way, I will tell you a pretty and a pleasant accident of a sleepey dogge, that happened at my beeing in *England*,

Spain vtterly
ling to be at
oddes with
England.

A tale of D. W.
Dogge.

one D. W. well knowne about *Paules* and *Fleete-streete* in *London*, (a place wherto I many times resorted) for some priuate occasion) finding his Dogge a great huge Mastiue lying fast asleepe by his Kitchin fire, sayd to a friend that stood by, my Dogge is fast a sleepe, I will (to wake him) go hollow in his eare, hee no sooner began to hallow, but the Dogge (vsed to no such alarmes) leapes vp, and laying his forefeete on his Masters shoulders, tares him downe on eyther cheeke from the eyes, almost to the mouth: Let vs by no meanes hallow in the eares of the English, For first, we are not so well furnished with men, munition, or mony, as the World imagineth, or *Arsenalls Magazines* and Store-houses in *Sevill*, *Cadiz*, *Lisbone*, being almost disfurnished of all manner of munition and necessaries, though they seeme otherwise.

Spaine greatly
endamaged of
late yeares.

How haue our Fleetes mis-carried of late yeares, some by distresse and fouleneffe of Weather, others by depredation and piracy of the *Hollanders* taken or sunke, Moreover, consider how our eyther Indies (euen at this present) doe *Laborare in extremis*, Wee neuer (since the first Conquest of the West by *Columbus*) in more apparant daunger of loosing them, then at this time, by the great and vnexpected successe of the *Hollander* in those parts, yea within these few Monthes.

For the Fleete of *Holland* arriving at *Lima* in *Peru*, eyther tooke or sunke the very best Ships.

Shippes of our Nauy, or beaten the rest, so that they are vnfit for any seruice whatsoeuer, heereby they haue now gotten footing (neuer knowne before) within that goodly and golden Kingdome, and by the assistance and courage of the Nauy Indians, (to whom the name of a Spaniard is more hatefull and odious then Hell) haue taken many strong holdes and places of retract and defence, from whence they are not easily to be vndermined, or remooued, their number and strength daily encreasing, and they finding the commodity so great. For of all his Maiesties Kingdoms in *Europe, Asia, or America, Peru* is the prime and Soueraigne, being aboue any other in the World, most abounding in Gold, Siluer, and Pearle, where Gold, and Siluer is not as in other places, onely with great labour, digged and sought for, in deepe and rockey mines, but here Nature hath disperst and throwne it about in such plenty, that it is ordinarily found in sands by the Sea-side, and vpon the common-wayes, in wells, lakes, marishes, among stones in the earth, cleauing to the ground vnder the rootes of plants, and trees, plucked or digged vp, neither in scruples, or little and small graines, but in lumps, and solid masches, weighing two or three pound weight a peece.

The *Hollanders* gotten footing in *Peru* this last yeare.

The like successe (we are certainly informed) they had but this other day (replied the D. of Cea,) in going to the East-Indies vnder their Admirall *Eremitis*, by surprizing the strong Castle of *Delreio*, which they yet hold and maintaine (hauing sent backe againe vnto *Holland* for a second Fleete to

their supply, which consisteth of 4000. marriners, whereof one ship (vnknowne to her fellowes) is fraught with handsome young wenches and boyes for plantation) these with the former making the number of fifty good ships, and for certaine it is reported that they are preparing for a third Nauie to follow the other two out of hand.

I thinke (quoth L. *De Velasco*) the Diuell intends to giue them all the kingdomes of the earth.

Great preparation of the Spaniards against the *Hollander*, but all in vaine.

But replied the D. of *Braganza*, If I am not deceiued, they were met withall by the way, and fell farre short of their reckoning, to what end else should his Maiestie this last yeare prepare so mighty a Fleete, both in *Spaine* and *Portugall*, sending for the shipping of *Dunkerke*, *Winoxbergen*, and *Oostend*: besides many Merchant Ships arrested and stayed of *England*, *France*, *Luberk*, *Hanborrow*, and other places, to be ioyned with his Nauie. Or what effect wrought the consultation at *Madrid*, and the dayly posting with Letters from thence to *Bruxells*?

All came to iust nothing, quoth the D. of *Sesa*: for euen in the heate and threate of this great preparation, the *Hollanders* were so bold as to set vpon a goodly Ship of ours, whose lading was Siluer, which they tooke & brought safely home to *Horne*: So that weighing all occurrences rightly, wee shall finde it no time to thinke of an offensiue warre with *England*, for which we are not in case, yet it is not amisse for vs to pretend like Lyons, and seeme terrible to the world, but necessity doth admonish, notwithstanding we must ecke and lengthen out our Hides with Foxes taylor.

There-

Therefore in my opinion, it is best to make faire weather with *England*, in any case so long at the left, till wee haue tried the vttermost of our strength against *Holland*, which I hope his Catholicke Maiesty our Maister will doe this Summer, and as I am informed, all those musters and taking vp of men which we heare are in *Naples*, *Sycily*, the Dutchy of *Millan*, *Spaine*, *Artois*, *Henalt*, *Luxemburge* and other places, are to that end. For the doore being but halfe shut we had yet roome to enter, if we prolong the time we shall be so bard and bolted, that there will be no hope of entrance at all, except (quoth *Don Lewes of Velasco*) as my Lord Duke of *Sesa* saith in this *interstitium* or twi. light of Treaty, or suspence betweene Warre and Peace, we take to our selues some notable advantage, and followe opportunity close at the heeles, we are like howsoever we flatter our selues with gitting the game, to go away the greatest losers: For we see whatsoever wee entend the *Hollanders* are still in action, dayly getting ground of vs. Did they not in *August* last recouer *Mogodor* in *Aethiopia* from vs? did not shortly after *Graue Ernest* take *Emdden* (which *Tilly* supposed to be at his devotion) bringing in to the defence of the same 28. peeces of Count *Mansfelds* great Ordinance? hath not the Prince of *Orenge* with as great industry and care as *Spinola* on our parts (presently after the death of *Obham* the chiefe Admirall of *Holland*, who dyed this last yeare at the *Hage*) taken view of all the forts and Townes standing along the *Mase Waell* and the *Rheine*, put in stronger Garrisons into *Rauestein* and *Geenop*, and after all this, made vp full the Army of
Brunsf-

Brunswick. Moreover, hath hee not strengthened and enabled to endure the longest siege *Zutphen*, *Denter*, *Smoll*, with the rest of the frontier Townes towards *Frizeland*, the passage we held euer to be our easiest and readiest for the subduing of the Netherlands? Did not those of the Garrison of *Emmerick* surprize and take *Holden*, a well fortified Towne hard by *Dinxlaken*, tooke all our *Spaniards* that lay there in garrison, and brought away the keyes of the Towne gate with them. On the other side, if we attempt any thing, it is either discouered (so vigilant are the States) ere it be acted, or faileth in the manner and meanes of the action. As that enterprize of ours vpon *Isendick* (notwithstanding wee kept the gates of *Antwerpe* shut for two dayes together, and no man suffered to go out) which we intended vpon the sudden to surprize with our scaling-ladders, yet do what wee could they had notice of our intent, that when we came before it we might (as they say) throw our caps at it, for euer winning or comming within it.

And the like attempts (to no purpose) wee made this last winter vpon *Bortagna* by *Groening*, and vpon *St. Andres* Scorne, had not the Prince of *Orenge*, thinke wee, knowledge of Count *Henry Vandem Berges* iourney this last winter into *Frizeland*? yes doubtlesse, as the euent shewed. For hee (vpon my knowledge) was secretly informed that the Spanish Horsemen had caused in *Antwerpe* and other places all their horse-shoes to be altered, and as many new to be made as would suffice for sixe or eight thousand horse all calked sharpe and frost-nayled of purpose

pose for trauaile ouer the Ice, whereby hee knew
 (as he is most circumspect and prouident) that
 some enterprize was to be attempted vpon either
Holland or *Frizeland*: in that time of the great frost,
 all Fennes, Riuer, and Marishes, being passible by
 reason of the thicknesse of the Ice (for it froze con-
 tinually) therefore he doubled the garrisons with-
 in the frontier Townes, sent certaine troopes of
 horse, to obserue and watch the most suspected pla-
 ces for passage, and had shippes abroad to bring
 him tydings vpon the least motion or occasion.
 Lastly, hee sent in waggons sixe thousand Skippers
 and Water-men to breake Ice in the most com-
 mon and likely places of passage, in the Riuer of
Rhine, *Isell*, the *Wael*, and about the ditches of
 Townes, Marishes, and other places, neither did
 his Prognostication fayle him. For Count *Henry*
Vandenberg presently after our consultation at *Ma-*
drill, had his Commission at *Brussels* for eighteene
 thousand horse and foote: with which, and eleuen
 peeces of Ordinance, and a great multitude of
 Waggons, he passed by *Emmerick*, in exceeding
 bitter and cold weather towards *Freizeland*, but
 turning another way between *Duisburgh* & *Bronck-*
horst (a Castle belonging vnto the Graue of *Stiru-*
men which he tooke and spoiled) he came to the
Isell with 4. peeces of Ordinance, whereof one (the
 Ice breaking) sunke, the rest he left at *Bronckhorst*,
 hauing passed the Riuer, he fortified his foote at
Diterbusch, with trees he filled vp the Riuer. The
 States beleeuing hee went directly for *Arnhem*,
 they sent *Marquet* with troopes of horse, and cer-

The expedi-
 tio of Count
Henry Vanden-
berge, into
Freezeland.

aine foote Companies, but *Vandenberghe* saluting the Towne with a volley of small shot, and beside making a shot or two into the towne with his great Ordinance departed, I heard great (quoth *Pennatiore*) outrages were by him committed in that Iourney, wherein he spared neither Age nor Sexe.

Crueltie (replied *Gonzales*) is naturall and in-hærent to our nation, for except our victories be drowned in blood, we cannot tast them. It is most true that he gaue way to his Souldiers in the depth and greatest bitternes of the frost and snow this last winter, to turne men and women starke naked out of their houses, to shift for themselves in the open fields, to rauish young girls not aboue eight or ten yeares of age, wilfully to beate out the heads of their wine and beere vessells, that they might drinke only water in that extremitie of cold weather, that many infants (their parents flying away for feare) at their returne, were found either starued for food, or frozen to death with the cold, hauing neither fire, nor clothing.

What (quoth *Don Pedro*) slept the Prince of Orenge all this while? or was no manner of reuenge taken by the *Dutch*?

Yes, it seemed so (quoth *Velasco*) for the most part of our Spanish soldiers were cut off, in their marching away and retreat, by the Garrisons of *Duisburgh*, *Arnhem* *Dauentrie*, *Campan*, and *Zutphen*; beside great numbers who perished with extremitie of cold, some hauing their noses, some their hands frozen and rotted off, beside those that were

were starued for want of bread, so that wee cannot boast of this voyage, wee staying in the *Velue* but seuen dayes, which a Spaniard had not scene in above thirty yeares before.

All this discourse (quoth Count *Gondomar*) had on all sides, I see tendeth to no other end, then to intimate our disability and disproportion of strength, if wee should undertake a present warre against the *Netherlands*, without cyther making our selues Masters of Great *Brittaine*, a thing which his Maiesties Predecessors for these hundred yeares haue aymed at (and we may truly say and beleue is a matter impossible) or by faire meanes entreate them, from their cliffes of *Douer*, to be but onely Spectators, while wee wrestle for the remnant of our right in the Low-Countrys, wherefore at the last, to end and shut vp this our Consultation, I haue (with Aduise) drawne together certaine Heads and Conclusions, as Maximes of State, for the present and future securing of our Countrys and Isles, which I humbly submit to all your gracious and honorable censures.

Herewith *Gondomar* kissing the paper, deliuered the same to the D. of *Braganza*, which the D. againe deliuered to a Secretary of Estate, commanding him to reade them openly and distinctly before the whole house: the contents whereof were as followeth.

1 First about all things to maintaine and vphold the Catholique Religion, against Pagans and Heretiques, and to do our best to plant and propagate the same in all places of the world.

2 To hold fast, with both hands (if wee can) the friendship of his Maiesty of great *Brittaine*, which setting and declining from vs, let vs labour to reasssure and gaine by all meanes possible, vpon what prererence or condition soeuer, for hereupon depends the fortunate or ill successe of all our affaires, either now for the present or hereafter, imitating herein good *Enginers* or *Workemen*, when they would build a *Bridge*, to keepe off, or turne the maine *Channell* another way.

3 That being effected, otherwise let vs thinke neuer to take weapons in hand. Let (*Sr. Gonzales Spinola*), with your selfe, breake at an instant into *Brabant*, and trie your strength vppon *Breda*, or *Bergen op Zoom*, giuing them an alarm in those parts, while Count *Henry Vanden-Berge* ioyned with *Tillyes* forces shall by *Wezell* or *Rees*, passing the *Rhine*, come like an inuidation vppon them in *Freezeland*.

4 That our *Garrisons* be doubled in *Dankerke*, *Ostend*, and other *Townes* of *Flanders*, and the hauens well guarded and defended.

5 That the *Emperour* take a truce for sixe yeares with his deadly *Enemy Bethlem Gabor*, and that we hold good correspondence, with the *D. of Savoy* and the *Venetians*.

6 That all shipping bee stayd, whether *English*, *French*, *Scottish*, *Hamburgers*, or of what *Nation* soeuer till our pleasure be further knowne.

7 That all our *Magazines* and *store-houses* be examined and furnished, with all manner of *Provision*, *lead*, *powder*, *match*, *bullets*, and *cordage*.

8 That

8 That a certaine number of ships be newly built and sent into the West *Indies*, as well to secure and guard our Navy home, as to supplant those *Hollanders* who haue gotten footing in our Kingdome of *Peru*.

9 That all strangers, of what Nation or Country soeuer, be banished the Land.

10 That wee take an order for the reliefe of such Priests and Iesuites as shal be banished *England* and *Ireland*, and to increase the number of our Intelligencers.

11 That we barre the *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, *Scottish*, and other Nations whatsoeuer, from all access to the *Indies*, either to traffique or plant.

12 That wee set vp and maintaine the Inquisition in all our Dominions, and to enhaunse our Customs.

13 That wee make our selues able to encounter whosoever shall oppose, or stop our passage on the narrow Seas, and that we giue it out, (what euer our intent is) that our Fleetes passe that way onely, but for the chastising of the *Hollander*.

14 That hereafter wee entertaine no *English* nor *Scots* into our pay, but the *Irish* onely, to the intent after they haue gotten experience, and are able to command, they may stand vs in stead, in case wee should hereafter make any attempt vpon *Ireland*.

15 That we call in as much of our gold and siluer as is possible.

16 That you speedily write to our Ambassadour in *England*, to giue notice to all our trusty well beloved the *Iesuites* and secular *Priests*, with some of

the said Ambassadour the

the best minded *Catholiques* towards vs, that they labour as much as in them lyeth to take away all aspersion, & whatſoeuer may tend to our diſhonor, & for this cauſe to giue vs notice of all ſcanda'lous Bookes, Pictures, Inuectiues, Paſquills, &c. that ſhall be Printed againſt vs in *Holland, England*, and other places.

That they curiouſly ſearch into the proceedings of the Parliament, and ſend vs an abbreviate of all the paſſages thereof, with what forces, and how ſoone they reſolue to ſuccour the *Low-Countries*.

Laſtly, that in the Name of their obedience to his Holineſſe, and obſervance to his Catholique Maieſty, they labour where euer they liue, to educate and inſtruct their friends children in the Catholike Religion, and timely to enable either their ſonnes for our Seminaries, or their daughters for our Nunneries, ſo the houſes ſhall be ſupplied ſtill with novices, our Treasuries with money, and we with friends and inſtruments at all occaſions.

Concerning theſe two laſt Propoſitions, for a concluſion I will produce a Letter vnto me ſubſcribed with the hands of many of the chiefe among them, (whoſe portraictures with their names yee haue here inſerted) of the manner of their proceedings, and that you may know they ſpend not their time in vaine in *England*. For I muſt my LL: tell you I hold intelligence with the wiſeſt and beſt learned among them, and where euer they are *tranſeo per medium illorum*. Therefore I thought it not amiſſe by a draught to let you ſee them in their Conſultation, as they were wont to ſit at the houſe of

of one *L.* a Goldsmith in Fetter-lane by Holborne
 in *London*, this *L.* hath for many yeares closely kept *L.* a Gold-
 a Printing house, to the great furtherance and in- smith; and
 crease of the Catholique Religion in that Land, one that fur-
 for by his meanes thousands & thousands of good thereth the
 Books haue beene dispersed over the Land, which, Printing of
 albeit they are sold at an excessiue rare, and he hath *Papish* bookes.
 beene a great gainer by them, yet are they printed
 and reprinted againe, and much money gotten by
 them though vttered at a third hand; but I will
 reade the Letter, it is not long: your Honors there-
 fore daigne it the hearing.

Illustrion and excellent Lord, it is now (we all
 thinke) a long time since we heard from your Ho-
 nor, or receiued any instruction from you concer-
 ning the businesse you wot of, we in *England* here,
 are like shortly to groane vnder the heauie and vn-
 supportable burthen of persecution, but we shall
 (I hope) the better endure it, so long as our cause is
 warranted, and our constancy assisted and increa-
 sed by the prayers & supplications of the Church,
 we labour dayly in the Catholique Harvest, and re-
 couer, (with wonderfull successe thousands of
 soules from the Abyss of Perdition into the bo-
 some of the Church, the onely difficulty is in con-
 cealing our selues and intendments, from that ma-
 ny headed Monster Heresie. Wee walke openly
 and haue our time allotted vs till the 14 day of *June*
 next, which is the vtmost period of our stay, in the
 meane time we desire to be aduised by your Lord-
 ship, what afterward were fittest to be done of vs,
 for your Honors depth of iudgement and all-ad-
 mired

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mired pollicie, is the compasse by which we all
steere to escape present danger. Our Lord protect
your Honor to all our Comforts; and our blessing
be vpon you. From London this 3. of May.

I haue here sett the true portrature of the Iesuits and prists :



as they vse to sitt at Counsell in England to further y Catholicke Cause.

D. Wright.	F. Pattison.	F. Louett.
D. Bristow.	F. Porter.	F. Wothington.
F. Barlow.	D. Smith.	F. Heyham.
D. Bishop.	F. Sweete.	F. Palmer.
F. Fisher.	F. Ployden.	F. Townsend, &c.

To this Letter I gaue them this answere as followeth.

Holy Fathers, I received your Letters to my great comfort, but I confesse: I am neereley touched with the so suddaine approach of your common calamity, but as the greatest soare findeth his salve, so the greatest affliction some consolation or other in the middelt of extremity; For mine owne part know, that I will not be wanting to your comforts in any thing that in me lyeth, or that I can procure in your behaltes, either from his Ho^lines at *Rome*, or my Master his Catholique Maiesty here. The times are dangerous, carry your selues therefore wisely with that peruerse Nation, which scornes you, and hourelly consulteth how to sweepe you from the face of the earth, and even now haue they the broome in their hands, I meane the present Parliament, who will leaue no dust, or Sluts corners behind them, fauour you are to expect none therefore, with the *Foxe* (when hunted out of breath) you must relie vpon your Arts, and subtile sleights. Of which nature may be these following. If your credits be so good with any great or eminent personage, make him your Instrument to sow dissen-

H tion

tion betwixt the Prince & people, imitating herein souldiers, when they would get an advantage of flying or running away, they vse to let fire on villages and their baggage, that they might escape vnscene by the benefit of the smoake. Learne or devise new and the most difficult Characters for writing Letters, with all the flights and devises of priuy conveyance; you may practise physicke as Doctors of *Padua*, or let vp bills as *Mountebanckes*, venting colour'd Oyles, Balsumes, counterfeit Bezar perfum'd Lozenges, Receipts for the Tooche-ach, with a thousand the like: get the perfect and true receipt for any one discale or ach, it is enough to gaine credit to your practise, and make you passe for currant. If you send any youths over to our Seminaries, let them be the sonnes of the richest and ablest men, so shall you not want a place of re-straint, and meanes to reliefe you at an extremity. Young Gentlewomen, you may conuey over to *Bruxells*, or whither you please, by putting them in boyes apparell, their hayre being handsomely tyed vp with a Fillet, and a wrought cap worne ouer it with a great broad-brimmd Hat. If you would at any time convey ouer any Silver or Gold, the Searcher commonly may be coustred, if you send it ouer in Pasties baked, provided that you haue some of flesh onely to eate or giue away, as a colour for the rest. For the venting of hallowed Oyle, Beades, *Agnus-Deies*, Maddalles, Pardons, Crucifixes, &c. You may doe it by some one poore yet trusty Catholique or two, to goe vp and downe the Countrie in the habit and nature of Pedlers: this also is a
good

good way to hold intelligence with friends in many places. I haue knowne some vnder the colour of selling *Tobacco*, haue carried Letters handsomly, prively in the balls or roubles.

Also we aduise you, if persecutions come vpon you, to fly into *Scotland* for a season, and when you see your best time returne againe ; for it seemeth by this Proclamation you sent, that you are not banished *Scotland*, therefore that may be a good shelter vnto you.

Be sure to haue going in the *North* or *West* part of *England*, two Printers Presses at worke, which let be well stocked ; also a small roulng presse for little Pictures of Saints, *Veronica's* heads, crucifixes, and the like, much money may be gained hereby.

Haue a care whensoever any Booke or Picture comes out to our preiudice, set some friends to buy them all vp, though you burne them forthwith, except some few, which faile not still but to send vs of euery sort three at the least, for they will be vnto vs of great vse.

Many moe directions (Holy Fathers) there are which are a like necessary to be thought vpon, but I referre them to your owne graue and pious considerations. So committing you to the tuition of our blessed Lady, and my selfe to your holy and devout Prayers, I rest. From *Sevill* this 6. of *May*.

Count *Gondomar* hauing made an end, they all with one voyce applaused and highly commended his directions and counsell, not onely for his particular Letter, but for the wise carriage of him-

selfe heretofore in many and weightie affayres that concerned the Catholique Religion, the honor of his Maiestie, and the generall good of the Estate. Esteeming him worthily honored with the title of a *Grande* at home in *Spaine*, and of his Masters Ambassadour abroad, having effected more by his wit and policy, then could haue beene wrought by the strength of many Armies.

And now when they were come almost to a period, and full conclusion of their Consultation for that time, there came a Messenger in post, who brought Letters from the King to Count *Olivares* his favorite, to call him to the Court vpon some speciall imployment, what it was, could not be certainly knowne, but as I heard, some complaint was lately come out of England, against the Ambassadors resident there; And moreouer, that a great fight had beene lately betweene nine great Spanish Ships, and five men (or Ships) of warre of *Horne* and *Enchuisen* in Holland, wherein, the Report went, the Hollanders had taken two, and sunke one, whereupon, they all arose vp together in a great confusion, euery one hastening to his Horse, which stood ready in a faire base Court without, they tooke their way, some with *Olivares* to the Court, others to their places of charge and commaund, the rest to their owne houses, where I leaue them, till wee heare further of their proceedings.

THE ILLVSTRIOS,
MAGNIFIQVE, AND GRAVE
Assembly of the High Court of
Parliament in England.

Heeere as in a little glasse, may you (Most Honorable, Great, and Graue *Senate*) view the *Epitome*, or rather effect of a seaven yeares Treatie with Spaine, yee may plainly see the hold and assurance wee were euer like to haue had of that Nation, yea, euen when we thought our selues surest of them. Heere wee may (to our warning of raking heede whom wee trust) behold to the life the Hauty-Pride, Thirsty-Couetousnes, and kinde dissimulation of that same Fox *Populi*, Count *Gondomar*, the * Great. Heere may the *Netherlands* * For they say, he is a *Craue* in *Spaine*. perceiue the imminent danger that hung ouer their heads, shortly without doubt to haue fallen vpon them, had not the Spanish ambushes beene timously discovered. Heere may that Illustrious King, and the most renowned and second Queene *Elizabeth* (for her constancie and spirit) of *Bohemia*, and Princes *Palatines* of the *Rhine*, consider how assuredly faithfully the surrendring of their *Palatinate* should haue beene performed. In a word, heere may wee all see the great mercies of

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God towards vs, whose providence it hath beene,
that wee should cleare our selues of these Spanish
Rocks, that all this while lay vnder water, and vn-
seene, doubtlesse to our ruine, had wee not I say,
by immediate helpe from Heauen beene relieued.
Let vs then, as we are one people of the same Lan-
guage, Religion, Lawes, governed by the same
Gracious and good King, embrace with that wise
Lord and graue Councillour (as in his Posie)
Vnum cor, Vnam viam, then neede not our *Brittaine*
so famous of old, for her triumphes and many
Victories over other Nations, nor care a straw,
for the vaine and windy threats of proud Spaine,
nor the menaces of the most daring Adversarie
who soeuer.

Your Humblest servant, who
is, and euer shall be

T. S.

FINIS.



To the
Reader.

WHere faults appeare in Letters, Points, or Words,
The Printers ignorance excuse affords :
And where the Matter or the Forme doth hault,
The Author may hope pardon for his fault.
Since as the One, knowes of the tongue no part,
The other, knowes as little of the heart.

Errors
in the
Preface.

PAge 1, line 25, reade rationibus. Editio. page 2, line 19, reade searnes,
page 3, line 2, reade they page ib. line 3, reade our page ib. line 6,
reade will page 4, line 14, reade Timbrels page ib. line 24, reade
otherwise page ib. line 30, reade expences, pa. ib. line 33, reade tyre
ib. reade Emperour, and hold page 5, line 16, reade wafted page ib.
lines 19. & 31, reade Exchequer page 7, line 25, reade ioyne page 8,
line 16, reade wilt.

Errors
in the
Booke,

PAge 2. line 6. reade principally p. 3. l. 2. r. part, p. ib. l. 13. r. eldest
p. 4. l. ult. r. the p. 6. l. 9. r. him such, so p. ib. l. 32. r. the p. 8.
l. 10. r. brothers person, how p. ib. l. 28. r. sent p. 9. l. 1. r. being
p. ib. l. 20. r. is it p. 10. l. 8. r. his p. 12. l. 12. r. on p. ib. l. 18. r. your
p. ib. l. 29. r. amongst p. 13. l. 9. r. expostulate p. ib. l. 24. r. iniuries
p. 17. l. 15. r. idollatrous p. 18. l. 20. r. vnder taking. For, these
words, Is there not a cause, haue p. 20. l. 13. r. high, excellent,
and eminent p. ib. l. 26. r. same. p. ib. l. 28. r. or p. 21. l. 4. r. the
p. 24. l. 4. r. thee p. ib. l. 8. r. thy p. ib. l. 9. r. Hypocrits p. ib. l. 12. r. Lou
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p. ult. l. 23. r. thorough p. ib. l. 27. r. Be.

VOX DEI



time to love and a time to hate: a time of warre and a



VOX DEI

The frontispice explained.

T*Ruth-telling Ramsy, Treason doth withstand,
And for the Kinges life listes his happie hand.
The Duke kils Briberie (bane of Commonweales)
With fire-brand Faction, and so truely deales
For Kinge and Kingdome, as a man that knowes,
Vpon one roote, their equall vvelfare growes.*

*The Prince false Vniuersalls doth detest,
And, true of faith, is by the true faith blest.
Hee for the Kinge the Kingdome and the Kirke,
Like Hercules begins heroick vvorke,
And sets new pillars on the coast of Spaine,
To bownd three-bodied Geryon once againe;
Who, vvith his dooble-headed dog, did drawe,
Backward, against diuine and humane Lawe,
Kingdomes and Countries of seduced men,
Into his darke, and Hell-resembling denn.*

*The Kinge hedg'd rownd with sweete yet pricking roses.
And Thistles, in securitie reposes
His bay-crownde heade, vvilst soe incircled Hee,
Guarded by these, guardes these from tyrannie.*

*Iesus from Iesuites and all spirituall harmes,
Defendes his Flock vvith his all-mightie armes;
Treades sinne, and Death, and Sathan vnderfoote,
Vvhilst God the Father puts his blessing to it.*

*Then vvho giues backe? who is on our side, whoe?
Where wordes and Treatyes faile, resolute to doe.*

TO THE READER

IT may be thought (*perhaps*) by some, which shall vouch safe to reade this following discourse, that my generall aymes in this publication, are, to exasperate the humor of the tyme (too tart (as some thinke) already) against the *Common Adversary*, and withall, to flatter my selfe into favour, by needles repetitions of notable *by-past* actions.

For the *first*, let such know, that neither my minde, nor my booke, looke higher then the *middle Region*, being both bred, and conversing continually in the *inferiour*, where, they haue no force to raise stormes of action, but to participate in passion, with such gusts as fall from above. I am not so vaine-gloriously apprehensue, as to thinke my selfe able, to raise the least dust, with any feete but mine owne; or to worke vpon the judgement of any man, with my weake oratory, to moue him to a violent course, beyond his naturall inclination. Yet thus much I say for my selfe, and my cause, that if I should ayme at what they object, and should accomplis^h my aymes, I did no more, then the greatest, wisest, deuoutest amongst them, *professe* to doe, and *practise* continually, against vs, & *praise* in others, so following their footesteps. Witnesse that treatise (amongst diuers the like) which *Scioppius*, (a famous Counsellor for the house of *Austria*) hath made against the protestants, and intituled, *Classicum Belli sacri, Sive suasoria ad Imperatorem de Christiani Caesaris, erga Principes Ecclesiae rebelles officio, & veris Haereticorum compescendorum rationibus*. Edito. 1619. A *Trumpet of the holy warre*; wherein by a authority of *Scripture*, pitifully wrested, and misapplied, by reasons of state, and policy, violently vrged, and wrung to force out blood, he moues, and excites, nay, as it were, inforceth, the house of *Austria* in generall, and in particular the *Emperour* (& so by consequence the *King of Spaine*) to a merciles massacre, of their subjects, & neighbours, round about, against whome they may any way pick

great, and miraculous worke of his mercy.

For to this end the Lord doth all his workes of wonder, accepting well of their service, who set forth his *praise with the best instruments that they haue*; denyeing only to be gracious to such, as neglect his workes, or passe them by, without observation, and threatning to punish such severely, who rob him of his glory, either arrogating it to themselves, or imputing it unworthily to others.

Herein, therefore, I do but, with *Moses*, salute God with a song, having past the red sea, looking back vpon it with admiration, and beholding *Pharoh Exod. 15.* and his Host in it, with pittie and astonishment: I doe but, with *Deborah*, call vpon *Barak, Jud. 5.* to the triumph: And, with the *Virgins*, meete *David, 1 Sam. 18.* after his victory, with timbells & dances.

This is the true end of writing this treatise, wherein if I erre in any point of Divinity, History, or Pollicy, either in relation, or application, I referre my selfe most humbly to the favorable censure of the Church and State, not being willing to commit a fault against either, or having done it, to defend it with obstinacy. Yet before wee part, giue me leaue to say, that whilst I hope wee are past the danger, I would be so vnderstood as a man that partly feared, wee were not. Warre must be proclaimed with *Spaine*, before wee can be fully resolved; otherwise our *offensive warres* against the *Emperour, Bavaria*, or any other, & our *defensive*, and *diuertive warres* by assisting the *States Generall*, will proue vndertakinges against our selues, and we (running our selues out of breath) will soone learne to repent our forwardnes, & call for peace, faster then wee haue done for warre. Our comings in, must be answerable to our expences, if wee meane to holde out: for though the horse be fat & strong, yet if wee ride him continually without provender, he will waxe weake, and leane, and trye vnder vs. To warre with the *Emperour* & hold peace with *Spaine*, is to fight with one of our hands, against the Vni
ted

ted body of the Catholique league, assisted with both their armes of the *East*, and *West-Indies*, whose force is sufficient, to buy *Briareus*, to side with them, against *God*, and his truth, and from whence, all the arrowes they shoote, against *Christendome*, at this present, are both headed, and feathered; pluck off these, and they hurt not. And the way to pluck off these, and so to make peace, is to send out our *Navie* (as wee had wont) to fish for gould in their seas. For our *Navie* is the right hand of our State, of whose advantageous vse, wee deprive our selves, when wee warre in a cold and lame manner, only with the left hand by defence, by diversion, and that by land, where the enemyes strength lyes. This is, to fight, and let him choose the weapon, and to spend our blowes, where wee see him best armed. It is the *Navie* that weakens the Enemy, by taking from him, and spoiling, what he gets to spoile others. It is the *Navie*, that causeth his *West-Indian Fleetes* to be wasted home with such a guard, as eat's out the gaine of that voyage, though they returne safe, but vndoes him, if they miscarry. It is the *Navie* that payes the troopes by land, & fills the Ercheaquer faster, then all the customes, & projects, vnprofitable peace can invent, though it would study to exact still from the industrious Marchant, even to his vndoeing. Witnesse our former warres in *Ireland*, where there was no boote for the soldier, as in other parts may be found, (if at least wee serue them, and theirs, as they did vs, and ours, in the *Paltz*) but all the Army was to liue (as wee say) vpon the penny. And yet for all that expence in *Ireland*, *Scotland*, *Sweden*, *Denmarke*, *France*, in the *Netherlands*, and all other partes, where *Antichrist* advanced his counterfeit crosse, against the crosse of *Christ*, how rich was the subject? how plentiful all provisions? how quick all trades, & trading? how well stored was the Ercheaquer with Coyne, the mint with Bullion, the Tower, and all other places with ordinance, ammunition, plate, hangings, jewells? The expence, and waste, of treasure since, meerely vpon the old
stock,

stock, without any equall, annuall, and certaine supply, the
paying and allaying of golde and silver, without curing our
generall wāt (which *Spaine* withall the Enemyes, & warres our
Elizabeth had, could not make her do as her *Epitaph* tells you)
is a witnesse of this truth beyond contradiction. If therefore
wee haue warres with the *Emperour*, & *Bavaria*, (heare my folly
and pardon it; *wisemen* may proffit by the prating of fooles)
let vs haue it with *Spaine*; If wee defend the *Seates*, and our
selves, with the *lef hand*, let vs fight with the *right hand* also,
and put *Spaine* to his fence; let vs vse both hands, or neither;
let vs (to conclude) fight in good earnest, or lay downe the
bucklers, and submit our selves to their mercy, who will,
without question, cut our throates in kindnes with the vt-
most expedition, as they haue done our freindes, vpon the
same tearmes.

Consider I beseech thee, advised *Reader*, how the *Navy*
(which I spake of) lyes now idle; a great & continuall charge
to the state, the *Marriners*, the *Officers*, the *Seamen* of all
sorts, waste away, are vnprofitable, forget their professions,
when, if these were imployed (as I haue spoken) they would
recover our reputation, be a security to our selves, a terror
to our enemyes, make vs againe Masters, not only of the
narrow seas, but of the Ocean, beare their owne charges, &
helpe to defray others. In which regard (giue me leaue to
proceede in playing the foole) I suppose if the *East-Indian*
Fleete, and stock, were thus imployed, we would soone finde
the odds of the adventure, & neither the state, nor the Mar-
chant, would repent them of the change, although wee
bought spice at the second hand, or spent lesse then wee doe
(as other Countreyes vse,) or permitted voluntaries to trade
in those seas.

Perhaps the *Hollander* who findes how hard, or booteles it
is to sayle against the sunne, sees his owne fault, and begins
to steere a contrary course, and though he still hold his
ground,

ground, and trade in the East, yet finding it a drayne for the treasure of *Christendome*, it is probable he will lessen his dealing there, and seeke out Westward for gould and silver, to feede that couetous Easterne climate, as wee may doe also, if wee be not *too wise* to learne, and *too proud* to follow, when they goe before.

But some object, that what wee had wont to get alone in the West & South-sea, the *Hollander* now meete's withall, and takes vp, by fore-stalling the market; so that there will not bee sufficient, to beare the charges of both Nations. As if the *Hollander* tooke all, and no fish past his net: Nay assuredly, if both of vs went out vpon this errand, both should haue more, whilst one helped the other. Besides the *Hollander* is more numerous in shipping, and those commonly of better sayle then ours, and so fit for scouts, to beate the water; ours, are better built, better man'd, better armed, fitter for fight, and so like to speede better, if there should be fraude in fellowship.

Thus much I thought good to add, not as a Counsellour, but as an Intelligencer, for my King, and Country; and if any say it suites me not, to stirre vp warre, being by *profession* a *Peace-maker*: I answer, though I feare I shall haue no such force to moue that heavy Engine, yet the *necessity* of the case makes me attempt it, and put my hand, to a multitude of others, who wyne hearts, and hands to this end: And the same *Necessity* pleades my excuse, whilst I seeme to transgresse the lawes of my Commission; since there is no other sure way to make peace, or to saue the effusion of Christian blood (so much sought after, and so sweete in the tast of those woluish *Antichristians*) then thus to take this *fire-brand*, this *Main-tainer of quarrells* (Gould) out of the hands of the common *Quarreller*. If any thinke otherwise, I feare he shall finde himselfe deceived, when it wilbe a shame for a wiseman to say,

Non putaram.

For

one; or to all: for that private studies, or private employments, (though they content the minde better, and may in themselves be excellent) cannot be compared, to such as looke abroad to the publique, though the one be *liberall*, (perhaps) and the other *mechanicall*. Because to this end, was man *principall* created. *First*, for God; *Secondly*, for all that are Gods; *Thirdly*, and lastly, for *himselfe*: so he was made for many, and should therefore bend his studies, and endeavours to benefit many: In which respect, we

Ex. 32.32 see *Moses*, and *Saint Paul*, wishing *their owne separation*
Rom. 9.3. from God, for the vniting of all to him, and our sa-
 viour, who hath willed vs to follow him, as neere as
 we can, (especially in loue) gaue his owne life a ran-
 some, for the whole world. Yea, in nature we see any
 one member, (though never so excellent, and vse-
 full) is cut off, for the safe-guard of the whole body,
 if the body can subsist without it: He either kno-
 we's not himselfe, and wherefore he was made, or
 overualewe's himselfe aboue his owne worth, that
 will not venter himselfe for the saving of many,
 though their delivery were not so sure as his owne
 losse. Man cannot dignify himselfe more, then in
 such a hazard; since we redeeme things by an equall,
 or superiour value, and to saue many is to be worth
 as many, as wee saue.

When therefore we see the Church in daunger,
 we must stand in the gappe, and steppe in, for her
 rescue, against all the world; for it concerne's Gods
 glory, and *Moses stroue with God himselfe in such a case*:
 feare not thou therefore, to wrastle with man. When
 we see the common wealth in daunger, wee must en-
 deavour her rescue, with the hazard of our owne sta-
 tes.

tes, & lives, for it concerne's the welbeing of many whereof we are parts, and for which we are, what we are. Of this truth, all wiser, and elder times, haue beene perswaded, as may appeare, by the many memorable vndertakings, and actions of our predecessors, in all places recorded for the direction, and encouragement of the present, and future times: especially of that same valiant *worthy* of *Israell*, *David*, as wee hope to shew manifestly, in the following discourse, grounded vpon these words of his to his brother *Eliab*, mentioned 1 Sam. 17. 29. *What haue I now done? Is their not a cause?* which words contayne the conclusion of a dialogue, betwixt *David*, and his elect brother; wherein wee intend to touch vpon these particulars, for the clearing of our sayd discourse, and fitting it to all apprehensions.

First, wee will breifly shew who, and what he was, 1. that vsed this speech.

Secondly, wee will declare who, and what the person was, to whom he spake. 2.

Thirdly, wee will shew the occasion, and time, *when*, 3. this speech was vsed.

Fourthly, wee will set forth the speech it selfe, and 4. what conclusions wee may draw from it, for our purpose.

First, for the person that vsed this speech, it was *David*, in whom consider three things.

His age. 1.

His Profession, or calling. 2.

His Relation. 3.

His age: he was in the flower of youth, about 23. 1. yeares olde, vngrounded, vnexperienced, litle in stature, sayre, and effeminate, in appearance, not like

1Sa. 16. 11 ever to be stout in performance. And this was seene;
2Sam. 17. when *Saul* afterwards, put his armour vpon him, he
 39. was hardly able to beare such a burden.

2. Secondly, his profession or calling, a shepheard, and
 therfore peaceable, no fit man to make a souldier of;
 we haue a Proverbe of such tender, and quiet spirits,
 [*they are fit to keepe sheepe*] & such was he, not only *fit to*
keepe sheepe, (as many are, who keepe none) but suited
 with an office agreable to his milde nature, for he
 was a keeper of sheepe: Such was *Abel*, & therefore a
Gen. 4. 3. fit prey for a *butcherlike brother*: Such was *Iacob*, and his
 sonnes: Such were *Moses*, & *Aron*; and of good shep-
 heards, they proved milde, & gracious governours;
Pf. 77. 20. so that it was sayd of them to God by the *Psalmist*: *Thou*
leddest thy people like sheepe by the hands of Moses, & Aron. And
 such a mā was *David* at this time, a good, & watchfull
 shepheard, & therefore like to proue a good, & vi-
 gilant Prince, but noe great, & valiant souldier. They
 that converse with wylde, & ravenous beasts, learne
 somewhat of their savage natures: For as the body
 partake's of ayre, water, & other nourishments, & is
 humored, & tempered accordingly: or, as man com-
 municate's with man, by conversation, & is judged to
 be like the company he keepes, so every mā pertake's
 with beasts in their properties, & give's to them a-
 gayne some of his, in exchāge. The *Lyon*, & *Beare*, lear-
 ne some civility of their keeper, as their keeper, ta-
 ke's some brutish cruelty from them: The master
 learns to be currish of his dogg: & the dogg learne's
 curtesy of his master: *Nimrod*, & *Esau*, cōversing amon-
Pol. virg. gest doggs, became cruell, and bloody Tyrants.
de inuen. *Marinus* was a braue souldier, but bloudy, & cruell, &
re. l. 3. c. 5 as an ensigne of his cruelty, he first gaue them names

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of beasts to the *Romane Legions*: calling one the *Wolfe*,
an other the *Minotaur*, a third the *Horse*, a fourth the
Boare, a fift the *Eagle*, but none of them all, the *Sheepe*
that harmelesse creature: And doubtles *Acteon* had
much of a beast within him, when his hownds puld'
him downe: on the other side *David* converseth with
none but innocent, & harmelesse sheepe, who are a
prey for every beast, vnlike is this man therefore, to
become a fouldier.

His relation; A brother: 1. by nature: 2. by subjec- 3.
tion to one King: 3. by faith in one *God*: members of
one householde, of one common-wealth, of one
Church; But withall, a yonger brother, by all proba-
bility, the weakest of all, I am assured the yongest of
eight. An vnfit man therefore, for the present im-
ployment. And thus much for the speaker.

The person to whom, he speakes is *Eliab*, whom likewise 2.
wee will beholde in a threefolde respect: 1. *His age*.
2. *His Profession*. 3. *His Relation*.

His age, the eldest sonne of *Ishai*, the eldest amongst
eight brethren, amongst whom *David*, the youngest
was a man growne; needes therefore must the eldest
be of mature yeares, & of great experience, able to
advise, able to execute; as for his strength of body, his
stature promiseth as much, as his yeares, for when *Samu-
uell* comes (by *Gods* commande) to annoynt one of
Ishais sonnes King, as soone as he sees *Eliab*, the admira-
tion of his person (for it seemes he was like *Saul*, a
tall proper man, higher by the head then the com-
mon sort) makes him fasten vpon him for King, with-
out doubt, or question, till *God* removes his carnall
eye, with admonition: *Looke not* (saith *God*) *on his coun-* 1 Sa. 16. 7
tenance, or on the height of his stature, because I haue refused him:

For God seeth not as man seeth: For man looketh on the outward apparance, but the Lord beholdeth the heart.

2. *His Profession;* A souldier he was now, though perhaps a shepheard before, for it is sayd: 1 Sam. 17. 13. *That the three eldest sonnes of Ishai went, and followed Saul to the battell:* Now as he was of mature age, and of a gooly presence; so, it is like, he was an olde souldier, of great experience in the warres: And that as others esteemed him, such so he knew his owne worth, & value, wherefore like an olde, & expert *Commander*, he taketh vpon him to curbe in, & restrayne, the inquisitiue ignorance, and rash foole-hardynes (as he thought) of this silly shepherds lad, saying to him (in anger) *why camest thou downe hither? & with whom hast thou left those few sheepe in the wildernes? I know the pride, & the malice of thy heart, that thou art come downe to see the battell:* As if he should say, what didst thou meane *David* to presse to this place of dāger vncalled, from whence the stoutest would gladly withdrawe themselves, if they could with the safety of their honors? doest thou thinke thy selfe able, to doe more then we can doe, who are souldiers by profession, men of experience, of approved strength, & courage? Thou art a babe, a suckling, an effeminate boy, a freshwater souldier? Why; what a folly was it for thee, to leaue the care of the sheepe, & come hither, to loose them there, thy selfe here? This must needes proceede from that ambitious, & proude heart of thine, which I knowe puff's thee vp, ever since thou wert enter-tayned to be one of *Saules* Musitians: But thou art much mistaken; it is farr more easy to compose a sonnet, in prayse of ye conquerour, or to sett a song in perfect parts to the Harpe, then to obteyne a victory,

tory, or to order an army: It is farre more easy to finger the Harpe with nimble, and obedient fingers, then to handle a speare, the battell-axe, the sworde, and those instruments of death, and warre: A consort of musitians suits thee better, then a Company of Souldiers; and that effeminate face of thine, doth better become the foldes, and the sheepe-coates, or the Court, and the presence of fayre ladyes, then the feild of *Wolues*, of *Lyons*, or of men, more terrible then these. But thou art desirous of noveltyes, to see, and be seene, and here thou art come too soone, to buy repentance, at a deare rate. To all this *David* mildly, humbly, wisely, and yet stoutly, replye's, *What haue I now done? Is their not a cause?*

His Relation: a brother, & elder brother, even the 3^d eldest of all; such a one, as by the law, and order of nature, was *Dauids* superiour, and might command him: [*Prior in donis, major in imperio.* For not only the *Gen. 49. 3^d* first male that openeth the wombe, was sanctified to *God*, as his parte, to be a perpetuall type, and figure of *Christ* our King, and Governour, till he came in the flesh; But also, amongst all *Nations*, the rule of a family, or countrey, was confer'd vpon the eldest: Vntill there were *Kings*, they were in stead of such, and when there were *Kings*, either they were chosen out of these, or these were their substitutes, in such families, and places, where they resided. Now *Ishai* being a very olde man, and noted for such in the dayes of *Saul*, as wee see at the 12. verse of this Chapter, the care, both of house holde government, and of stocke, must rest vpon the eldest sonne, the heire of all: who, (as a parent) might challenge rule over his youngest brother, & require a just accompt of him

for his sheepe, which he might well suspect were negligently left in the wildernes, without a keeper, through the wyldnes, & vanity of his younger brother. And therefore *David* doth not answer him, as *Cain* answers God, Gen. 4. *Am I my brothers keeper?* what haue you to doe with me, am I your shepheard? as diuers *Yonckers* would now answer their elders: But he replye's with a tarte kinde of mildnes, giuing (at once) a testimony of the loue he beare's his brothers, person, how much he regard's his admonition, as also making an *Apologie* for him selfe, & glauncing at his brothers prejudice, and partiality, who would not see the apparant cause at this time, enforcing his forwardnes: Therefore he send's him home to beholde the beame in his owne eye, saying [*What haue I now done? Is their not a cause?*] And this shall serue for the persons; come wee now to the occasion of this discourse.

3. The Occasion.

The occasion of this discourse, and argument, held betwixt *David*, and his elder brother, was this. The Army of *Israell*, and the Army of the *Philistins*, having lyen longe in the feilde, and *Ishai*, having in the Army, three of his Sonnes following *Saul*; the olde man longing to heare how they did, and desirous to send them some fresh victualls to releiue them, as also to procure for them the fauour of their *Captayne*, send *David* to visite them, to redeeme their pledge, and to salute their *Captayne* with a present of ten fresh cheeses, v. 17. 18. He, coming early to the Campe, finde's both the Armyes set in array, ready to joyne in fight, and withall heares a great shout, such as they vse to giue at the first

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first onset. The young man bring hardy (though
litle) and desirous to be one in the number thar
should fight for his Country, and religion, and asha-
med to looke on, and giue ayme, whylst others
vnderwent the hazarde, & heate of the day; leaue's
the things which he brought with the *wagon-maister*,
and made all the hasthe coulde to reach the armye
before they reached each other: Comming thither,
he finds things in great distraction, by reason of *Go-
liath*, a mighty Champion of the *Philistins*, who stood
boasting against the whole armye of *Israell*, challeng-
ing and desyring an able and equal Opposite to be
sent out to him. To this *Bravado* he adds blasphemy
agaynst *God*, and dishonour and disgrace to the *King*:
He beholde's the pride and insolency of the hea-
thenish army out of the confidence they had in
their vnmatchable Champion, and withall he see's
the base feare and cowardise of his owne Nation,
whose courage was quenched with the brauery of
one man: How then (thinks he) it is likelie that
they should stand agaynst many? agaynst all? To
behold this, his hart burnes within him; Zeale to *God*,
allegiance to his prince, *loue*, and *dutye* to his Country,
make's him inquisitiue, what this shoulde meane,
how it shoulde happen that foe *many* shoulde be a
frayde of one, or that one shoulde dare to affront so
many: Thus at length his priuate thoughts breake's
forth into wordes: *What* (sayth he, to the standers by
who gaped, & gazed vppon the *Gyant* and fled at his
words, at his sight, as men frighted and out of their
witts) what shall be done to the man that killeth this *Phili-
stin*, and taketh away the shame from *Israell*? They answer, to
him that killeth him, the King will giue great riches: and will

give his daughter, yea & make his fathers house free in Israell? Perhaps these promises were the immaginations & pratlings of the people, the vnderhand whisperings of policye, to stirre vp some mans courage to vnder-take the combat. For we neither heare these things publicquely proclaymed, nor repeated, and promised, when *David* came to speake with *Saule*, and went about his worke with this approbation, nor challenged after, whē *David* had performed what he vnder-tooke, and had slayne *Goliath*. Howsoever, his elder brother, who obserue's his behauour narrowly, overheare's his discourse, how he, like an able Champion, speake's and questions, as one that meant to vndertake the matter; and, either out of contempt of his brothers youth, or out of envy, least the yonger shoulde wyn prayse from the elder, or out of loue and care of his yonger brother, knowing his forwardnes, but withall his weakenes, and in sufficiencye, for such a busines, with such an enemy, whose match the whole hoast afforded not, check's him & restrayne's him from this rash vndertaking, by presenting his youth, his trade, his other busines, to his remembrance; *why camest thou downe hither (sayth he) with whome hast thou left those few sheepe in the wilderness? I know thy pride and the malice of thy harte that thou art come downe to see the battell.* To whom *David* replied, in serious, and sad manner, *what haue I now done? Is there not a cause?*

Thus much for the occasion of this discourse.

The fourth thing considerable, is the speech it selfe, wherein obserue.

1. *The manner of deliuery.*
2. *The matter deliuereed.*

For the manner of deliuey, *David* reply'es not
positiue, but by way of question or expostulation;
as men that deale with envious cavillers vse to doe,
and as our saviour dealt with the high *Prests*, and
Scribes, and *Elders* continually? for indeede this man-
ner of speech is of more force then a bare affirma-
tion; It argue's a litle more life, and spirit, it stirre's
the bloud of the speaker, and alter's the sleepey dis-
position of him that opposeth, as water cast in a
mans face rayseth from a swoond. If he had sayde,
[*brother I hope I haue done nothing but what I ought to doe,*
that which I haue a iust cause to doe;] Though he had then
spoken as much as now he doeth, in effect, yet his
speech had lost much of the grace, spirit, and vigor
it hath; As pictures, though well proportioned, if
they want their proper and naturall shadowing, &
be not well set off, loose much of their bewty, and
delight not a curious beholder; So words, where
they are not exprest with alacrity and fervor of
mynde, fall flatt, lye dead, and worke not vpon the
affections. There might then haue beene a doubt-
full disputation of the fact, and cause, and much
might haue bene alleaged too, and fro, whether he
had done well, or noe, in comming to the feilde, in
leauing his sheepe, in questioning about this quarell,
as if he ment to intrude him selfe for a party. And
with the inequallity of his strength to hazard the
honor of the whole Army: But speaking thus *quickly*
and *resolutely*, by way of interrogation, saying; *What*
haue I now done is their not a cause? Hee by this question
putt's all out of question, and driue's his brother to
see, & confesse that ther is a cause. And (me thinke's) *sect.*
I see the bloud startle in his face, & the ruddy youth
B 2 looks

lookes redder then he had wont, that Zeale which afterwards *eate vp his hart*, appeares in his countenance, and at length, though he *purposed to keepe silence*, his tongue brake loose into these or the like words. O Brother is there not an apparant cause requiring mine, and yours, and all our attentions, Is it not past deniall, past colouring, almost past remeay? Truly I admire how you, and the rest of these valiant and able men, and profest souldiers, can so long looke on, and heare, & see the name of God blasphemed, and your King scorned, and your whole Nation challengd, braued, and dishonoured, with patience? I wonder that you, being my elder brother, doe not leade me one by example, and incorage me with applause, in this high, honorable, and holy undertaking, rather then restrayne me by your coldnes and quench my Zeale by your vnseasonable vpbraidings? I wonder any man should not be ashamed to reprehende my forwardnes: Nay I wonder all of you are so backward when such necessity requires the expression of yours best abillities. It is not seasonable discretion, but aulnes, and doltishnes, that pul's vs back from timely action, neither is that temper, which can heare, and see these things, with silence, the sober vertue of a man, which wee terme PATIENCE, But the cowardice or senceles and slothfull supiditie of an Asse; A poyson mistaken for a preservative, a vice for a vertue. Israell had wont to haue Iosuahs, and Geddions, and Baruches, and Iepthae's, and Sampsons, who could fright a whole hoast of these vncircumsised Philistims: Israell ha' a Deborah, who (though a wooman) had courage enough to daunt a whole Armye of Infidels; O then what a shame is it, that the King amoungest all this multitude, should finde never a man to stand, betweene him and reproach? to hazard his life for the honor of his Prince? O, what a shame is it, that amoungest all these brethren of one father of the flesh, one father of the faith, Abraham, there is not one that dare in-

gage his life for the redeeming of all? O, what a shame is this, that whilst wee call our selues the people of God, and say wee alone professe the true religion, and serve the true God truly; there is not one member in the whole body, that dare present it selfe, to stopp the mouth of this blasphemous and uncircumcised Philistine, or honor himselfe, & his family, by his endeavour, to doe it, though with the losse of his owne life?

After such a manner (me thinke's) this worthy seemes to expositurate the case with his brother, and to wring from him, by a kinde of loving violence, a confession of the truth of all this discourse: he see's now the necessitye of the case, the vertue of his brother, and soe *David* leaue's him to veiue his owne error, to see his owne shame, by a silent reflection.

One valiant man, by his example, putts spirit Sect. into a thousand (as lampes light each other) and many Cowards met in a heape, infect the whole crowde, and by their secure & sensuall arguments, begett a senslesnes of honour in the harts of their next neighbours. The customary beating of a *Lions* whelp make's him as tame, as a *Lambe*: and persons, naturally valiant, may be made artificiall cowards, by being brought vp vnder the rodd, and taught to swallow base and grosse inuryes without chewing. Thus the slaues of *Sparta*, rebelling agaynst their masters, and being encountred with bastinadoe's instead of swords, lost that courage which made them take armes, and like true slaues submitted themselves to their olde bondage. Such mindes feare not the cryme, but the punishment, and thinke that there is nothing dishonorable but that which disturbe's their priuate peace, and that slothfull security wherevnto they are accustomed from youth;

I cannot but thinke there were valiant men in this Armye: It is a great part of valour in a *Prince* to gather an army: Some tyrants dare not trust their owne guard: or suffer an assembly of their owne subjects to meet. These are possesse with *such a timorous spirit as the English Poet describe's; Feare himselfe to bee, whome he brings in, flying away from himselfe, whilst no man pursues him, and affrayde of the clashing of his owne armour*: Infomuch, as that which should keepe him from feare, is the cause of his feare: But *Saule* was soe farr from such base *pusillanimity* of spirit, as he was personally present in this Campe, and had before giuen prooffe of his valour agaynst the *Philistims*, by single opposition.

Agayne, it is probable that *Ionathan* was in the Campe, with diuers other *Worthies*, of whose valour there was no question. I am sure *David's* three brethren were there, & all likely to be valiant men; soe that it is wonderfull, that none of these offered themselves to the combat in this quarrell. But perhaps one discouraged an other, and the backwardnes of some dishartned others, and some out of vnseasonable modesty woulde not offer themselues, least they should bee thought proude, or ambitious, or the like (*poore spirits that will be frighted from good purposes by the scoffes, jest's, and reproches, of sluggards and cowards, who dare doe nothing but censure good mens actions, and call their owne basenes and trechery, loyall discretion.*) Or, lastly, God tooke away there harts, and infused a double spirit into *David*, that his power might be seene in weaknes, and how he is able to overthrowe the proudest aduersarye, by babes and sucklings; even with weake meanes, or without meanes, or by

Tydeus
corpore, a-
nimo Her-
cules.

con-

contrary meanes.

David therefore, beholding all this with sorrow, and seeing such a generall disposition in the whole army to faynt and fly, rather then to fight, or as beasts are, in droues, driuen to be butchered, when being single and out of the crowde they would breake loose, he awakens the sleepy courage of his brother and the rest, with this quick expostulation, *what haue I now done? Is there not a cause?*

From the *Manner* of speaking wee descend to the *Matter* or subject of *Dauids* speech; which, in fewe but weightye words, containes the motiue or impulsive cause of his famous attempt, & atcheiuement following immediatly after.

For whilst he sayth *Is their not a cause?* he take's the cause as graunted and evident enough. Let vs then labour to finde it out; for all actions (and soe this) are warrantable, or wicked, as they haue an evident cause to iustifie or condemne them.

CAUSES are either *ordinary*, or *extraordinary*:

Those which we call *ordinary*, are all second causes, which are readie at hande, lying open to the eye of vulgar observation, and proceeding by a legall & common course of *Nature*. *Extraordinarie* causes are either wholly hid, or farther remooved; so that they are not seene *at all*, or, (at least) not *by all*. The highest among't *ordinarie* causes (for wee speake of that *sphere* wherein the rule of man is wholly busied, and taken vp) is the *sovereigne*, or *supreame* Power, and all other powers *subordinate* to it. This hath *conueniency* and *utility* as the most proper end of it's operation and ayme. For though it be *convenient* & *profitable* to haue such subordinate power

setled, yet it is not of absolute *necessity* that wee haue them.

Extraordinary causes, in this classe, or forme, haue *Necessity* for their proper and direct ende, and begin onely to worke when there is defect of operation in the ordinary causes: as *Physick* is administred to helpe decayed nature, and expell malignant humor. Thus when *Saul*, the supreamest amongst ordinary causes in the common wealth of *Israell*, is slack in his office; *God* rayseth vp *David* to quicken his zeale: and when *Ely* growes olde and negligent, and through indulgence suffers his sonnes to abuse their office; *God* rayseth vp *Samuel* to provoke him to more dilligence. And thus, at all tymes, in defect of ordinary pastors, *God* hath rayfed vp prophets to teach his people, and to publish his judgements o-

penly and playnely, though with the perill of their owne liues.

It is (as I haue before noted) very vncertayn whether such promises were ever propounded on no, by the King; because wee neuer see them repeated, challenged, or performed by *Saule* to *David* after the worke wrought

If any man object (therefore) that the reward propounded by the King *ver. 25.* was the principall cause that excited *David* to vndertake this quarrell, I doubt not to say they are much deceiued: For though intisements to vertue, and indowments for vertue doe well; and though men come seldome to the markett, where nothing but bloud, and blowes are to be bought, and solde; yet true fortitude is not *mercenary*, nor coulde all those words, make our *worthy* dip his finger in bloud, by vndertaking a single combat, except a greater necessity call him forth, then prayse, or profitt, or pleasure, or preferment. It must not be an *ordinary*, but *extraordinary* cause, therefore, that moue's this *extraordinary* person: and what other thing coulde that be, then the

pre-

present daunger wherein he beheld the church and state involved, together with the desperate ingagement of the *King*, and Kingdomes honor. Hee see's all these in hazard to receiue either a totall overthrowe, or (at least) a violent and vnrecoverable blowe, by this *Blasphemer*: For will it not stagger true beleeuers when they see the enemy braue *God* (as it were) to his face, and goe away unpunished? The wicked then encourage themselves in infidelity, and with open mouth deride, and discredit the former miracles of *God* soe much spoken of. For if *God* doth not every day create new worlds, or confound olde enemyes, or produce new miracles, man will not beleue that ever he made the world, or confounded the rebellious race of idolatrous *Gyants*, or ever did a miracle, or perhaps scarce thinke there is a *God* to doe such thinges; At least, that he is not the true *God*, except he marcheth away with the conquerour. For prosperity and externall glory so bewicheth, and dazeleth the eyes and judgements of mortall men, as they cannot suspect guiled falshood, nor embrace ragged truth. And therefore *Rabshakeh*, comming agaynst *Ierusalem*, by the commaunde of *Sanacherib King of Ashur*, elevated with his former victories, crye's out with an open and impudent mouth, and demaunds of the *Israelites*; wherein they trust and put confidence that they doe not presently render themselves to the mercy of his Master? where (sayth he) is the *God of Hamah*? and of *Arpad*? where is the *God of Sepharuim*? or how haue they deliuered *Samarita* out of my hands? whoe is he among all the *Gods* of these lands that hath deliuered their Country out of my hand, that the Lord should deliuer *Ierusalem* out of my hands? The text sayth the *Blasphemer*

received no answer, till God stopt his mouth with a miracle: For all then, and there, were colde, benumde, and silent, as persons decayed in spirit, and fitted for that defection and forreigne Captiuitie, and subjection which not long after followed.

But our Champions heart burne's more hott in this place, with zeale and indignation to see and heare the boasting, and blaspheming enemy, rayle agaynst the *God of Israell*, of whose loue and power, *David* had large experience, and whose name, (by way of thankfulnes) he had extraordinary cause to defend from dishonor whilst he had power, make's him begin the onfett (as it were) to this conquest, by conquering his priuate feares, his brothers frownes, and the cavelling exceptions of all other envious beholders, with this bolde and braue demaund, *what haue I now done? Is there not a cause?* And thus much of the cause or matter here mentioned to shew that it was a cause of necessity which compeld' his vndertaking for *Is there not a cause?* hauing reference to nothing els then to the publike perill and common calamity of the church and state threatned by this idolatrous Champion. Which is a cause more then sufficient, to compell him that is a true member of the mysticall body of *Christ*, to shew his Spirituall life by strugling for the generall liberty. The conclusions therefore from hence deduced, are these following.

CON-

CONCLUSION I.

First, there must bee an apparant cause of necessitie, to justify every extraordinary action or vnder-taking, performed by a priuate person.

A Priuate Person is hee that hath noe direct or publique calling to the action he vndertake's: In which sence a publique person in one kind, may be a priuate person in an other respect. *Aron* is a publique person to sacrifice, but not to rule, and *Vzziah* is a publique person to gouerne, but not to sacrifice. A magistrate is a publique person, but not for all actions: for if he take vpon him to administer the Sacraments, he therein becomes a priuate person. Nay when he doeth any acte of Iustice without a Law, he then laye's by the prerogatiue, and dignity of a publique person, and acts the parte of a priuate man. Because the lawe is the instrument, & sword of the publique magistrate, without which to strike is to *Tyrannize*, and without which, to conuerse in any publique busines, is to become priuate. Thus wee see *Mayors*, & other subordinate officers, who are shadowes & types of the supream, goeing abroad without their *Swords & Maces* (the ensignes of their offices) become priuate (for the present time) till they assume those types of their authority agayne, which serue as publique and notable instruments commanding all men to take notice of them, and to obey them as publique executors of the lawes. Soe the King saith most excellently, in the beginning of his speach made to the Parliament, the 26. of March, 1621. *that the end why Kings are appointed of God, is, to put the lawes of the state in execution.*

A priuate person, as

tion These are the executors of the law, which is the will of the state, wherof they are heads; and when they doe their owne wills against, and not with the will of the state (that is the law) then they become private persons in those perticulars, because they cease to be executors of the law, as Kinges ought to bee.

Kinges (as

his matie, saith most excellent-ly) are married to the people by lawes. the capitall breach of law only is adultery in this case admitting a divorce; as wee see those members are cutt off from the Kinges spouse the Comon-wealth, which by rebellio & treasō, procure themselves to be members & childre of an adulterous generation: bastards & no lawfull persons legitimate.

Now every man whither priuate or publique, is a member of the *Common-wealth*, wherein hee liue's, and soe hath noe power of his owne body, to dispose of it this or that way, especially to hazard it in a single *Duell*, or the like, without licence. And the more high excellent, & eminent the person is, the lesse absolute liberty hath he in disposing himselfe, and the more interest hath the *Comon-wealth* in him. Because wee see every member claymes more interest in the *head, hart, liver, lungs*, (those principall parts) then in the rest: for if any of these bee missing dissolution followe's to the whole body, if any be defective a generall decay and consumption ensue's; but if the body loose, a *toe*, or a *finger*, or a *foote*, or a *hand*, or an *eye*, or a *tongue*, the losse is not soe great, the danger not soe desperate. Now then, for any man to hazard his person in a single *Duell*, without manifest necessity, is to comit violence to the *Comon-wealth*, and to rend a limbe from the same. I call it necessity, when he is assaulted, or when he beholds the *Church*, or *State* assaulted, all which, he is bound to defend by the law of nature. *Nam ex sola defensione oportet bellum justificare naturaliter.* And, *defensio priuata est juris naturalis: multo magis publica.* Soe wee may defend the law and religion, wherein all men haue equall interest, against all invasion of power

or policie; and all actions done in the behalfe of these, are actions of defence, and justifiable by the law of nature, otherwise not.

Cain is the first Duellist wee find in ye world, he *Genes. 4.* kill's his brother when he should haue ben his *brothers keeper*. Noe cause of necessity prouok's him on, but malice and envie; Soe that when God come's to examine, arraigne, and condemne him for the murder, though he can churlishly say to God. *Am I my brothers keeper?* yet cannot he say with our innocent combatant, *what haue I now done? Is their not a cause?*

Simeon and Levy (*bretheren in euill*) make a kind of party against Hamor and Shechem, and second each other, both in the plott & practise: but being questioned by their father for this villany, though they alleadge a kind of seeming reason, and say, *should he abuse our sister as a whore?* yet that very reason argue's *Genes. 34.* their action to proceede from pride, malice, and re-venge, and not from reason or religion, or any other cause of necessity; for *reason*, and *religion*, and *necessitie* would rather haue required their liue's, that they might by marriage haue made amend's for their sin & violence offered to the virgin, all possibility whereof, was now taken away, by this rash act of the young men: Who therefore could not iustlie say to their angry father in their owne defence, *what haue wee now done? was there not a cause?*

Ioab kills Abner, and Amasa, both after a base and bloody manner, David behold's both with greife, but dares not punish either of them, the Text adds the cause, hee was but new settled, and the *sonnes of 2 Sam. 3.* Zeruiab were to strong for him. Envie, and malice, were the impulsive causes of Ioabs treachery, soe that

when he flies to the hornes of the Altar, as challenging the priuiledge of Sanctuarie, and is by *Salomons* commād, according to *Dauids* former charge, drawn from thence by violence and slayne, *that blood might haue blood*, he cannot say in his owne defence, as *David* here doeth; *what haue I now done? Is their not a cause?*

To come to other actions, done by private persons, to priuate and indiroct ends, howsoever the publique good were pretended.

Korah, Datban, and Abiram, conspire against *Moses*, and *Aron*, and whatsoever shew they make to reduce things to good order in the State, & Church, yet it is manifest that *pride, ambition, and disobedience* were the bellows which kindled that fire in their harts. For the Church and Comon-wealth were gouerned by *Gods* law and direction, and noo mutation like to ensue, except it were wrought by themselves, and therefore because it was not the true fire of zeale, but of faction, which stirred that combustion, *God* consumed them with the fire of his wrath, and

Num. 16. the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them vp.

Saul makes a rash vowe (as *Iepth* did before) pretending zeale in doeing it, and such zeale in executing the transgressors thereof, that his owne sonn must dye (a sonn that deserued soe well of the father, soe well of the Comon-wealth, hauing that daie with his armour-bearer chased the *Philistims*, and obeyned the victorie) only because he tasted a litle hony; It was no zeale, but superstition, that made the vowe, there was noe necessitie to keepe it, but a necessitie compelled *Ionathan*, by eating, to refresh him-

himselfe, hauing ouerspent his spirits before in the battell. The maker of the vow was blame worthy, the breaker blameles; superstition, made it, necessitie brake it: The maker, for his owne lawes bee obserued, care's not for *Gods*; conscience must bynd other men to him, but noe conscience can bynd him to *God*; For (wee see) he that is for carefull here to kill all, as he bind's the people by a vowe to doe it, a while after can spare *Agag* and the best things, notwithstanding the comandement of *God*, and think's he sinneth not in transgressing *Gods* will, willfully, and presumptiously, though he condemn's his sonne to death for violating his vnjust will, ignorantlie.

Haman (the favorite of *Ahasuerus*) because *Mordocai* will not bow the knee, whē that bubble passeth by, waxeth angrie, and think's himself wronged and dishonored; All the reverence which his flatterers, followers, and the whole state and courte giues him, doth not for much please him, as this single neglect of one man vexeth him. For *Pride*, like, *Couetousnes* & *lust*, and all other vices, hath nothing, except it hath all. Therefore for *Mordocai*'s sake, he will bee revenged of the whole nation, but pretend's publique good, *it is not* (saith he) *for the Kings profit to suffer* *Ester. 4. 8* *them.*

Herod is pleased in seeing the daughter of *Herodias* daunce, and therefore *John Baptist's* head must pay for the *musicke*. Neither could the innocency of the man saue his life, but *Herods* byrth-day, most become the day of his death.

The Church mournes when Tyrants are borne, and the Godly fast, and pray, and weepe, when the

wicked feast, and play, & revell. *Herod* hath sworne and therefore religiously will keepe his vowe, *Iohn Baptist* must dye. O superstitious hypocrite, noe necessity caused the to vowe, nor is their any to make thee keepe it; To doe good at all times necessitie comaunds vs, to doe mischeife at any time, noe necessitie compell's vs. In this thou art religious, but to keepe *Herodias* they brother *Phillips* wife, that never troubles thy conscience; *Hypocrite* strayne out guats, and swallow camells. Soe *Lewis* the cleueneh of France, would not sweare by the Crosse of *Saint Loro* of *Angiers*, but any other oath he would take, and hauing broken them, kisse the *leaden God*, which he wore in his cap, and all was well, his conscience was quiet; Assuredly (what pretence soever men make) he that liue's in any open sinne, without remorse, and repentance, hath noe religion in him: *Superstition* may possesse him, and guild him without, true *wisedome* and *devotion* cannot secure him within.

Demetrius the Silver-smith pretends religion to stop the doctrine of *Saint Paul*: Yet couetousnes, & his priuate proffit was the end of his vproare, and for that cause, he gather's together a factious troope of persons, interressed in the same crafte, and commodity, with a greedy acclamation saying, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*.

Act. 19.
24.28.

Now all these might and did pretend causes to extenuate the haynousnes of their facts, nay perhaps to justify them altogether (for there is noe act but hath his cause, and be it neuer soe fowle, put's on a fayre vyzour) but none of these can cleare themselues to haue any other impulsue cause, then the corruption, and prauarication of their owne vile

CONCLUSION 2.

WEe see in nature, that when the eye waxeth
blynd, the hand, grope's, the foote beat's for
way, and the eare, by listening, seeke's to guide the
body right, and to supplie the place of an eye; Soe
the eye (where men are deafe, and dumbe borne)
apprehend's by signes, and sends back her owne
conceptions, by a visible kind of language. One
member supplie's the place of an other in service of
the whole body; neither doth the head (where rea-
son reside's) find fault with the comunitie of partes,
and exchange of their portions. The mouth in case
of necessitie, think's noe scorne to become a draught
and purging place to the stomack by vomit: neither
doth the stomack (in case of necessitie) refuse meate
that is sent vp by glisters. Nature makes vse of any
parte

parte in any office, for preservation of the whole man from ruine. In the reasonable faculties of the soule, the *jmagination* stand's in stead of memorie, by begetting newe *Ideas* in braines that be inclyned to be ouer-hott, and drye, and the memorie supplie's the defect of judgment, by following former presidents, where the brayne inclyne's to ouermuch moysture; and all parts bringing intelligenc to the reasonable soule (the *Gouvernesse* of all) shee reject's none before examination, nor censure's any for doing the office which belong's to an other, whilst the other is defectiue, and this doth not neglect it's proper function. Soe that the soule hauing neede of all, maks vse of all for the comon benefit: In-foe-much as if the foote by tripping giue's her warning of that which the eye should haue seene, she doth not therefore neglect to looke out, because the intelligence come's from a blynd guide, but therefore she looke's out, to see if the foote say true or noe, & soe let's the eye see it's owne fault in the dilligence of the foote. The *Apostle* vseth this argument to per-

1 Cor. 12. swade the *Corinthians* to vnity, & shewe's that there
21. 22. 23 is a fellow-vse or neede, that one member hath of anot-

24. ther, and that likewise their ought to be a fellow care

1 Cor. 12. one for an other, and also a fellow feeling or compassion
25. of common afflictions, one with an other. And since

1 Cor. 12. euery member partak's with the head and whole bo-
26. dy, in paine or pleasure, in houor or dishonor, the-

refore it concern's euery member, to looke to the preservation both of themselves in perticuler, and of others in generall. Because noe member can say they are absolute in themselves, and haue noe neede of another. The eye doth not see for it self alone, but

but for the foote, and whole body. It concerne's the *Eye* therefore to watch, that if the *care* (by accident) should be negligent or lett slip a remarkable observation, which concernes necessarily the whole body, that the *eye* might be in stead of an *care*, and giue notice to the soule by some visible motion. And thus wee see the *eye* steadfastly fastned vpon the speaker, or any other object, keepes the imagination from wandring, and makes the *care* more attentiu to the voyce, and apprehensiu of the meaning. And soe, whilst the *eye* takes a napp, or in the darke, when it cannot see, it concernes the *care* to watch for it selfe, for the *eye*, & for the whole body: for though it be true that the *eye* cannot heare, nor the *care* see, yet there is some such affinity betwixt all these members in their seuerall operations, as inables the one to supply the defects of another, and knits all in a perfect and happy society? As wee see in the elements though nothing be more opposed then the fyre and water, yet they are mixt in the ayre which is hott and moist; the fyre is hott and dry, and the ayre is hott and moist: Now though the ayre and fyre be diuerse, yea meere contraries, as the one is dry, and the other moist, yet they are easely married together as they are both hott; Soe the water is cold and moist, and the earth cold and dry; as the one is moist, and thother dry, they haue neede of each other, and yet they fall out and fight; but as they are both cold, they easely agree and are compounded in one body. And thus it is in the members of the humane body, composed of these elements, and thus is it in the Church and Commonwealth, which is a mysticall and politique body com-

Nature hath ordinarily made the tongue to speake to the eare; but God extraordinarily did speake by the tongue to the eye, Act. 2.

3.

posed of these men; Now therefore, hauing thus beheld the comunity of the parts even in nature, let vs looke into a few examples, following this *reason* or *law of nature*, and there see how actions, (otherwise questionable) are warranted, and justified by necessity, when they respect the publike.

Gen. 14.4 The King of Sodom rebels against *Chedorlaomer* King of Elam; It is vnlawfull to rebell, vnlawfull to assist rebels, yet *Lot* takes his part, and is taken prisoner; *Abraham* thinks it noe injustice to joyne in confederacy with this rebelling King, but that it is lawfull to make an inuasiue warre to rescue his brother *Lot*. The reason is, nature bynds him to it, and if hee should neglect his duty in this case he were worse then an infidell. Nay religion bynds him to it, and a righteous family calls for helpe. Herein *Abraham* though he assailes, doth but defend, according to the law of nature; for if they had not first inuaded the Church, and taken *Lot*, *Abraham* had fate still, but now his assault is taken as a defence, for otherwise the Church, & faith of the church, could not be defended.

The Church is in distresse, & in hazard to receiue a blowe by this meanes: Hee is noe living parte of the Church, that suffers any parte to fall, whilest his hand can vpholde it. I had rather pull the house with *Sampson* ouer my head, then grynde in a mill, like an idolatrous and blynde beast, all my life, to the rejoycing of vncircumcised *Philistims*. Surely *Ind. 16.30* *Sampsons* death, was more honorable then *Zedechias* life, *2 King. 25* yet both lost their eyes; when religion is at the stake, *Num. 31* the *Priest* who (is a man of peace) maye excite to the warre; nay, must blow the trumpet, & must sound the

Alarum: And then doubtles *Sakmon*, the peaceable builder of the *Temple*, may draw his sword, for the glosse, or brightnes of that sword of justice is not stayned, nor the edge bated, with any other spott or stroke, then the touch of innocent blood. But that (like as *Aqua fortis* eats into steele, or as the blood of *Goates* softens *Diamonds*) doth indeede soften the mettall, and soe turnes the edge of authority, that it cuts not at all, or only cuts the abuser and perverter of it. This wee see in *Abraham* who after this very warre (and *only then*) is blessed by *Melchisedeck*, the King, and Preist of peace. Yea *Melchisedeck* accepts the tythe of the spoiles, & by his acceptance, confirme's vs in the lawfulness of the like acquisition; for had the goods beene ill gotten (as they must needs bee were the warre vnlawfull) that *King of justice* would not haue pertaken, nor receaued any portion of it for himself, or for *God*: but now his acceptance approues the action, and warrants our imitation; soe that, if any man question the fact, shall beholde *Abraham* stands foorth. Like *David* in this place, and saith, *what haue I now done? Is their not a cause?*

Moses, beholding with sorow the bondage of his Country-men, and how basely the *Egyptians* insulted over them, provoked by the necessity of the case, offered himself to be their deliverer, and in revenge of a wronged *Isralite*, slew an oppressing *Egyptian*: but they (notwithstanding *Gods* worke for their weale) were loth to be admonished of any error, & therefore, where he laboured to vnite them in loue, they requite him with accusation, and cast in his teeth what he had done for their good, with the hazard of his owne life. This make's him flee, but

they smart for it *fourty yeares* after.

Phineas in case of necessity, though a *Preist*, a man of peace, when he beholds manners corrupted, religion profaned, Iustice contemned, steps vp and armes himself with the weapens of warr, and executes judgment vpon two impudent offenders, hauing the necessity of the case for his calling, and the approbation of *God* after the fact, to encourage our zeale in the like. The noblenes of blood should be noe warrant to protect notorious sinners from
Num. 25. shame and punishment, if like *Phineas* our harts were
 7. inflamed with the loue of *God* and his truth.

Deborah a woman, modest, vertuous, in the time of necessity becomes a *Iudge*, becomes a *Captaine*. At other times to doe thus, had neither beene the part of a modest, nor vertuous wooman; now not to doe it, when necessity calls her out, were to become as beastly and flauish, as those be, who should censure
Jud. 4. 4. 9 or condemne her for doing it.

Sheba, flying into *Abel*, *Ioab* beseigeth him therein;
2 Sam. 20. The Citty being brought to extremity, noe way li-
13. 15. kely to auoyd ruine, a woman steps vp among the Captayns, and Councillors, and by her wisdome, in case of necessity, finds a meanes to satisfie *Ioab*, and to secure the City.

In case of necessity, *Azariah* withstand's the King, saying, *It pertaineth not to thee Vzziah, to burne incense vnto the Lord, but to the Preists the sonnes of Aaron that are consecrated for to offer incense: Goe forth of the sanctuary: for*
2 Chr. 26. *thou hast transgressed, and thou shalt haue noe honour of the*
 12. *Lord God.* Had not the *Preist* bene stout in this case he had bene worthy of that leprosy, which the Prince was plagued withall, for being too stout. It was
 here

here found true which *Salomon* saith, *Better is a poore & a wise child, then an olde and foolish King, which will noe more be admonished.* *Ecl. 4.13*

The *Iewes* vnder *Abazbuerus* are in great daunger of a generall massacre by the practise of an ambitious, and irreligious favorite; *Mordocay* sends word to *Esther*, who is safe her self, and secure in the armes of the King, that shee would remember her innocent Countrey-men, and bestirre her self in the time of this extreame necessity; shee resolue's presently to doe her best in this buisines, and layidg aside all respect of the Ceremony of the Court, the Majesty of the King, the terror of a contrary law, shee goe's on with this resolution, *If I perish, I perish.* *Est. 4.14. 15.16.*

Let these examples that follow be of credit with the Reader according to the credit of those *Apocriphall* books from whence they are taken: Yet this will follow that those who penned the books were of this judgment, & the times wherein these books were penned, approued, and praised these actions, and soe would haue done the like, if in these dayes they had liued and met the like occasion as was then offered them. And to this end did they write and propound these examples to our imitation; nor can wee choose but reverence their antiquity, though wee doe not *Canonize* their verity.

Indith another woman in case of necessity for preservation of her Country, and Religion, hauing before given testimony of her Chastitle, Modesty, Charity, Contentment, in a retyred course of life, as if now shee had layd by or forgot all these, and become vpon a suddayne wanton, and loose, and mer- ciles, and monstrous, vndertaks a worke which ma-

kes men tremble. Whilst they thinke vpon it, and shews how strong *God* is in weake instruments, when he begins to worke.

Good old Tobit in case of necessity buryes his bretheren, though with the hazard of his owne life and estate, he is banished for this, but the same *God* that set's him to worke, raises him freinds at Court to helpe and restore him. *Archiacharus* beg's his goods, which were confiscated, and his life, which was forfeited, for this pious offence, and rectore's them vnto him. Yet being restored, he doth not therefore cease doing good in time of necessity, for feare of the penalty threatned, and formerly inflicted; nor can his mocking neighbors fright him from his duty; but he reiterate's the same *charitable*, and *holy transgression* againe, and againe, whilest if any man reprehends him for it, he can say with *David*: *What haue I now done? Is their not a cause?*

In necessity, rather then chastity shalbe condemned by injustice, because she would not bee deflowred by lust, *God* stirs vp the spirit of young *Daniell*, (without an ordinary calling) to cōdemne them that were ordinary *Iudges*, and to cleare the innocent from imminent danger. For wheresoeuer I haue an occasion offered me by *God*, to doe good, I haue a calling and command, from him to doe it.

In necessity, *Mathias* withstand's such as sacrifice contrary to the law, and whilst the vsurping King commaunds the doing of it, he kills the person that presumes to doe it: And for this, is parralelde with zealous *Phineas*, whose like act of necessary (yet extraordinary) justice, without an ordinary calling or warrant, on the behalfe of *God*, and the truth, was
so

To farre from sinne and shame as it was counted vnto him for righteousness vnto all generations for evermore, and is stiled by the *Psalmist*, according as the septuagint expounded it, a *prayer of peace*, a sweet smelling sacrifice of attonement, which caused the consuming pestilence to cease.

To speake of *Prophets* both ordinary, & extraordinary, after all these, who haue done the like in their kind, as *Jeremiah*, *Micheas*, *Esay*, *Daniell*, *Amos*, with others; were but to proue what nothing but tyannous custome dare's, and nothing but invincible ignorance, or villanous Atheisme will deny, or call *Objections* into doubt. But if any shall say, these are no presidents to follow because they were extraordinary: I answer, therefore they are to be followed, because *Answer* they are extraordinary: For their examples fitt extraordinary times, and occasions best. And yet what action is done, but a man might say as much of it, if that were enough to make it lye dead, and vseles. But who can know, whether an other man hath the same extraordinary mover or noe, where the same cause present's it selfe? verely none, but the person himselfe, who hath the testimony of his owne conscience to acquitt, or condemne him; other men, judging by the naked fact, or badd successe, may misjudge, and condemne a worke for wicked, which proceedes (perhap's) from the good spirit of *God*. And this must neede's be true, except wee thought the spirit of *God*, that spake by the *Prophets*, spake's not now to *Gods* people in the Church; but that (Oh blasphemy) *God* were now growen olde and become blinde, or deafe, or dumbe, or forgott himselfe, and his poore afflicted flock. Breifly, whilst some will not

beleeue *God* when he speakes, and workes by extraordinary meanes, and others will not beleeeue him, except he doe speake's, and worke's, wee are come to that passe that wee see not our tokens: neither will wee heare others admonishing vs, nor doe what wee ought without admonition, nor suffer any man to speake, or doe worthily without an vnworthy censure.

To conclude this point, though the actions of all these men before recited, might be called in question (as many of them were) by a cavilling and envious enemy, and some of them challendged of partiality, others of singularity, of popularity, presumption, pride, disobedience, irregularity, treachery, or the like. So that none shoulde escape vncontroled; yet, they all passe currant in the Church vnder the generall warrant of *Necessity*, and may all stand vp with these words of *David* in this place, *what haue wee now done? Is their not a cause?* Such a cause there was, as if *Abraham* had not fought, he had bene registred for lack of good nature, for lacke of courage, for lack of zeale, in his friends case, in the states, in *Gods*. And as this Father of the faithfull, so should all that succede him, as well in religion, as greatnes, and goodnes of minde, haue vndergone censure in their particulars for omission, as now they haue by their worthes attayned, the fauour of *God* and men.

For in the case of necessity, *God* himselfe dispenseth with his written law; Because the law of Nature, which he hath written in every mans hart, subiects him therunto. So that it excuseth, or (at least) extenuateth (in some sorte) the incest of *Thamar*, the disobedience of the *Midwives*, the cruelty of *Ehud*, &c

Ge. 38. 26.

Exod. 17.

20. 21.

Jud. 3. 15.

Isa.

Iael, the falshood of *Jonathan*, bewraying the Councell *1 Sa. 19. 2.*
 of his Father, his King: infomuch as *Salomon* saith, *Pro. 6. 30.*
men dispise not a theefe that steales for necessity: Yea, in case *Tho. Aqu.*
 of necessity it shall be lawfull to breake the Sab- *22. q. 62.*
 both, and to eat the shew-bread, to dispose of the ho- *St. 5. 4.*
 ly vessells; to omit circumcision; For a woman to cir-
 cumcise, and all this without blame; whilst all of them
 haue this Buckler of *Dauids*, to defend themselves
 from obloquie, *What haue I now done? Is their not a cause?*
Vbi orget necessitas, excusabilis est dispensatio: vbi utilitas
provocat, laudabilis est; utilitas, (inquam) communis, non pro-
pria.

Neither is this a *Paradoxe* in divinity, nor yet a
 thing practised only amongst the *Iewes*, but a law
 vniverfall, both of nature, & nations. So that where-
 soever wee shall finde man, wee shall finde the foot-
 stepps of this practise; And the more noble the na-
 tion is, the more frequent the examples. The *Greci-*
ans, and *Romanes*, shall suffice, and some few amongst
 them.

Codrus, King of *Athens* vnderstanding by the oracle,
 the benefit his Kingdome should receiue by his
 losse, and the losse it should haue by his life, disgui-
 sed himselfe, and provoked an enemy with harde
 words, and then exposed himselfe (*voluntarily*) to his
 enraged, and suddaine revenge; that so, by his singu-
 lar daunger, and death, he might procure the gene-
 rall good of all.

Mutius Scevola, for his countrey, in time of necessi-
 ty, attempt's the death of *Porfenna*, a publique enemy,
 and missing to performe what he would, he beco-
 mes more famous, whilst he burnes his mistaking
 hand, in his enemyes fyre, to let them see, that as

they punished him for attempting, he willingly punished himselfe for missing; with this resolution he conquer's the intraged King, who leaues the seige, more afayd of the vertue of *Sceuola*, then of all *Rome* beside. Indeele this was a profest enemy, but are men the lesse daungerous enemyes, for being hidd, close, and vnknowne, or because they professe the contrary, and only by practice declare their euill intents; *I trow not.*

Scipio, a modest and humble man (who fled preferment in time of peace, when the most vnworthy hunted after it, with money and meanes) sought the helme in a storme, when all fled out of a ship-wrak't estate, which was ready to sinke, and ventred his owne life for the sauing of many.

Pompey, who wrung from enuy the surname of *Great*, being to passe out of *Cicile* by sea to releiue *Rome* with corne, in a time of extreame famine, the wynds rysing, the sea raging, and the marriners fearing to weigh vp their ankors, in such a stresse, he presseth them forward with this resolute incoragement, *It is necessary that I goe, but not necessary that I liue.*

Horatius Cocles, maintayned a Bridge against the enemy, till part of it was broken downe behind him, and then looking back, and seeing his Country to be freed, by his personall daunger: Hee leapes into

Seneca: E- the water with these words in his mouth, *Let him pist. 120. come after me, who soeuer will follow me, so going before, & lea- veniat si ding the way: I will travell no further in this infinite dis- quis vult, course; our owne age wants not presidents of those sic euntem who haue interposed their liues in case of necessity, sequi. for the rescue of the late, Queene deceased, of the state*

Sect. & church the perplexed: of our King, & the church of

Scotland in times past, and can it be lesse honorable to doe as much for the *King*, state, or church, at this present? The Prouerb saith, *Necessity hath noe law*; the *Necessitas* meaning is, that necessity is a law, aboue all lawes: *non subijcitur*. And I call it *Necessity*, when the *King* who is the head, *tur legi*. or the state which is the body, or Religion, which is *Tho: Aquinas* the soule is in question to receiue preiudice. These 1. 12. 9. liue together, these dye together; to be engaged, 96. ar. 6. for these is to be happy, to dye for these, is to be *Necessitas* safe; Therefore I conclude that in this case, *necessity dat legem* supplies the place of an ordinary calling. *non ipsa*

If any man desires further satisfaction, and thin- *accepit. Se* kes these examples of antick liberty, & vertue, too *neca.* farr out of fashion, to be reuiued in these dayes, degenerating from true nobility, and declining headlong toward security, let him in the troubles of France, heare the Lord de la Nove in this point, who speak's, like a noble man indeede, freely, & playnly.

And because (saith he) at this apprehension of the present, *evill*, some holde it may be, that the King enclosed will giue a *commandment* to his subjects, not to ayde his estate now *perishing*; shall this default be an excuse for the subject? wee owe *longe* obedience, subjection, & fidelity to our King, who not *withstanding* may dye: but we owe so much to our country, as cannot dye.

When Lodovic-Sforce began to aspire to the soverag- *Com: l: 7.* nity of Millan, he found the Dutchesse her wisdome and *o. 2.* courage to be the only barre in his way, as for the Duke himself, out of his simplicity, credulity, or obstinacy, he became an intelligencer against himself revealing his wiues counsell, & purposes, to Lodovic his subtile enemy, & the secret vndermyner of his estate. By which meanes, he ruined himselfe & his posterity, & advanced Lodovic-Sforce his designes, more surely, and speedely, then Lodovic-Sforce himselfe, E 3 or

or the ablest, and most malicious traytor, could haue done. Say now therefore, the *Duches* her selfe, or any other of the cheife persons with, or without her, had opposed *Lodovic* on the *Dukes* behalfe, or opposed the *Duke* himselfe, standing against himselfe obstinately, and ignorantly, for *Lodovic-Sforce*, should these persons, so doing their duties, be counted (for this) traytors? *I trow not*. Nay, I am perswaded if they should not thus doe, they were rather so to be accounted traytors. I doubt not the *Duke* himselfe once deliuered from his owne folly, and freed from the fraud, and flattery of *Lodovic Sforce*, would haue willingly acknowledged, and bountifully rewarded the benefit: Though now, whilst these euill-spirits possessed him; like a man that were bewitched to ruine, he was like enough to prayse falshood, and flattery, and to punish faith, and fidelity, styling treason obedience and duty.

Commene

46.6,7.

There is a question whether such did well or noe, as kept *Lewis the 11* from the windowe in his sicknes. Their disobedience arose from love; but this imagination, which loued well that flattery he had bene vsed vnto, supposed this duty of their's a capitall crime, and therefore desiring to haue his will, though it were to hurt himselfe, and to vpholde his authority, though with the decay of his health, and life, (in the issue) he banish't them the court, to teach others a blynd obedience, & that Kings ought to be obeyed, though it be to the ruine of themselves; and the state.

Saul perhaps would haue blamed his armour-Bearer, if he had not suffered him to haue killed himselfe: But thus to doe, had bene a holy, and acceptable disobedience, whilst he might haue bene a meane to saue

95
saue his soule. And surely *Lewis the 11*, and *Saul*, were madd, and possesst with evill spirits, whilst they were in these humors, so also are all such, who will be offended with those that informe them, of troth's, that they cast not away themselves, and Kingdomes, but will not be angry with such as flatter them falsely, but rather reward them for helping forward, and hastening the ruine of themselves and states.

All those edicts whereby *Bullinbrooke* qualified, & stayd the peoples duty, from stirring for *Richard the second*, and whereby he strengthened himselfe, for the deposing of that King, came out in the Kings owne name. But what doe you think the King would haue blamed them (though for the present perhaps he would, especially whilst he was in *Bullinbrooke* power) if the nobility, and commons, had joyned for his rescue, or any man excited them to that end? Would he (being free) haue called such traytors? *I trow not*; but rather knowne, and esteemd them his truest subjects.

When *Augustus* feasted *Antony*, and *Lepidus* in his *Galley*, the Captaine of the *Galley* came to him, and whispering in his eare, tolde him now he could make him maister of the world, by cutting the cable and falling into the sea, whilst those two competitors were in his power. Thou shouldst haue done this (quoth *Augustus*) without my privity; now to doe it would not become. Some services are only acceptable when they are acted; they are first to be done, and then are wee to aske leaue for doing of them, when the apparant necessity may pleade our pardon. *Henry the eight*, concluded peace with *France*, vpon these conditions, that the King of *France*, should

shoulde pay him a certaine summe of money, vpon payment whereof, he should restore *Bolloigne* to the French, and in the meane time, all things were to stand, as *then* they stood without alteration. Presently after *Chatilion*, Captaine of Mountpeaisier, begun to rayse a *Bastilion*, which might annoy and endaunger *Bolloigne*; this being obserued by the *Lord Grey*, (then Governour of *Bolloigne*) who saw the intent of the enemy, how vpon advantage of the commissioners oversight, in composing the articles of agreement, great disadvantage might befall the Kings towne, and a ready way be made for the enemy to enter by fraud without money, which he could not otherwise enter by force, without payment of a great summe agreed on: He with his troopes fell vpon the enemyes workes, and razed it to the ground, and this was accounted good service, being once done, though against the articles; because necessity vrged it, to repayre an oversight, when if he had stayd for commission, or sought one to warrant his worke, he might haue bene prevented, in the worke, and that would never haue bene graunted by publique warrant which he sought, and so on all sides, he should haue beene blamed. I know some write that he had warrant vnderhand brought him by worde of mouth, by *Sir Tho: Palmer*, let this be graunted, yet by the King (as King) that is, with his councells consent, and by publique instrument, he was not only, not warranted, to doe it, but prohibited from doing it; which yet, being done, was accounted the best peece of service that ever he did.

Heare the *Lord de la Nove*, to this purpose in another passage.

Solon sayd, that in a division a good citizen ought not to stand still, but to take the better part, in respect of his Band to the Common-wealth. But say (saith he) our Country were not divided but overthrowne: Say it were not in perill only to be, but almost altogether lost. Should wee in the midst of so great disorders, thinke it wisdom, and allegiance, and piety, to sit with our armes crosse-folded, till our throats be cut, our lawes, religion, and state, altred, when reason bids vs throwe them abroad, and bestirre vs nimbly for the suddayne safegaurd, and rescue of all? shall I meet with Incendiaries, who seeke to set the Countrey on fier, and not stopp them, but stay for a commision? shall the Father of a Family be seene madly to fier his owne house over his eares, and kill himselfe, whilst the wife children, and servants obediently looke on, and weepe, but dare not offer to hinder it? shall it be sinne in them to stay him from such a foule fact, to holde his hands? to desire him to be better advised to cast on water? I think none will be so madde as once to affirme it.

Then doubtles, our combatant David, may kill Goliath, an enemy of God and the state, though Saul send's not for him, and might after the fact justify himselfe with this speech of his to his brother: *What have I now done? Is their not a cause?*

CONCLVSION 3.

A third Conclusion from hence deduced, is, that negligence, in a case of Necessity: that is, where the safety of our Prince, or our Country, or our Religion, is in danger, argue's the negligent, of cowardice, luke-warmenes, slavery, or treachery.

AS before wee haue seene the care, on member hath of an other in mutuall love (a kinde of
F com-

commutative justice) so wee may behold how all the members apply themselves, especially for the safeguard of the most principall members. Insomuch as if the head, or heart be aymed at, the hand enterposeth it selfe to defend these parts, and rather receiue's the wound it selfe, then suffers the blowe to touch them. The reason is, because the conservation of the whole body consisteth in the vitall, noble, and principall parts; so that if through the eyes defect, any mischaunce happen's to it selfe, or to any part of the body, especially to the head, or to the heart, it shall not be blamed alone, but the eare, and every member, shall pertake both of the shame and detrimment. Because it is judged not a perticular, but a generall neglect; since, if all had not bene equally negligent, the vigilancy of some one, had giuen warning to the rest, and soe the daunger had bene answered.

In extre-
ma neces-
sitate, ma-
gis licet de
serere fili-
os quam
parentes,
quos nullo
modo de-
serere licet
propter be-
neficia: Th

Aqua: 22.

q. 31. A. 3

A. m.

Bodies polittique, are best seene in bodyes naturall; and what is here orderly, cannot be there absurd. *Cicero* is a member, a seruant, a childe, of the Common-wealth; yet is he truly what he is, called the father, of the Common-wealth. The eldest of a family is by nature in place of a King to the rest: Yet in case of necessity, in age, or sicknes, or the like infirmity, the youngest may both governe, and provide for the elder; as young *Storcks* feeding the olde, and as gracious children novrishing, and informing their decrepid, and ignorant parents. In defect of *Kings*, *Preists* haue governed, and in case of necessity *Vzziah* being remoued for leprosie, *Ionathan* his sonn reignes in his stead. Yea, at such extraordinary times, *Women* haue stept to the helme, so carefull is nature,

so carefull is *policy*, so carefull is *grace*, for the preservation of the whole, that they reject not the helpe of any, nor trusts & hazards the securing of all, vpon one, though that one seeme never so dilligent or able. Which laudable custome to prevent generall inconvenience, arising from perticular neglect of some speciall duty, whereby the publique may be endangered, they say the *Cranes* vse, by naturall instinct. For notwithstanding they haue one, of their owne Company that keepe's watch, whilst all the rest sleepe, yet, that they may not seeme securely to hazard all vpon the dilligence and trust of one, all that sleepe stand vpon one legge, & hold a stone in the other foote, whose weight may keepe them waking, at least, make them perticularly watchfull, and wary, against all feares and daungers, which may suddenly invade them in generall. Soe in Armyes the *Per-due* giue's notice to the *Sentinell*, the *Sentinell* to the *Corporall*, the *Corporall* to the *Captaine*, and court of garde. Who being too weake to resist the daunger, giue's alarum to the whole body. Now if any surprise be made, the fault is imputed as well to the *Generall*, who perhaps notwithstanding ordered and commaunded all things well on his part, as to the sleeping *Sentinell* whose personall neglect lost the liue's, and honors of so many. And therefore it concerne's all to be watchfull, and to doe their best, for the publique service, where the losse, and daunger, or benefit, and honour, befall's to all alike. This is insinuated in the partition of the prey, betwixt the souldier that fought, and the rest of *Israell* that stayde at home; where though the greatest share befell the souldiar, who indured the heat, and hazard of the

Num. 31.

27.

day, yet all who stayde at home, had thir parts, and shares also in the prize or booty, and none were excluded; that all might be admonished thereby, how they had share, and common interest in the gayne or losse, honour, or dishonour, of each other. *Ruben*, and *Gad*, and the halfe tribe of *Manasses*, were seated vpon the neere side of *Iordane* toward the wildernes, by the way of indulgence; yet they were enjoyned to passe over armed to helpe their brethren, in the conquest of their portions, and not to returne till they were in possession, and the church settled in peace. For it is a shame for one member to looke on (as senlelesse) whilest the rest are in such jeopardy.

Jud. 5. 15. And therefore, in that song which *Deborah* & *Barach* sung after the victory, wee heare of *great thoughts of heart for the deuisions of Ruben*; and wee heare this curse pronounced against pollitique (or rather negligent) *Meroz*, who stood *Neuter* whilst religion was in question, *Curse yee Meroz* (saith the Angell of the Lord) *curse the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to helpe the Lord against the mighty*. Doth God then stand in need of helpe? doth the *Almighty* stand in neede of helpe against the mighty? noe surely; it were madness to think soe. But because God hath appointed meanes for the effecting of his worke here belowe, therefore such as are faithfull, offer themselues to his worke, knowing it is his will they should doe soe, and it is their honour, so to be imployed in this service, where a crowne of glory is layde vp for the workeman. None then will stand *Neuter* in this case, who are perswaded of the truth of Gods promises. Such only, who seeme indifferent, or wholly with-
draw

draw themselves, who doubt, and waver, in their faith, or like *fooles haue sayde in their hearts their is noe God*. For this cause the *Edomits* are called cruell, and cursed by God, because they stood on the other side aloofe off, *Obad. 10.* looking on in the day, that *strangers* carried away the substance of their younger brother *Iacob*. And *Gideon* after his victory over *Zeba*, and *Zalmunna*, rased *Succoth*, and *Penwell*, which refused to victall his army in their passage over, or to assist him in those warres & taught the inhabitants of those cittyes, by *bryars*, and *thornes*, a sensible kinde of instruction, what it is to become *Neuters*, when the welfare of the Church, and state, is in question, and how worthily, whilst they will take part with neither side, they become a prey to both sides.

It is a shame whilst *Heathens*, and *Idolaters* hynde themselves in strict leagues, that *Abraham*, and *Lot*, should not helpe each other: or that whilst *Oreb*, and *Zeb*, *Zebah*, and *Zalmunnah* joyne in confederacy, *Succoth*, and *Penwell* shoulde not releine *Gideon*. Much more shame is it, that whilst *Turkes*, and *Heathens*, and *Idolatrous Papists*, stand together in one, and haue their *Catholique leagues*, to extirpate vs, and the truth wee possesse, which is, and hath beene a maine, prime, and principall point, in all their articles, treatyes, and transactions, concluded betwixt them, from the dayes of *Charles the First*, to this present, such as professe the true faith, should for pollitique and worldly respects, or perhaps without respect of policy, or profit, abandon their distressed neighbours and brethren. Whatsoever such say in pretence of their backwardnes,

the true cause is either *personall cowardice*, because they dare not provoke a false enemy, nor trust a true God, or *lukewarmenes in religion*, because they are indifferent which side prevayle's, so their bodyes, and temporall estates be safe; or *slavery*, whilst they imagine their is no other honour then to enjoy the vayne, and beastly pleasures of this life for a season, though vpon the basest conditions that can be; or *trechery*, whilst, either for golde, or some other corrupt bayte, which they haue swallowed, the safety of Prince, of state, of religion, is cast behinde their backs, and they desire change, as vermine that haue eaten *rats-bane*, doe fresh water, which they drinke till they bur'st with drinking.

Thus cunning practitioners haue learned their art of the *Devill*, and doe so possesse, and bewitch the hearts, and eares of Princes, as often the better the cause is, the worse it is like to speede. For they are able to cast aspercions vpon innocence her selfe, and to palliate the fowlest cause, with fayre and honest pretences. So that men knew not well what part to take, whilst it is hard to distinguish right, and wronge, a sunder.

If the cause be *just* (as they vsually oppose such causes) then they perplex it with other knots, and questions of doubt. If it be *unjust* (as they commonly take part with error) then they lyne, and interlay it with a mixture, and flourish of right, that so the appearance of truth may beguile the eyes of the vnwary. When such traytors as these beginn to worke, they loue like *spyders*, to make the whole webb out of their owne bosomes, and when they entend most mischeife, pretend, all for the publique good, and lay

lay treason to the charge of all honest men, whome either they see able, or willing, to stand in their way. Yea, with great care, they advise Princes, and Princes too often follow their advise, to avoyde that Councell for wicked, which may seeme to discover the least part of their wickednes. When *Haman* entendes to worke his maister to destroy the *Iewes*, *Hest. 3. 8.* that (amongest them) *Mordocay* might perish, he pretends the Kings profit to be the grounde of his Councell, *It is not for the Kings profit* (saith he) *to suffer them.* Notwithstanding wee must not be discouraged with these encounters, but prepare our selues to meet them with greater resolution. If *Sanballat* and *Tobiah* conspire together to hinder the repaying of *Ierusalem*, they pretende the Kings prerogative, and call all those rebels which stand for religion. This doeth not discourage *Nehemiah*, but excite's him to *Neh. 2. 19.* greater vigilancy, and more speede, in the worke. *Neh. 4.* So that the people become souldiars, and artificers at once, holding a sworde in one hand, and a tooles in the other. For by such men; and after such a manner, must the temple of *God* be built, and the temple of *Antichrist* pulde downe; namely by those that are couragious and diligent. And though *Sanballat* proceedes by plots, and practises to hinder the worke and to rayse vp false Prophets (like the *Iesuits* in all Christendome, and the *Arminians* in the vnited Provinces) to discourage the Prince, and people, and to distract, and divide them, yet resolute *Nehemiah* *Nehem. 6.* resisteth this temptation, and breake's forth into these honorable and holy termes: *Should such a man as I am flee? who is being as I am (that is, a Captayne & Commander) that would goe into the temple to live? Yea, though*

the enemy hath pensioners, and intelligencers, amongest the Princes of *Iudah* (for this is no new *Italian*, *Spanish*, or *Iesuitiall*, devise) yet, will *Nehemiah* be constant to the truth, true to the state. For villaynes only, and cowardes, will be frighted from their faith, with the bellowing of *Roman Bulls*. Surely, as dayly warres make the souldiar expert, and as the faithfull are bettered by affliction, so it awakens a wise & diligent man to know, that there are many spyes, watching his words, and many enemyes hunting to finde advantages against his actions: And as thus it is, in the *microcosme* of priuate estates, so it is, in the *megacosme* of publique wealths also. There is nothing more secure's an estate, then to haue an enemy, and nothing more corrupt's a state, then security and peace, which softneth, and make's effeminate the heart of men, with immoderate pleasure: So that, as a tree laden with fruit, ready to drop into the mouth of him that shake's it, or as full eares of wheate, jnviting the shearer to cutt them downe, the dore stands open (like a light house-wifes house to every ruffian, without resistance) to him that dare's attempt to enter like a conquerour, nay, whore-like, and with importunity, it presents it selfe to subjection, with all the opportunity, and advantage, that may wooe any lustfull enemy to attempt.

Nuham. 3 So God saith of *Nineveh*, *All thy strong cittyes shall be like figtrees with the first ripe figgs, for if they be shaken they fall into the mouth of the eater: Behold thy people within the, are women, the gates of thy land shall be opened to thy enemyes, and the fire shall devoure thy barrs.* And such a state was *Laish*, secure, made drunke with peace and plenty, having no busines, that is, by way of warre, with
any

any man, but by way of trading and marchandise perhaps with many, and therefore in daunger to be indamaged by every man. It is farre otherwise with him that is incircled with enemyes, for he provides for warres, least he should become a scorne to his enemyes. *Yee see (saith Nehemiah) the misery wee are in, how Ierusalem lyeth waste, and the gates thereof are burnt with fyre, come let vs build the walls of Ierusalem, that wee be noe more a reproach.* It is well *Ierusalem* is in misery, for by this meanes *Nehemiah* is induced to builde: By this meanes the *Israelites* provide to withstād an invasion; by this meanes the church and state is preserved from being a reproach to the enemyes of *God*. *God* therefore, where he intends to preferue a state and Church, permits forreigne offences to vnite the natiue members, and stirrs vp enemyes, to exercise them, & awaken them, least the weaker trusting too much, to the fained fidelity and freindship of the stronger, should be vnawares suddainely surprised, & devoured. And though the time of peace, be a pleasant time to flesh and blood, the time that wee pray for, as being a type, and shaddow of our eternall *Sabboth*, yet such a time is not free from Idolatry, and other inconveniences, though *Salomon* himselfe were then the ruler. *Winter* is not so pleasant as *summer*, but more wholsome; it hath not so much fruits; neither hath it so many weedes: Wee see the fyre never flames higher, then when the winde labors to blowe it out: And because *God* loves a chere full giuer, and a fervent and sincere doer, hateing a dough-baked professor, therefore, sometimes he suffer's *Sathan* to rayse vp stormes of persecution, temptation, and opposition, thereby to kindle the zeale, and courage

rage of his servants. Infomuch as nothing can anger
 2 *Kin.* 13. the man of God more, then to behold *Ioash* the King
 18. 19. whom he entended to encourage in Gods cause, so
 colde, in the expreſſion of hate to the enemyes of
 God, whilst being willed by the Prophet to strike the
 ground, he smites it but thrice, and then staye's his
 hand. *Thou shouldst haue smiten five or sixe times* (saith the
 Prophet) *so thou shouldst haue smiten Aram till thou hadst*
consumed it, where now thou shalt smite Aram but thrice. Soe
 much doth lukewarmenes disadvantage it selfe,
 when it will not zealously pursue an occasion and
 opportunity offered by God, for the rooting vp of
 his enemyes, the inlarging of his Church, and procu-
 ring personall honour to those that are the Actors in
 so holy a worke.

CONCLVSION 4.

A fourth Conclusion from hence deduced
is, that to punish such as are forward in case of necessity to doe
service to the King, State, and Church is in justice. To cen-
sure and reprehend such, proceeds either out of igno-
rance, or flattery, or envy; not to reward such,
is improvidence.

ALl this will necessarily follow, vpon the prece-
 dent discourse; for if that be true which hath bin
 sayd before, that the law of nature (which is the law
 of God and men) imposeth this duty vpon all men, to
 offer themselues to the service of the King, State,
 and Church, where necessity compells, though noe
 other person or power, calls vs out, and if the act
 of *David* be therefore justifiable, because he hath
 this cause for his buckler against the challeng of his
 inra-

infringed brother, then were it great in justice to punish *David* for this, since he doeth but his duty, and were rather punishable if he did it not. *Saul* may as well malice him after the victory, because the people applaud his conquests with songs of triumph, as punish him now for presenting himself to the combat, and shewing his good will, and ready minde to doe good. But such pride and injustice possesseth the hearts of men, as they can find noe readier way, to pay benefits then by injuries; so that whilest *David* is preparing to fight for his brother, against the *Giant*, who quarrells with all *Israell*, his vngratefull brother is quarrelling with him, as if he intended to punish him for fighting. And this is *David's* lot after, and allwayes; for whilst he is taking care, and framing his fingers to please the furious and possessed King, the King is studying how to doe him a mischeife, and with a devilish intent makes his fingers the instruments of his injustice, casting a *javelin* at him, with hope to naye him to the wall. *O Justice* art thou blynd, as foolish men haue sayned thee? or is injustice like thee, in being blynd, and soe mistaken for thee? for surely this is the Common misery of all the servants of *God*, to haue their words, their actions, their intentions misconstrued, and to be pursued with hate, by those especially, whome (aboue all others) they take care, and study to pursue with all offices of loue, and allegiance.

Secondly, to reprehend such proceeds out of ignorance, flattery, or envy, for was it not great ignorance, and a grand folly, in the brother of *David*, to chide him for doing that, which it concerned every good subject to doe? that is, to looke into the state of the
Army,

Army, and to enquire the cause of that general feare, with intent to doe his best to prevent it? This is most cleere. Yet folly is such another *Lapwing*, as it discover's its owne nest with crying, and screeking at all that come's neere it. Therefore *Syracides* saith

Eccl. 21. 26 when a man of vnderstanding beareth a wise word, he will commend it, and encrease it, but if an ignorant man heare it he will disallowe it, and cast it behind his back.

But perhap's not ignorance, but *flattery* is the find fault in this place, for oftentimes such actions (like some meate) though never soe well cooked, seasoned, and served in, relish not right in euery pallas.

Iob. 34. 3. Now the eare trieth words, as the mouth meates, and meate is rejected, not ever for its owne fault e, but sometimes through the vitiousnes of the taste, sometime for lack of stomack, whilest wee are overcloyed, and surfeited, and some time wee are led even in the sensible things by example, soe that froggs & mushrumpes being in fashion, are preferd before the best and whole somest meats. And thus it is both in wordes, and actions where sometime, men dislike for lack of judgment, sometime out of confusion or fastidiousnes, and sometime for company or fashion sake. There are also a kind of creatures that take liberty to censure all things but themselves, & think it a diminution of their glory, not to be the *first* that find faulte, or the only, & singular persons (perhaps that doe soe. Nothing must passe currant but vnder their priuiledge, and commonly they will be contrary to all others, and to reason and religion too, they were (else) vnworthy to be leaders, or to be the brethren of the invisible order of the *Rosacrants*. They are (to often) of eminent place, and may be sharp quick

quick, & curiously inquisitiue, in obsolete, obscure, and needles trifles, but never serious in fundamentall, and necessary points. *There is a certaine subtilty* (saith *Siracides*) *that is fine, but is unrighteous; and there Eccles. 19.* *is that wresteth the open and manifest law: yet their is that 22.24.* *is wise, and iudgeth righteously.*

To these *word-watchers*, there adhære a number of *Sycophants*, who either to seeme wise will say as they say, and sooth vp their errors, or at least to preserve themselues, in favor will not say otherwise, whatsoever they think. Thus it might be here (though I affirme it not to be soe) but suppose it probable, whilest I consider the weaknes, and proclivity of frayle man, to take part with strong iniquity of the present time, against single, and simple, *Truth* and vertue, I say, it might be, that *Eliab* in this reproofe, seconded some other great Commaunder: who thinking it vnfit (*as the counselors of Hezekias did afterwards, 2 King. 18.26.*) that the present state of things, and the cowardice of the greatest *Israelites* should be blowne about through the crowde, for feare of discouraging all (as wickednes, like age,) is loth to looke in a glasse, for feare of beholding it's owne wrinkles, and deformities) or judging it vnfit that vnexperienced youth, should be busy in debating, or inquiring after matters of state, or affaires of warre; or that a shepherds lad, should step beyond the reach of his *Sheep-hook*, and out of the fent, or smellof his *Tarr-baxe*, thought to quench this fiery sparke by a timely reproofe. But this water make's it burne feyrer, and flame brighter, for hypocrisy may, but sincerity cannot, be soe

diverted from a direct course; since constancy, and perseverance alone, is that which discovoreth an artificiall, fayned, and forced apparance, from a true *Seneca E-* naturall, and proper existence. *Nemo potest diu persopist. 220. nam ferre fictam, cito in naturam suam recidunt, quibus veritas non est.* As cloathes dyed with blockwood will loose their colour, when such as be well woaded, will continue without stayning.

But perhaps neither ignorance, nor assentation, but envye moved *Eliab* to reprove *David* in this, being loth that his younger brother should be his elder in honour; for he sees this action would every way tend to his prayse: If he failed, yet to offer himselfe was honorable: if he fell, yet to dye foe, was better then to liue otherwise: if he came of vpo safe, and vpon equall tearmes, it was admirable: if he conquered (as that could not be jmagined) the honour that he should reape thereby, (besides the reward) was inestimable: whilest he should remaine vnparalleled. These seeds of envye are sometimes sown, even betwixt brothers, whilest they cannot endure to looke vpon the brightnes of each other. *Cayne* envyes *Abell* because *God* loues him: The sonnes of *Iacob* hate *Ioseph*, because their father affects him, and in token of affection giues him a party coulored
Ge. 37.34 coate. The *Ephramits* are angry with *Gedeon*, because
Acto. 7.9. he had beaten their enemyes (the *Midianites*) without
Iud. 8.1. their assistance: The reason of this, I thinke, is either
 2.3. because vice hates vertue in whatsoever subject he meets her: or because the prayse of one man, seemes to be a secret check, and reproofe to an other. For this cause cowardes cannot abide another man should be couragious; nor prophame persons, that
 others

others should be religious: and such dislike the best action that is done, and say it ought not to be done, because they dare not doe it, and therefore it is faulty and punishable, because they did it not. I feare that *Elhab* whilst he challengeth his brother of this cryme, saying, *I knowe thy pride and malice of thy hart &c.* May be justly taxed of malice and envye himselve: as *Aristippus* tould *Diogenes*, *thou reprehendest me of pride for wearing my apparrell neate and handsome, but I see thy pride in thy slovenly attire, and in that thy affected beastlines, and may easely spy it, through the holes of that rent and torne mantle of thyne.*

Not to reward such is improvidence; *Legibus proposita* (saith *Cicero*) *sunt supplicia viris, premia virtutibus.* Actions are either such as ought to be punished, or rewarded, (for to be pardoned is a kind of punishment) and the lawes respect both. Now if this action of *Dauids* be not to be punished, because he doth therein nothing, but what proceeds from a superabundant measure of loue and duty to *God*, and to his King and Country, then ought he to be rewarded. For as the royall scepter belongs to *Ahasuerus* to stretch out in mercy toward *Esther*, and the sword to strike *Haman* in justice; soe also doth it belong to the King, to watch, and read, and receiue information of *Mordocay* his good service, & to remember, that though it were registred, it was not rewarded. As it were injustice for this to punish *Mordocay*, soe is it improvidence, not to rewarde him; for whilst wee neglect such as benefit, or endeavor to benefit the Church and Common-wealth, wee shew our selues vnthankfull to *God*, who rayseth vp the instrument, and vnthankfull to man, whoe was made the instru-

ment, And soe to be most vnworthy of that benefit. For he that is the meanes of saving the Princes life, deserves all that the Prince can doe for him; but he that preserves the life of the state, or indeuours to doe it, preserves both the Princes life, and his honor also, and more then that, all that his life and honor depends on, which is the preservation of his peoples liberty. This *David* here doth, and therefore meritt's whatsoeuer is propounded, though reason of state (that mystery of iniquity) delayde him in all these points, and deludes his expectation, as it vseth to delay, and delude the expectation of the best deservers.

Saul yet (if wee may build vpon the private discourse of the private souldiers) propounds a reward to any that performes this service, viz; *Great riches*: for he that should doe such an acte as this, might want wealth but was stored with native worth, and nobility enough. For either titular *Nobility* was then noe reward, or ells *Fortitude* was then the only *Nobility*.

Secondly, *his daughter to wife*: for he could not place her better, she should receiue the addition of honor by this marriage, rather then parte with any. Noble blood can not then in ignoble vaine.

Thirdly, *make his fathers house free in Israell*: for he will deserved it, that by this acte should make all *Israell* free. Soe a Mouse may deserve liberty of a Lion, and a subject more then a soveraigne can giue. And this is the reason (perhaps) that he went, and others too often, goe vnrewarded, except it be with injuryes and reproches: because devilish policy saith a mā may supererrogate, or deserve too much, when

when by a vertuous action hee seemes to lessen his superior.

But this is a blind and beastly *Paradoxe* to quench the spirit of the best deseruer: for as a souldier cannot lessen his Generall by any extraordinary vnder-taking and action, but must needs rather heigh-then him, since all is derived from him, and directed to him, and digested, and concocted by him: soe neither can a subject detract from his superior by doing honorably; since he is both the center, and circumference of the Common-wealth, and (in the generall) pertakes of every perticular mans felicity, and growes greater by their greatnes, as the body by the encrease of the members, whilest they partake of his beatitude as members of the soules infusion. Yet this peece of pollicy was as old as *Achitophel*, and it seemes then held to be an *Aphorisme* of state: For *Iosh* was acquainted with it, when he lay before *Rabbah*, and therefore desired *Dauid* to come vp, and take the cittie in, that he might also take the honor of it, to himself, and soe free *Iosh* from the en-
vy, & jealousy, which attends great persons, growne
soe, by great actions, as darke shadows attend the
beautifullest bodyes in brightest sunshine.

2 Sam. 11

27.

APPLICATION.

Now followeth the Application of all we haue sayd.

ANd now may it be lawfull for me, without suspicion of flattery, to touch vpon some particulars of this age, and in our owne state, by way of *Ap-
plication.*

I must confesse, I may misse many good deserv-ers, whose names ought to be found with thank-
full

H

full remembrance here, but are refered to bookes of more leaues, and of longer life.

Here only I intend to point at such, who are notable, & remarkeable with vs, for some speciall services, as *Saul* was for stature amongst the *Israelites*, or as little *David* was in the overthrow of great *Goliath*.

I will begin with that Honourable *WORTHIE* whose happy hands were made (by *Gods* mercy) the instruments to preserve his *Majestyes* life, in that (almost) incredible conspiracy of the *Gowryes*. The continued liberty and freedome of this faithfulness since, in speaking *forbidden truth*, without feare, or flattery, when none other either would, or durst, is a witnesse, and evidence, of the truth of that service, beyond the power of Envy, Suspicion, or Incredulity, once to caluminate, or discredit. O may he ever continue such still, to the assurance of his Princes safety, and his Countreyes prosperity; and never may a faithfull and valiant hand, meete with an envious tongue to detract from it, or be vnited to a false and flattering tongue to disgrace, and dishonour it, with lying, and soothing contradictions.

Let none thinke themselves neglected that (from hence) passing over soe many yeares with silence, I skip to him, who was a long time held to be *the child of Fortune* only, but now is found to be the favorite of vertue also. Whilst he shot vp sodainely, who did not take him for a gourd, and expect his more sodaine withering againe with wishes? But now who doth not looke vpon him, as vpon an *Oake*, or *Cedar* found at the heart, like to last long, and be profitable for the vpholding of the Church, and State, vpon whose branches birdes may build with safety,
and

and vnder whose shaddow, all distressed creatures may finde shelter against the fury of violent stormes? It was therefore, well sayde of one, by *Prophe-ticall* rapture (to passe by whatsoever else, was evill sayd) that the first honours he had, were *freely giuen*, this last faithfully *earned*; the successe shewe's the truth, though *then* it seemed no other, but a straine of poëticall fury,

How many curses did fill his sayles goeing towards *Spaine*? insomuch that had he not beene imbarqued in one bottome with his *Highnesse*, for whose prosperity all those cursers (& many others prayed) his vessell must needes haue sunke, with the waight of those woes. But now how many blessings and prayers attend his prosperity, from the same hearts, & mouthes, since his returning, when they finde, he hath showne himself more faithfull to *God*, to the *King*, *Prince*, and his *Countrey*, then the first *Scene* of that *Act*, and our following feares, could either assure vs, or suffer vs to imagine?

When wee first heard them set out (for see them wee could not, and it was happy wee did not) our hearts were filled with astonishment, doubt, despayre; wee gaue them for lost, and our selues with them, and with them and vs, our lawes, libertyes, land, and (what was dearest) our religion. Is there redemption from hell, thought wee? yes, *hee* came from thence a conquerour, who assures vs, that no hell vpon earth, can hold *Gods* elect, who are the true members of that triumphant head.

Now that wee may bee more sensible of our *danger then*, & soe of our deliverance *now*, making good vse of both; of the first to humble vs, and to make

vs wise for the time to come, to prevent the like (if it be possible) by repentance, and watchfulnes; of the other, to moue vs to thankfulnes, both to *God*, as to a most gracious father, and protector of his *Church*, turning all things, (yea the worst) to the best, for his servants; and to those instruments whome it pleased his divine majesty to vse in this errand, for the happy accomplishment of this worke; it were convenient wee should cast back our eyes, to times past, and consider how it stood with vs, and all the reformed *Churches* in generall, when his *Highnesse*, with the *Duke of Buckingham*, set out about this businesse by his *Majestyes* commandement, and what opinion wee, and all others of the best affected (both strangers, and natives) had, of that journey, and of the persons that vndertooke it.

All *Germany* was then in combustion, as if it had beene a generall fire, prepared, and kindled at the *Romane Catholique* cost, for the true professors, who were to become *Apostates*, or *Martyrs*.

The *Palatinate* lay prostituted, vnder the beastly and bruitish command, of three insulting Enemies, who satisfied, or at least, served, their vnsatiabable lust by turnes, vpon the fattest, and fayrest parts of it, *Gen. 19. 5.* as the *Sodomites* would haue vsed the *Angells*, or as the *And 19. 27* men of *Gibeah*, did vse the *Levits* wife.

The *Hanse Townes* trembled like a quarry in the foote, and began to treat of their comming in.

The *Vnited Provinces*, saw the whole bent of the warre vpon them, & that they were by vs deserted, and by the enemy swallowed in expectation.

The *Protestants in France*, put their confidence in flight, as their last refuge, which they were ready

to take, had *God* left them a place in the world, whether they might haue fled, with safety, in that vniuersall Deluge.

The *Papists in England*, and *Ireland*, began to take possession of the *Chaire*, and *Pulpit*, and durst be so bould as to share out our honors, and punishments, to designe some of their owne to the helme, and all of vs, to the barre, and to the block, to the treee, & to the stake. Thus stood the world, or worse.

For the persons, and mens opinions of them, and the actions vnder their handes; First for the *Duke* they tooke him to be vnsetled in religion, but wholly devoted to the service wherein he was employed. A younge man, vnfit for lack of experience, to manage great affaires, or to incounter single the *Grandees of Spanye*, and *Rome*, with the *Iesuites* at their elbowes.

And, though they conceived him to be best affected, yet even that best of his, administred occasion of suspicion, what then should they thinke of other Ministers, who had no meanes to build vp their ambitious fortunes, but by this fatal overture? Great Counsellis passe through the handes of many Agents; and though wee had beene resolu'd of the ability of this one, as wee were of his ingenuity, yet the mixture of others, more reserved, and corrupted, might taint him, or turne the worke intended to our raine. Wee sawe his power with his Majesty, and the Prince; wee knew who was his wife, who was his mother; and all wee could then see of him made vs suspect, and tremble the more, the more we saw it.

Secondly for the *Prince*, wee looked vpon him

as vpon a most obedient child to a father who knew how to command with loue, & to lead gently, where he could not driue conueniently. Wee sawe him of a sweete nature, and for that the easier to be abused & wrought vpon by art, as his royall father, of farre more experience, had beene. Wee saw him such as wee could haue wished, in all respects, but in this *MATCH*: but there wee wondered, the whole world could not afford him a bewty, wherevpon to fixe his affection, but that *one*, whome none of his truest hearted servants could affect, as knowing it both, in being *Spanish*, and *Romish*, to be fatall to him, to the State, and Church. Could there come therefore such a crosse to vs, as this was like to proue, that Death should rob vs of our *first hope*, & a worse enemy then Death of the *second*? Even such an enemy as professedly sought the subversion of Church and State; such an enemy as exprest loue to the *brother*, only by seeking the vtmost of hate, & malice, to his best-beloved, and *only sister*; such an enemy as was not satisfied with the spoile of the *body, fortune, and State*, except also, it could accomplish the destruction of the *soule*; which, with a vaine glorious zeale, it ambitiously hunted after. I say, could there come such a crosse? I should haue sayd, could there come such a *curse* to our Land? His *Hightnesse*, being the hope of our land for the future, when he went forth, the whole continent seemed soule-less; recovering the swound, wee sought him whom our hearts loued, and found him not; wee were beaten for seeking him, and might not complaine. Hee seemed to turne his back vpon vs, as if he had desired a new loue, contemning our desires, teares, prayers. Our hearts
were

were fild with jealousy and indignation, even to that height, that we were tempted by *fraylety*, and *fury* to reject him, that had wholly cast vs of. But *loue* and *duty* would none of these breaches; his *loue*, our *dutyes* awaked, and wept, and were soone reconciled. Hee returned *alone*, and shewed by his single returning *alone*, that he loued vs, and found none abroad foe loving him as wee did. Wee welcomed his returne with the joyfull shout that attends a Prince from the mouthes of his faithfulest seruants; and this was still the foote of our songe of thanksgiving, *God be prayesd that he is come home ALONE.*

Doubtles had he not come home *alone*, he should haue had but halfe this hearty welcome; the curtesy, and custome of the land must needes haue deuided it betwixt the Partners; nay, I am verely perswaded, they would not then haue had the halfe, to deuide betwixt them.

Thirdly for *his Majesty*, wee beheld him with that awefull respect, as men that hung vpon his lips, and counted his words oracles. When wee read his writings, they spake nothing but what might secure our feares, informe our ignorance, resolute our doubts for point of Religion. Wee wished *Rome* might once be soe happy, as to haue such a learned, and judicious Pope; then wee doubted not but he would cast the triple crowne of *Antichrist*, at the feete of *Christ*, and renouncing his vsurpations, be a leader of others to reformation, scorning any longer to be a base spirituall *Pander*, for the house of *Austria* in generall, and of *Spayne* in particular. But when wee beheld for all these hopes, strengthned with serious and solemne promises often iterated, for procureing free passage

to the Gospell, and the advancement of the true & reformed religion grounded therevpon, that notwithstanding a retreat was made, both out of *Bohemia*, and the *Palatinate*, which gaue way, and roome for superstition, and Idolatry to enter, and reigne; that his Majestyes children were abandoned, and such freinds as stuck to them dishartened; that it was disclaymed to be a warre of religion on our side, when the adverse parties profest it for such, by their league, as if they gloryed in falsehood, though wee seemed to be ashamed or weary of the protection and defence of truth, notwithstanding it were an office appertaining to our stile; that the enemy made his Majestyes authority the *Vsher*, to giue easy entrance, and the *Bridge* to giue ready passage to all his purposes of conquest; that at home the lawes were silent, and such silenced, as spake with their warrant against Traytors, that by this meanes swarmes of locusts flew over, & bred in every hole, and vnder every hedge, and bush, nay durst nestle in the heart of the Citty, that this match was so sought after, that the votes, and weale of the people, Nobles, Clergy, Councells, Commons, old, young, all sorts, all sides were slighted, and neglected, that vnder this vaile all the projects of advantage, for the enemy of our state, and religion, went currant, and that all intelligence from freinds, allyes, and our owne choice Ministers, imployed at home, and abroad were returned without credit; that nature, and honour, and grace seemed all, to be wilfully blinde in pursuing this way of perdition. Then-what shall I say? wee doubted, nay out of doubt wee were next dore to despaire. This only held vs vp, that wee had
large

large experience of *Gods* mercy, and knew his Majestyes wisdom so great, as wee could not thinke he intended his, & our owne, totall, and finall, destruction in this match, when wee could see nothing else in it, to moue him to pursue it so earnestly. Wee also had heard how his Majesty profest to make it his *Master peice*; and therefore wee armed our selves, with expectation of a happy issue at the conclusion, and held out this bucklar of humane faith, against all feares, and dangers, which shewed themselves most openly, *marke the end, for there is some good beyond our sight, in his Majestyes Eagle-eye*. Wee knew his Majesty knew better then wee, whome he had to deale withall; and that, slighting all other Counsell, it would fall heauily vpon his honour, herein to be missed or abused; since he stood *alone*, except the assistance of such hollow trunks, as he chose and vsed to speake through. Therefore wee cast about what the advantage of this match was like to be, and what his Majestyes ayms were, what was the dowry propounded, whose price and value should recompence all these hazards.

For *mony*, it could not be any summe; for *Spayne* was not able to giue so much, as could counterpoise the peril. *Bewty & blood* should finde themselves debtors, meeting such a exchange in a man a husband, as all the proud, and high house of *Austria*, could not equall by a woman, a wife.

Strength by alliance could not be the ayme, since we intend no conquests, but should meete with an Ally that would vse our assistance to that end, for the accomplishment of his vniversall Empire, to our owne losse, & ruine. Besides what neede wee the strength

of others, especially of such as can afford none by reason of their infinite, and distracted imployments, when wee hold it a sinne to vse our owne, except it bee in guarding their coasts, to our cost and prejudice.

For the *restoring of the Palatinate*, that was too poore a conceite, for our hopes to stoope to: since when the treaty was farre advanced, at least on our side, (as his Majesty beleeued, and taught vs to belceue) the quarrell was not then begun with the *Emperour*, much lesse prosecuted, as afterward, with the *Spanish* force, and fury; and so that could not be in our eye, as an object to satiffy our thirst for this match, and for the portion expected by it. And wee had hope that this treaty would haue stayed, and turned the tyde, and torrent, of those violent proceedings, which fell out in the *interim*, and countermaunded *Spinola*, (thereby to indeare our alliance, and to manifest how serviceable, and profitable it would be to vs), rather then by such a treacherous progresse, to steale vpon our security, and credulity, and by open force, to our temporall, & their eternall, dishonour, to take enough from the sister, to make a convenient portion for the brothers bride. What heart that hath a drop of *British* blood in it, could heare with patience, much lesse beare these injuryes, & still court the *Spanish Braues*, with the stile of *Magnifico*, and thinke a Dowry (soe taken) a fit present, & portion for our Prince to receaue?

Some therefore (who could not swallow these choke-peares) jmagined her Dowry should be one of the *Indyes*, or both. Others more probably thought that the *King of Spayne*, weary of his Low-Country

Country warres (where like an vnthrif he playde away all his estate at hazard) and seeing no way to come of with his honour, and to relinquish so bad and chargeable a quarrell, where he drowned his Indyces as in a bottomlesse Gulph; He (I say) had, by the sublime witt of *Gondamore*, or by the inspiration of our King through *Gondamore*, consented to send the *Arch-Dutches Isabella* to a Monastery, to be mother of the few maydes there, & to estate the *Prince* with *Infanta Maria*, in those Provinces, causing the *States Generall* to winde vp all ends in this bottome, and to consent to hold of his *Highnesse* in cheife, as those *Provinces* did of *France*, before *Charles the Fifth* got them released; and soe all controverfies should be compounded, all Christian states secured in peace, and his ambitious, and blood-thirsty sword sheathed, or the point of it turned from Christendome toward the *Turke*. Also wee thought herewith, that his Majesty had the promise, and assurance of a free & generall Councell; and that in the meane time he had conditioned, and articted for liberty of conscience, in all the Dominions of *Spayne*, without which he would not, by any meanes, afford it at home. Then (thought wee) when a *Parliament* is called, and the match propounded, opposition arising, these conditions, never before dreamt of (by the vulgar) being published, and confirmed, both consent & applause will follow, with admiration of his wisdome, that brought all these ends about, and tyde in a true lovers knot, deserving indeede for this, to be preferd before *Salomon*: because *Salomon* by an idolatrous marriage rent his Kingdome, ruined his house, and introduced idolatry intermixing it with true worship:

ship: but he by the like had vnited his Kingdomes, setled his house, enlarged his Empire, cast out idolatry, and so spred the gospell, that true worship was welcomed beyond the pillars of *Hercules*, or wheresoever [*Plus Vltra*] is written, with a Spanish penfill.

Thus wee thought, & lower then thus, wee could not, wee would not, descend; and these thoughts and hopes, charmed our tongues, hearts, and hands, making vs, as it is sayd of *Abraham*, *to hope beyond, and aboue hope.*

But when wee saw the *Prince* passe privately out of the land, so meanelly attended, and farre otherwise then became (as wee thought) the state and Majesty of our Nation; especially to a place and people that stood vpon forme and outside only, and bombasted their reputations with the winde of complement, and a garbe, or facing of majesticall gravity; when wee saw silence proclaimed, and none permitted to speake for the securing of their owne lawes, libertyes, or religion; yea the Counsell it selfe, shut vp in blinde obedience, and as litle acquainted with these privy proceedings, as the Commons; the pulpit also limited, and taught in what language to speake, both to *God* in prayer, and thanksgiving for the Prince, and people, and from *God* to the Prince and people in exhortation, instruction, and information; when wee all seemed no other, then beasts in a market to be bought, and sould, and must not be acquainted with the price, and condition of our owne captivity, nor know to what butcher wee should be delivered; when wee sawe the great intertainement his *Highnesse* found, (at least) in print, though,

though, I prayse *God* for it, as wee thought, so it fell out for truth, that the *Pen-man*, had more of the *Painter*, and *Poët*, in him, then of the *History ô grapher*, & knew better what should haue beene done, then what was.

When wee sawe the Chappell building here, for *Baal*, and the Priests, and *Iesuites* filling every corner of the streetes; whilst they were pulling downe the Churches of *God* in the *Palatinate*, and whilst his *Hightnesse* Chaplaynes were enjoyned silence in *Spayne*, when wee saw every pocket stufte with popish pamphlets, and that the dore began to waxe narrow, at which the Protestants sent out, and let in, their labours for the presse, when wee saw a gag for the *Gospell* (like a Giant) might walke abroad with liberty in the sunneshine, when a Protestant *Pismire*, might scarce creepe in a darke corner, without question: when wee saw a clogd dispensation beg'd, or dearly bought, at the handes of *Antichrist*, for the best of vs, and dispensations freely given by vs, to vnclog the worst of his: when wee saw articles solemnely agreed on, for the freedome of superstition, and idolatry, without soe much as a thought, or touch, for the advantage of truth, and that in the presence of *God*, who abhorred such sacrifice, and vowes: when wee heard, and read, the title, and stile, of *Holynes* conferred vpon *Antichrist*, and more strong, and powerfull reasons given to moue the King and Clergy of *Spayne*, to consent that the match might proceede with the vtmost speede, because it tende all together to the advancement of the *Roman-Catholique* cause; what should wee thinke (poore ignorant soules) what could wee imagine? but that we were almost

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christian
Ape may
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for fashion
sake.

miserable people, hated of those wee loued most, and cast away, by those wee trusted most? yea, wee thought that *God* had determined to scourge vs for our pride, and ingratitude; and to this end had taken wisdom from the wise, and caused that they should haue eyes and not see, eares and not heare, hearts and not vnderstand, but that the Lord intended to bow downe all our backs; because wee relyed too much vpon man, and gaue not the glory to *God*, as wee ought. Thus were wee in a kinde of *Hell* vpon earth, full of anxiety, perplexity, & feare; nothing but sighing, weeping, hanging downe the head, as persons confounded, and drowned in despayre.

But loe, on a sodaine the sunne arose, and with it our comfort: *Heauynesse may indure for a night, but mye comes in the morneing.* His Highnesse returnes *ALONE*, *Psalm. 30. 5.* O words of comfort! as choosling rather to dye a *Virgine*, and liue an *Angell*, then to be marryed by *Antichrist*; and now *God* begins the first worke, and giues the *Omen*, the onset to the rest that followes, beating downe the *Black-fryars*, whilst the Chayre was vsurped by a bolde, and famous factor for *Antichrist*, surrounded with a rabbement of his superstitious, and forward followers, who would needes haue the *VAN*, or right hand file, in his restitution, and with a *VEN-GANCE*, they had it.

After this a *Parliament* is summoned, wherein the *King* ingenuosly confesseth the injuryes receiued, where he least suspected them, and where he deserved most gratitude; and here he vnmasketh all the mysteryes, hid before in the cloudes of concealemēt, dealing faithfully with his people, as a Prince that had found, and expected, to finde faith in them againe

gaine towards him, and his. He restores vnto them their wonted lawfull libertyes, and freedome of speech; knowing that *where there is not liberty, there can be no fidelity*, and *where there is freedome of the tongue, there can be no danger of the heart, or hand*. And here begins that first *Act* which changeth the black and tragicall *Scenes* into triumphant furniture, promising a more happy, & harmonious close, and conclusion, by Gods omnipotent arme (*miraculously turning the hearts of Princes, as the ruiers of water*) then wee could otherwise ever haue hoped for, had not these narrow straights, and difficultyes proceded. For hereby *Popish-Spanish, policy*, which is nothing but *Hypocrisy*, are stript starke naked, the *faithfull, & vnfaithfull* servant distinguished, the *truth* revealed, wee forewarned, and so I hope armed; our *King and Princes honor* ingaged, for vs to fetch off, with loyall and zealous serices, and Gods *mercy*, both in discovering, & preventing, these traynes, & traps of perfidious Enemyes, magnified. *He that sits in heaven, langhes them to scorne.*

That this may appeare more to the life, let vs see the *Heroick Persons*, acting their owne parts, severally, and joyntly.

And first for the *Duke*: He in *Spayne* dischargeth the trust reposed in him by the *King*, attending faithfully vpon the *Prince*, and vsing all indeavour to search out, vnlocke, and discover, the secrets of the *Spanish Cabinet*. Comming home, he vseth his best art, and credit with his Majesty, to resolue him of the *Spanish fraude*, and falsehood, and of the loyalty and fidelity of his owne flock. He take's care to let the world see he had learned to abhorre the idolatryes of *Rome*, and to loue the true Church better,

by beholding the follyes, & fylthines of that gaudy strumpet, the great *Bawde* of *Babylon*. He presents plainly to the *Parliament*, the hard passages his *Highnesse* had past in *Geryons denne*, whereinto he was drawen backward. How he was set by *policy*, vpon the rack of *loue*, to torture him from his *religion*, or (at least) to betray him by his owne, and cause him to deny his master, and maker, with his mouth! In detestation of which foule fact, his Majesty saith most excellently, and like himselfe, *That he who dissembles with God, is not to be trusted with men*. Take truth from the mouth of a Prince towards his people, and faith from his heart towards God, and you dismantle him, disrobe him, of all his regall honors, and ornaments, and
 Dan. 4. 27 make him a beast like *Nabuchodonozor*, and of the jma-
 28. 29. 30 ge of God, cause him to carry the jmage, and stampe of Sathan.

He presents also that foule plot, and conspiracy of theirs, to demaund such conditions of his Majesty, as they intended should not advance the marriage, but, as they hoped, would stirre vp a rebellion, and then they kindly proffessed, to send home his *Highnesse* with an Army, to massacre his owne innocent lambes. O perfidious people, whome do you tempt? thinke you a brest harbouring any such base and bloody thought, can be hatched any where but in *Spayne*, or be of any blood, but the ancient *Morian*, *Austrian*, or *Ottoman*? The *Irish wolves* may be (perhaps) thus sauage, but our very *Mastines* are more civill, sociable, and humane, as for our people, especially our Princes, they are of too noble, and generous a straine, to haue such an inhumane conceite come neere them. *Incest* only, breede's this barbarous blood, and
 idolatry

Idolatry only infuseth such spirits. Goe exercise this cursed course, according to your old custome, amongst the *Indians*, & teach the *Caniballs* that *Europe* hath a people who call themselves *Christians*, and the cheife *Catholiques* (forsooth) amongst these, doe worship the *Deuill*, more cunningly, and *devoutly*, then those that make profession of it, and thinke scorne not to exceede any point, or part of *barbarisme*, which those reasonable beasts can practise against *Nature*, though it be in eating vp their Parents, or betraying their freinds to death, with whose liues, & honours, they are trusted. O *England*! behold in what a danger thou were at this instant, and beware how thou wittingly sufferest thy selfe to fall into the like againe; behold the heart of *Spaine*, and *Rome*, towards thee, and forget it not; behold what blood is bred there in the breasts of such as goe over, tainted, and corrupted before, when they dare venture to poyson the pure fountaine of *sovereignty*, and to tempt our Prince, (as the *Serpent* did *Adam*) to loose his *Paradise*, for a *Pome-Gen. 3.* *granate*, or, as *Sathan* did our *saviour*, to worship him, for *Mat. 4.* the Kingdomes of the world, which he saw but in shadow (being all but shadowes) as the Pope can giue Kingdomes, and as the King of *Spaine*, is the *Catholique*, and vniversall King in conceite.

Could these men thinke him so stupid (although they thought vs so,) that he would flee from the armes of his owne, whose faith, and obedience, hee had long knowne, and flee into the armes of strangers, from whose imbracings, never any escaped with life, and limbe, and who were never true to any man, but for their owne ends, that they might deceiue the second time for their greater advantage, and but once for

all? Did they thinke his *Hignesſe* could be ſecure with them, and not with his owne fleſh, and blood? that he could chooſe but ſee, if he returned vnder the protection of their ſtandards, how he came like a priſoner (as *Charles of Burgundy* carryed lewes the 11. before *leige*: or as *Edward the 4.* brought *Henry the 6.* into the feild) to conquer for their poſſeſſion, and his owne captivity? meerely to make theſe Kingdomes, *Spaniſh* Provinces, and his royall father, and himſelfe, their vaſſalls?

And could they dreame that the ſubjects of *England*, and *Scotland*, were no better taught, by the preaching of the Goſpell for 60. yeares continuance, then (at the firſt daſh) to ruſh into rebellion, as if they had beene fed (like ſwine) out of the legend, & taught diſloyalty by the *Loyalists*, like mad dogs, to byte their Maſter? O no, the Lord be prayed, they ſee, and the ſucceſſe ſhewes the difference, betwixt our Princes, & people, trayned vp in the truth of *Chriſt*, and theirs nuſſed vp in the faults, follyes, and falſhoods of their idolatrous and *Antichriſtian* predeceſſors. Goe forward therefore (*great Duke*) thus to ſpeake, and deale plainely, and truly, like a true and noble *Engliſhman*, and God will bleſſe thee, and eſtabliſh thy houſe for ever; thy Enemyes ſhall ſee it, and gnash their teeth, and whiſt they ſeeke thy head for their advantage, finde a heart in thy boſome vnder thy Princes buckler, and with the peoples aſſiſtance, able to guarde thine owne head, and ſtrike off the proudeſt of their heades, that dares demaund, or attempt thine. Was truth yet ever cald treason before? or was there ever any Nation ſo inſolent, as to demaund the head of any noble member
of

of our *Parliament*, because he faithfully vsed the lawfull liberty of his place, and discharged the trust reposed in him by the Prince, and State, whome he was bound to serue, as being *borne* theirs by nature, and *made* theirs, by *election*, *honor*, and *bounty*? Do the *Spaniards* thinke so basely of the *Brittish*, as wee must not cast vp their corrupted, and poysoned sweete meats, whereof wee haue surfatted? and because they haue some of our *Offall* for their seruant, and pensioners, therefore do they thinke wee all ought to bee foe? Do they thinke wee ought, (like *Idiots*) to forget our religion, for their supersticion? and the allegiance due to our owne naturall Prince, to advance the ambitious progresse of their *Catholique* Kingdome? were they once so flesht with one head, as they now long for more, and thinke all bound to satissfy their longing? or are the braines of a wiseman, the only sauce for a *Spanish Ambassadors* table? I haue reade, that the parts of mans body, are nourished by the like parts; And it may be the *Catholique* consumption of witt, must bee recovered with this *Catholicon*.

The wolfe would with the shepheard make no peace,

Till hee hung vp his dog, then warres should cease.

Phillip of Macedon, dealt with Athens thus:

Phillip of Spaine, intendes no worse to vs.

But I hope wee are better taught, then thus to reward our faithfull freindes with vngratefull disloyalties. No, no, goe forward (*great Duke*) and prosper, whilst thou doest nothing but what may justify thee, & what thou maist justify before all the world, by the example of that worthy, *David*, and with his wordes saying, *what haue I now done? is their not a cause?*

Thus having vshered his *Hightnesse* into our dis-

course by this honorable servant of his, the *Duke of Buckingham*, wee will proceede in the second place to shew those graces, and favoures, which haue, and doe flow, from the *Prince* toward vs, since his returning, contrary to the wishes, and endeavours, of our Enemies, and our owne feares.

How art thou to be extolled *O excellent Prince!* who being *singly*, (as it were) sent out to encounter the greatest states-men in the world, that belecue they haue fraude enough (which they call *witt*) to vndermine all the states of Christendome; and being besides disadvantaged by sustaining the place, opinion, person, and (perhaps) the affection of a *Louer*, having also some corrupters of thy owne bosome freinds, hast notwithstanding stood firme to *God*, to thy selfe, and to vs? Is it not a great and dangerous temptation, (ô all yee that know what *temptation* is, what it is to be *sifted*, what it is to *resist*) that young men meet in the world, vpon their first ignorant entrance? How many of these miscarry at home? how few returne vnmaymed from forreigne parts? I appeale for witnesse, to the *ill times*, *ill men*, and *ill manners*. But for a *Prince* that is *young*, to be exposed to tryall, vpon such hard and vnequall tearmes, and to come off *safe*, and to *conquer*, is (as I thinke) a taske no lesse admirable then that of *Hercules*, if that were as true, as this is. A *young man* with small experience, against the *aged*, and *experienced*; A *David* against *Goliath*, and an Army of Philistims; *One* (as it were) *alone*, or which is worse with a *Company devided*, against *many united in one*; A *Prince*, the gainefullest object of fraude, against *private persons*, the subjects of falsehood, and such as professe the art to deceiue Princes; A most affectionate

mate lower of the body of Her, whose bewty was layd
 but as a baite in his way, whereby the Fisher-man of
Hell, and *Purgatory* angled for the destruction of his
soule, against his owne flesh and blood, and the pas-
 sions of loue with all other advantages which cun-
 ning, and practised seducers could take, and vse for
 their owne ends, and purposes; for him, I say, so
 encountred, and surrounded, to breake loose, and
 to conquer, is a worke of such wonder, and so aboue
 humane conceite, that *God* alone shall reape the glo-
 ry of it, being farre beyond the powre of man to
 doe, or almost to beleue, now it is done. The prin-
 cipall instrument that *God* was pleased to vse in this
 great worke was his *Highnesse* owne wise heart gui-
 ded by *Grace*, and summoning vp all those helpes,
 which that *Grace* had formerly instilled into him,
 by *hearing*, and *reading the word of God*, his *fathers*
writings, and observing the variable passages of the
 times, besides the speciall provision of all kinde of
 arguments, and armour of prooffe, for the minde,
 but layd in before, by his royall father. I intend
 not to detract from other helpes, that he found
 by the dayly mementoes of the *Duke*, and other
 faithfull Attendants, who stood *Sentinell* continual-
 ly for his safeguard; but this I say, the cheefe was
 his owne, and lockt vp in his owne bosome; and
 this *God* gaue him *immediately*, because *God* would
 haue the *immediate* prayse come vnto him. For if
 wee consider the whole course of the Story, and
 see the *issue*, how, contrary to all expectation, it
 hath beene conuayed, and carryed, and at what
 a contrary quarter, it is now arriued from the
 point of the *Compass*, by which it set out,

all men must needes see the naked, & blessed, arme of God, and ascribe the whole glory to him, for bringing our *Prince home*, and that *so soone*, and that vpon *such tearmes*, hereby also wee may playnely discern that many of those actions of his in *Spayne*, and of his *Majestyes in England*, at which our feares were frighted, and tooke the *Alarum*, were only false-fires, raysed to bring him off with safety, whome they had too suddenly ingaged, vpon presumption of the *Spanish* faith, which is too vniversall to bee trusted. And now he is come home, see how he carryes himselfe, as one truly taught of God, & jimitating our saviour. For since his returne hee hath done the greatest worke of wisdom, and goodnes, within mans power to accomplish, reconciling vs to his fathers favour, who before seemed to be halfe abandoned to his fury, in that wee might not be acquainted with his will, nor trusted with his Counsell. He hath also broken downe the partition wall betwixt the *English*, and *Scottish* Nations, and hath made vs one people in affection to the *King*, for civill, as to God, for religions respects. Yea, now religion is secured, and those jealousyes taken away; what *Englishman* doth not imbrace a *Scottishman* as his brother, when they haue all one God their father, and all one *Church* their Mother? There is no bande, like that of religion, which tyes vs one to an other, vnder one King to *Christ*, and (in *Christ*) tyes vs all to God.

He hath also renewed the fellowship, and communion, betwixt the *King* his father, and vs his poore subjects, in the high Court of *Parliament*, where he sits dayly to heare suits, and petitions, to mediate betwixt the *King*, and people, to direct, animate, and
in-

incourage the true, faithfull, and honorable *Patriots*, to suppress the petulancy, and rectify the exorbitancy, of any *Prevaricator*, that durst appeare in that presence, like an other *Sathan* amongst the children of *God*, to suggest evill, to seduce from good, to cast in demurres, occasions of delay, or scruples, and questions, occasions of division, as I thanke *God*, there are none that will or dare. What benefit can be like this? what thanks, and prayse, can be sufficient to extoll it? Is not this a temporall salvation? Is not he a temporall saviour, a true *Iosuah*, that doth thus? Yes, yes, the Lord is pleased to call *Kinges Gods*, and himsele a King; to borrowe of *Masters*, *Fathers*, and temporall deliverers, the propriety of words, and phrases, to fit our capacity, and to shadow out his workes of wonder; It is no robbery therefore, to assume some of those flowers, to adorne, and enrich the actions of such persons, as he hath before adorned, & enriched with inward grace, to imitate him in the discharge of their duties, and the high places he hath called them to, and therby to set them off, and shadow them more illustriously, to the life, by comparison. Not as if there were any degree of comparison betwixt *God*, and man, the infinite, and finite, his worke being for soule; and body, mans, for the body only; his, for ever, mans, for a time; his, absolutely, and of himsele, mans, in, and by him; but that there is comparison betwixt the laudable, and *Heroick* actions, and vndertakings of men amongst themselves, some approaching neerer, then other, to the greatest, though all, (yea, the neereſt) stand aloofe off, at a distance vnmeasurable by any rule, but the infinite mercy of *God* in the

Psalm 45. *al sufficient meritts of Christ. Gird thy sword therefore upon thy thigh, o thou most mighty Prince, with thy glory, and thy Majesty, and in thy Majesty ride prosperously because of truth, and meekenes, and righteousness (the armour, the ornament of Kings, and Princes) and thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things. Thine arrows are sharpe in the heart of the Kings enemyes, whereby the people fall vnder thee. Thy throne (o Prince!) is for ever and ever; the scepter of thy Kingdome is a right scepter. Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest wickednes: therefore God thy God hath annoynted thee with the oyle of gladnes aboue thy fellowes. And if any frontles Enemy dare be so impudent, as to take exception at thy by past actions, & at that present change which they finde, and feele in thy prosperous proceedings, thou hast (o most excellent Prince!) a sheild in the Armory of David to defend thy selfe, thy honor, and reputation, whilst thou maist justly say, with him, What haue I now done? Is their not a cause?*

This Psalm
me is com
posed of
Salomon,
a type of
Christ, and
may be ap
plied to al
godly prin
ces, who
are the de
putyes of
Christ, and
images of
God.

I should now conclude this gracious, and glorious act, with presenting his Majestyes person, and performances to the eye of observation. But Kings (like the sunne) must not be gazed vpon with open eyes. It shalbe sufficient to touch vpon some particulars, where I may walke safely (as I hope) without exception.

His Majestyes entrance into *England*, was as *showers of raine into a fleece of wool*; so falling gently, received as gently. The inauguration promised a happy progresse. It could not be discerned whither he entered by succession, or election; the peoples desires so concurred with his right, as that he tooke possession by both. And it seemes had not God, and Nature, designed him to the chayre, by a fayre & lyneall pedigree,

degree, he might haue beene ours; by choice, if among foreigne Kinges, wee had chose. His government since, hath beene only vnhappy in this, that he hath over-loved peace, which is the happinesse of all states, but hath beene our affliction. It may bee, because *God* himselfe will *haue no peace with the wicked*, *Es. 48. 22.* much lesse permit his seruants to haue it. *God*, and *Baal*, cannot dwell together. Or it may bee, because *we* *crost the will of God, with humane wisdom*, and would needes haue peace, when he cald vs to warre. Or it may bee, that wee sought for that happinesse here, which is reserved for the saints here-after: to liue in peace within the militant Church, as the saints doe in the triumphant. These, some, or all of them, may be a cause why that blessing of peace, is turned to a curse, to weaken vs, which makes others stronger; to impoverish vs, which makes others richer; to deuid vs, which vnites others: for woes, wants, and warres, abound by this meanes; because wee haue not first made our peace with *God*, but rather with the Enemyes of his truth, and honour.

And to iustify my conjecture, this last act declares it clearely. For whereas it hath beene pursued with all the heate of affection, managed with all the wisdom of flesh and blood, secrecy vsed in the conveyance, and the whole mystery, wrought by the handes of most artificiall, and able instruments, and seconded with all the advantages, both sides could wish: Yet, *God* hath broken the *threesfold corde* aunder, and turned all thinges to a cleane contrary course, as he did when out of darkenes, he brought light, & out of the rock, water. *This is the Lords doing, and it is merueylous in our eyes.*

L

What

What injuryes, and wronges, his Majesty hath received in his children, state, subjects, substance, and honor, by this meanes, the world knowes but too well; and *God* surely would haue the enemy to do it, and his Majesty to suffer it, that being now exasperated, he might revenge *Gods* cause, with his owne, and for it, reape honor to *God*, and to himselfe. The more sincerely his Majesty hath dealt, the more falsely they; to let him see, *though there bee faith to be kept with Heretikes*, yet *there is none to be giuen to them, nor expected from them*. Princes are to vse plainesse, and perspicuity, with their subjects, policy, and reservednes, with strangers: *Christ* spake to the *Jewes* in parables, but to his owne, it was giue to know the mystery of the Kingdome of *God*.

And now, as if all before had not beene enough to provoke a peaceable Prince to a just warre, behold what *God* hath permitted these fyre brands, and boutefewes of Christendome to attempt, by accusing the Prince, the Duke, and whole state of *Treason*. Was there ever such a practise imagined? of what do they presume that dare be thus bolde, impudent, impious? Is it of their owne power? Noe assuredly, for they are in ours, whilst they doe it. Is it of their party here able to back them, and beare them out? of our patience to suffer them whatsoever they doe? or proclivenes to credit them whatsoever they say? I know not whether they build vpon these, or other groundes; of this I am sure the plot equalls, or exceede's the *Gunpowder treason*; because, although, that aymed at the lives of all, yet it did not touch their honors; this ayme's at life, and honor of the best, yea, of all, to set father, against the sonne, the Sovereigne against his subjects, one hand against an other.

other. And to what end? that they in the meane time may distractt affayres, hinder resolutions, withdraw hearts, and hands, from succouring the Kinges children, and freinds, ready to perish by their Tyrannyes; that they may arme their owne pernicious faction, with pretence to be a *garde* for the Kings person, and soe, since they cannot rayse a rebellion, and deuide the Prince, and people, that their Armeyes may enter to stickle betwixt them (as they in- deavored in *Spayne*) now they would deuide the *fa- ther*, and the *sonne*, and cleaue this knot by a wedge of the same wood, I meane by the *Hispaniolized*, and *Romanized*, natures in *England*. Since this, (by Gods grace) hath fayled, I know not to what they can pro- ceede except it be to accuse the King himselfe, which they will not fayle to doe, if it may fit their turne, vnlesse his Majesty do justice vpon them, and make an honorable president for all posterity, that *Am- bassadours* presume not to doe, what their *Masters* dare not, and for which, even Kinges themselues being in foreigne Provinces, were liable to accounte. Wee read how zealous *David* was in redeeming the ho- 2Sa. 10. 4. nor of his owne *Ambassadours*, because they were in- nocent, and revenging these indignities offered to them vnworthily: Had they merited evill, he would never haue protected them, but doing their duties, his honor was ingaged in them, & for them. And if he did thus for a few of his servants, what would he haue done for all his servants, yea, for all his subjects, for *whose safety he offers his life*? Nay what 2 Sam. 24 would he haue done for them, and for his sonne, his 17. *only sonne*, with them? Even the same (I hope) that his most excellent Majesty will doe for his *servants*, his

subjects, his sonne.

Now therefore, to close this wandring discourse, (mighty Sovereigne) since by thy servant, by thy sonne, by thy selfe, mouth to mouth, thou hast revealed thy fore-past actions, and passions, and present intents towards vs, and wee (with all the world) are witnesses of thy integrity; draw thy sword, and cut assunder this *Gordions knot*, which all thy wisdom cannot vntie. And as that painter by casting his pensile (in a rage) from him, made (by chance) such a fume for a mad Dog, as he could not otherwise light vpon by art, & industry: so *God* may blesse thy hand, that going boldely on, whilst he call's thee, and leade's thee, and following him in simplicity, and truth, without reliance, trust, or dependancy, vpon the security of thy owne head, or arme, thou mayest happily ariue, at that period, thou wouldest be at, and force that restitution, and peace, which thou canst neither beg, nor buy.

There is nothing to feare but the *Iesuits* hand, let thy hand therefore fright them, and their adhaerents farre from thee, out of thy Dominions. Hee that stands vpon simple defense, stands but halfe armed, nor altogether foe; but he that stands to offende, doth (by that posture) stand ready for all assayes, both guarding himselfe, & putting him to his guard, who (like *Ishmaël*) hath his hand against every man. Behold how thou art incircled with myriads of subjects, and millions of *Saints*, & *Angells*; *God* sends these to defend thee, and secure thy doubts. Looke vpon the *Prince*, thy blessed Sonne, the *Queene of Bohemia*, thy distressed Daughter, see how fruitfull shee is. And those children of hers, joyntly, are like oliue branches round

round about thy table, a hedge of quickset round about thy walkes, a wall of flesh and blood, and bones, round about thy life; and *each of them severally* is an armour, a guard, of thine. Who dares touch thee, that considers who is thy successor? and who dare touch him, that considers her that followes? and thus successively, if malice be infinite, thy security is noe lesse.

Thus they being thy guard, thou must needes be theirs; they preserving thy life next vnder *God* (for beleene it, *O King!* it had beene, and were now, worse with thee else, then with *Henry 4. of France*) thou must needes preserve their estates, with thy vttermost power; and so protecting each other interchangeably, *God* that hath graciously rayfed you for them, & them for you, will protect you *all*, with his omnipotent arme. And if any cavilling Enemy, that dares not touch your person, shall dare yet to attempt your honor, and fame, for falling from *Spayne*, and sayling a new course, you haue that buckler of *Dauid* to hold out against them, in defence of your selfe, and your honour, *What haue I now done? Is their not a cause?*

Thus I haue brought the *Prince*, and *Duke of Buckingham* from *Spayne*, like *Jonathan*, and his Armour bearer, from chasing the *Philistims*, in their garrison vpon the rock. They called *Jonathan*, & his Armour-bearer, vp the cliffe in contempt, else they would not haue gone; so doth *Spayne* call these with mockings, injuries, scornes, accusations, challenges, and infinite other intollerable affronts. Ascend then, and conquer, *God* will deliver them into your hand.

And thus haue I brought his Majesty (like *David*)

L 3

from

from the overthrow of *Goliath*, with the songs of the virgins, the acclamation, and applause of *Nobles, Commons, Clergy, Schollers, Citizens, Souldiars*. God make thee strong, and cause thee to remember how thou hast slaine a Lyon, and a Beare, and a Gyant; and what are the rest of the vncircuncised rout, more then these?

To conclude therefore, *O yee worthyes of Scotland!* to you wee will rayse trophees for saving our soveraigne: To thee *Buckingham*, for serving thy King, thy Prince, and Countrey, faithfully, in a false, & crooked generation: To thee, *O Prince!* for thy obedience to God, and thy Father, with loue to thy loyall lovers: To thee, *O King!* for hearing our petitions, and not despising thy poore peoples desires, in seeking redemption of Gods honor, and thine: And to thee, *O God!* for raysing vp these instruments of our temporall salvation, and for saving these, and all of vs, eternally by the blood of thy Sonne.

2 Sam. 23.15.16.17.

And David longed, and sayde, ô that one would giue me drinke of the water of the well of Bethlehem, which is by the gate. And the three mighty men brake through the hoste of the Philistines, and drew water out of the well of Bethlehem, that was by the gate, and tooke it, and brought it to David: nevertheless he would not drinke thereof, but powred it out unto the Lord: And he sayde, But it farre from me (ô Lord!) that I should doe this: Is not this the blood of the men, that were in jeopardy of their liues? therefore he would not drinke. These things did these three mighty men.

F I N I S.

VOX REGIS

Whatsoever thy
hand findeth to doe
doe it wth thy might
Eccle. 9. 10.

Presume not of to morrow
for thou knowest not what
a day may bring forth
Prov. 27. 1.

A wise mans heart
is at his right hand
Eccle. 10. 2.

The starres in their courses
fought against Sifera.
Judg. 5. 20.

Sumus ergo pares
Therefore wee are Peeres.



Many wa
as cannot
quod for
nor can it flood
dronat is 65.6.7.

Beholde
wee are thy
bone and thy
flesh 2 Sam 3. 1.

My heart is towards y^e Governours of Israel, who offered themselves
willingly among the people. Judg. 5. 9



And all the people tooke notice of it, and it pleased them: as whatsoever y^e King
did pleased all the people. 2 Sam 3. 36.

VOX
REGIS.

The Frontispiece Explained.

Pereleffe Prince *Charles*, his *Sister* doth present
With her lou'd *Spouse* in publike *Parliament* :
Pleads their *Iust cause*, in honourable hight
Of *Speech* and *Passion*, vnto which, their sight
In *Sable Weedes*, adds flame ; as *Flint* with *Steele*,
When nimble *Tinder* doth the quicke sparkes feelee.

And in affection first, the *King*, to heare
And see *Himselfe*, in his owne *Flesh* (so decre,
Louing, and loued) abused, His angry *Sword*
Drawes, and to Armes, the *Signall* giues and *Word*.

The *Nobles*, with this sight prouok'd, and led
By him who now pursues, what earst he fled,
Make hast to follow, Each his *Fauchion* reares
Aboue his head, cryes, *Therefore we are Peeres*.

The *Clergie* pray ; The *Commons* for their parts
Seale their consent with *Purses*, *Tongues*, *Hands*, *Hearts*.

O all ye *Prouder Nations*, who by swarmes,
Like stinging *Waspes*, haue forc'd vs to these Armes,
Shew now that *Personall odds* you so much vaunt,
And with stout braggs, the boulder *Britanes* daunt,
Challenge the single *Combate* man to man,
And prooue whole *Head*, *Heart*, *Hand*, the *Conquest* can
Winne from each other, *Enuie* to conuince,
And honour bring to *Countrey*, *Nation*, *Prince*.

See now when *Drummes* doe beat, and *Tabers* cease,
If you in *Warre* can wrong vs as in *Peace*.

To the Reader.

Here is nothing of more moment for the happiness of a Kingdome, then that the Prince and People should know each other. For where this is not, there can be no confidence, but iealousie takes place on both sides, and all actions are subject to double, and so to doubtfull interpretation. That the Prince therefore should know the People, all men thinke it a thing fit; he cannot otherwise manage them aright, no more then a skilfull Horseman, before he find the mouth of his Courser, whether hard and headstrong, or soft and gentle. But some iudge it not fit that the people should know their Prince, for feare of contempt (knowne things being contemned) or I wot not for what other danger; and these Machiuilians I suppose, vsing or abusing this comparison, would make the Prince beleue (if they could) that his people were Horses in deed, and that there were the same odds betwixt him and them, as there is betwixt the Rider and his Hackney. Wise Princes know the difference, though they vse the comparison; and euen Horses will know the Rider by his feeding, dressing, hand seate, and managing, or let him know they vnderstand their owne strength to his trouble. Reason & Religion are the raines of this Bridle which gouerne the Inferiour as long as they be kept in the hand of the Superiour; but being neglected by the one, they are straight reiectted by the other, and the Rider exposed to the danger of an vntertaine course and a loose seate.

Now the way for the Prince to know his people is by their words or actions: and the same way is left open for the People to know their Prince.

But it is objected, that Salomon saith, or the seruants of He. Obiect. zekiah from him, that The heart of Kings is vnsearchable. Pr. 25. 3.

To the Reader.

were asquint, or with purblind eyes upon them. I doe assure my selfe it can be no presumption in me for my owne and other mens resolution, to obserue his words and to reade his writings, ther by to learn to know him perfectly & to expect without doubt the accomplishment of his promises. For his words and writings are published to this end and called his Works, because they should be turned into workes. For as it implies weaknesse to haue workes resolued into words: so it expresseth strength to haue words sublimated into workes, as the words of potent Princes vse to be, or ought to be. For this end I haue produced something of his Maiesties, for my own encouragement, & for other mens information, & am bold out of confidence in his grace & goodnes to present it to the publike view, hauing for my excuse a good entention & for my warrant his Maiesties Mandate or Commission; since he hath done it before by word and writing, and will'd me to doe it againe by reading and repeticion,

Pl. 42. 1

If Satan tempt me, or God seem to lowre upon me, & not to perform those condicions & couenants of grace which he hath promised me, whilst my soule stands in need & hungers & thirsts for his sauing health, as the parching earth for refreshing showres, or the hunted Hart for Riuers of water. I dare silence Satan, nay, confidently challenge God himself, and put him in mind of his own mercy & my misery; I dare charge him with his own promise & bring his own written word a witnesse against himselfe on my behalfe; I dare knocke and cry till he heare & open; if I should not do thus he would condemne me as vnfaithfull; if I doe thus he will commend me, with, Well done good and faithfull seruant.

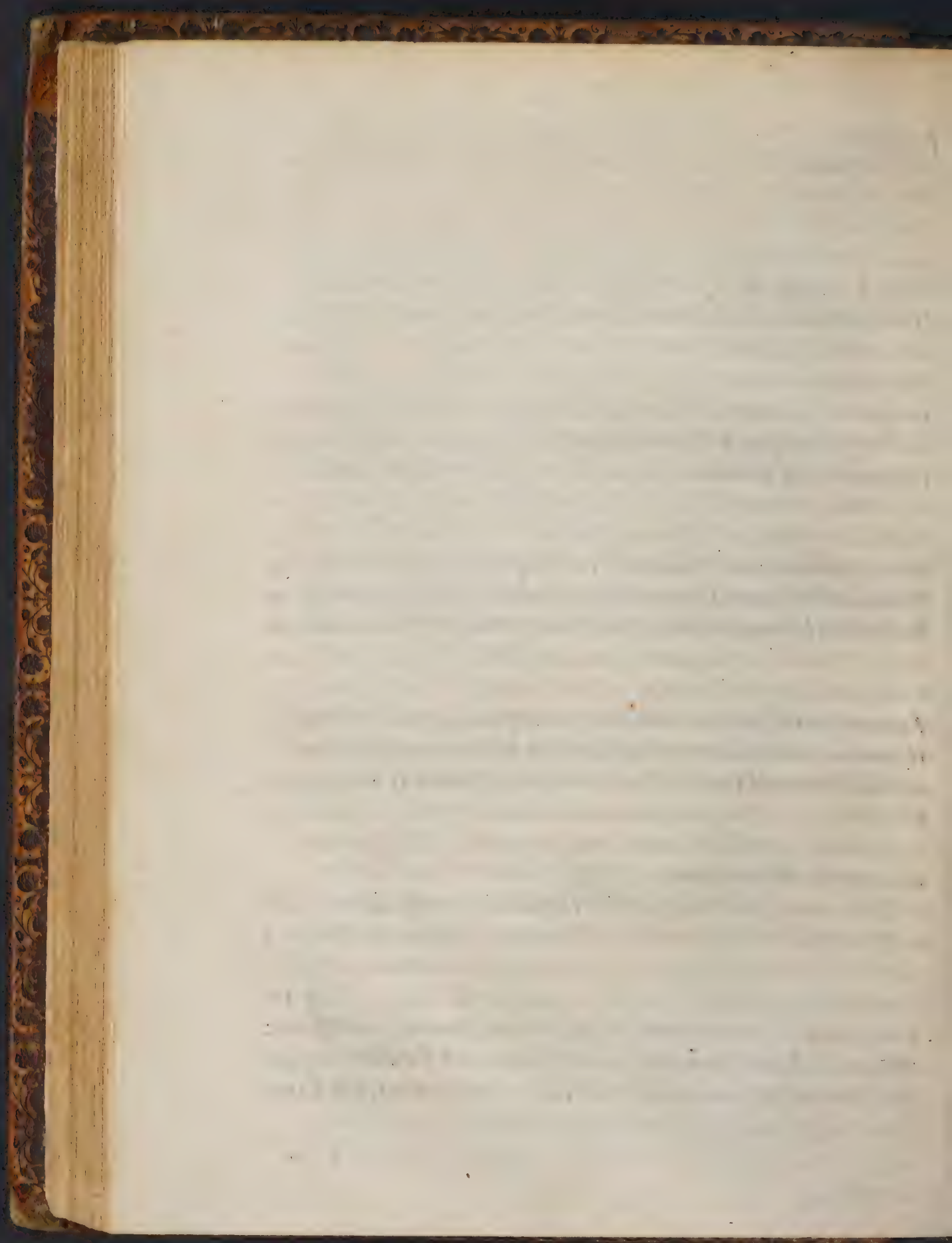
If I dare doe this to God, shall I feare to do thus to my Seuerdigne? A man subiect to the like infirmities that I am, and so may know all his people to be, who feare, & desire, and hope, & long, & are perplexed till they see, what is promised, performed?

To the Reader.

performed? No: let none be so atheistically bold as to call me presumptuous for this, it is not only mine but his Maiesties comfort to heare the Apostle say with confidence we haue not a high Heb. 4. Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infir- 15. mities, but was in all things tempted in like sort, yet without sinne. Let vs go therefore boldly vnto the throne of grace. &c. If this be his comfort in common with vs for matter of his soule and eternall saluation, to haue such a high Priest; It is my comfort in common, with others for matter of our bodies, estates & temporall saluation, to haue such a King as will strue to imitate this high Priest as well in relieuing as feeling our miseries and infirmities. If such be his Maiesties confidence in common with vs, that in spirituall distresses he dare with boldnesse goe to this Throne of grace, what should deter me in common with others, from appealing with boldnesse in temporall calamities to the Throne of my Soueraignes mercy whom God hath set ouer me in his sted to this end to heare & help me? Whilst I see him belieue in God, I will not feare to belieue him; Whilst I see him heare Gods word & giue credit to it, I will not doubt to rely vpon his. I am only terrified from beholding or approaching the presence of that man who belieues not in God, who belieues not that there is a God; His word I only abhor, his workes I startle at, who slights the Word of God and obserues not his workes, till with wonder, he be made by God a by-word and a worke of iudgement for other mens obseruation.

This is my shield, this buckler I hold out against all foole fires and feares of other mens idle assentation; Vnder this shelter I make my neere approaches, hoping to conquer or to come off safe, God leading me on & being my Captaine, the King calling me and giuing encouragement, thou Reader standing indifferent till thou hast read & heard what I say for God, for the King, for thee, for my selfe, who am Gods unworthy Seruant, the Kings unworthy Subiect, thy unworthy Friend

T. S.





VOX REGIS.



HAT I HAUE FORMERLY written in that Treatise called *Vox Dei* as it hath beene most properlie applied to the honor of his Maiestie, the gracious Prince of Wales, the illustrious, Duke of Buckingham and the happie Earle of Holderness, with other worthies, who haue in

this late time of extreme necessitie stept forth for the rescue of our Lawes, liues, religion, and State from imminent danger; soe it may serue either wholly to excuse, or at least to extenuate a fact of mine, which some are pleased to tearme a fault.

For not long since beholding with grieffe the increase of Poperie in the Land, and the causes thereof, together with the great danger of the State thereby: (of all which I had beene made sensible by the prouisions, cautions, edicts, and Lawes of the State, framed, and published, and sometimes executed against them with much greater

A

care

care and circumspection, then those of former Kings, for the destruction of *Wolues*) I supposed it my duty, by all meanes to ioyn with the State, in disclosing the nests and couerts of these. And therefore obseruing herewith the generall feares, discontents, and grievances of the best affected in the State, by reason of infinite disorders, which like weedes ouergrew all the good flowers of the garden, and gaue shelter and reliefe, to hide, and shadow these from the eye of Iustice; I collected such *Passages of State*, as obuiously presented themselues; together with the peoples censure and comment made vpon them; with intention, that they might come to his Maiesties sight: Because I thought (as the King himselfe hath since professed publicly in Parliament) that all those mischiefes grew vp in darknesse, whilst they were not seene by supreme Authority; and would (with the Basiliske) die, as soone as they were discovered by soueraigne prouidence.

Pro. 20. 8. According to that of *Salomon*. *A King that sitteth in the Throne of Iudgement, chaseth away all euill with his eyes.*

But whilst I thus thought, and thus did, the difficulty appeared greater then at first; and I saw no readie meanes how I might safely convey this *Mirror of the Multitude* into his Maiesties hands: Because the things were so monstrous and deformed, and of such nature, and concerned such members, as they could not safely be discovered, and very hardly cured by any, except by him onely, who hath power to cure the *Kings Euill*. Besides, I considered, that perhaps all the Guards placed about Princes, are not euer intended for their personall security, but that sometime they are more carefully guarded from their friends, and from truth, then from their enemies, and from falsehood.

Whilst

Whilst therefore thus I delayed, and droue away much time, by reason of the danger; at length *Necessity* prest me forward, when I beheld all things in such a height of extremity, as (in my iudgement) without speedie remedie, stood readie for combustion, and next to ruine.

Then ashamed to haue ouer loued my personall liberty so long, that for it I should neglect the liberty of my conscience and of my Countrey, I gaue way to the publishing of that *Pamphlet*, which passeth vnder the name of *Vox populi*; as containing the common-peoples priuate and retired discourses. Pro. 21. 28

Against this, (euen as I feared not onely *Goliath* and the *Philistims*, ennemies of the State, but the *Israelites* themselues; yea, my brethren, of one Faith; my friends, familiars, acquaintance, opposed themselues, with a violent censure, and passionate pursuite of the vnknowne Author. Whilst his Maiestie (as I haue credibly heard related) beheld it more indifferently, as one that doubted (perhaps) much of it might be true. And therefore began to enquire, as *Philip* of *Macedon* in another case, *whether it was Nicanors fault that he spake euill, or whether Nicanor had iust cause so to speake.* But whilst these things were maturely debating, and poore I, labouring to hide my selfe from the Enemie, behold the *Philistims* found Iudg. 14. my *Heyfer*, and so vnfolded my *Riddle*. As soone as I was 11. seene, it was no need to bid me runne, (as they say) for life; expecially when by a *Dream* I was warned of the danger, and willed to make haste; and led, as it were, by the hand, like *Lot* out of *Sodome*. Then I found it true, which *Elihu* saith to *Iob*; *God speaketh once and twise,* Iob. 33. 14. *and one seeth it not, in dreames and visions of the night, when sleepe falleth vpon men, and they sleepe vpon their*

A ij beds.

beds. Then he openeth the eares of men, euen by their corrections which he had sealed, That he might cause man to turne away from his enterprize, and that he might hide the pride of man, and keepe backe his soule from the pit, and that his life should not passe by the sword. Thus it pleased God to deale with me, giuing me warning by a Dreame, (in obseruation whereof, as I would not be superstitious; so in the neglect thereof, I would not be presumptuous) foure or fīue times iterated the same night to rise and be gone; for there were such as sought after me for euill, and I must giue way to the present time. Whilst I rose vp, and was musing of this strange and importunate Dreame, a more certaine warning seconded the first; and with *David*, I heard them knocke at the doore, who willed to make haste.

I fled not from his Maiestie; for whither should I flie on earth, to a more mercifull Throne? Let others appeale to *Cesar* and to *Rome*, I will not. I fled not for feare of guilt; as one that thought I had deserued euill: but I fled
 1 Pet. 5. 8. for feare of a violent and potent Aduersarie, *who goeth about like a roaring Lyon, seeking whom he may deuoure;* and hath many adherents little lesse cruell then himselfe.

What a State might doe vpon a sudden; and whether I should be thought any better then dust to be wiped off, I knew not. Of my Enemies hate I was resoluēd; of their generall combination to all bloody purposes; euen sealing such Contracts of *perdition*, with the Sacrament of
 Prou. 27. 4. Act. 23. 12 Christs blood, that Seale of *Saluation*, experience had taught me not to doubt, and I had some secret hints in this particular to assure it, whether any friend would shew themselves for me in a *storme*, where they vse to leaue
 better

better men; and whether, if they would haue appeared, they had beene able to doe me good or no at that instant, I had some cause to feare. *I looked vpon my right hand,* Ps. 142. 4. *and beheld, but there was none that would know me, refuge fayled me: no man cared for my soule.* Wherefore I made a vertue of necessitie, and God being my guide, I escaped for the present, to giue time to second cogitations.

Since that time I vnderstand a various Censure hath past vpon what I did, according to the various disposition of the Censurers.

I passe by with contempt the aspersions of such as spit venyme: I expect no better from the brood of Vipers. Pro. 30. 14. Reuel. 6. 3.

Locusts that are bred in the smoke of darknesse and superstition by blind Deuotion, may sting (hauing the same power with Scorpions) but not vnto death: that effect is restrained, where they finde Gods scale on the forehead. Reuel. 12. 1, 2, 3, 4. *The causelesse curse falls on the curser.* I know the *Dragon* hunts the *woman* and all hers, and so me: our Sauour could not scape his assault. If he attempted the head, what shall the body, what shall the heele, what shall a haire of the body expect? This troubles me not; nay, *this comforts me rather.* But that which most afflicts me is, that men, who say they loue the King, and honour him as I doe; that loue his Royall Issue, and honour them as I doe; that loue the Common-wealth, and wish it as well as I doe; that loue the Reformed and true Religion, and would as willingly fight and die for it, as I professe readinesse to doe: that these (I say) notwithstanding all this, disliked what I had written, and censured me for so doing. I could not therefore choose, but be sensible of a friends stroke, & with *Cesar* in the Capitoll cry out, *Et tu Brute?*

Such Obiections as I haue met withall, I here labour to answere : If any more strong, lie more close to take me at aduantage, long may they so lye and rest, neuer to rise againe to charge me with reproofe.

The first Obiection is, *That I haue beene forgetfull of the Kings honour in some Passages.* Alas! so am I of Gods honour in all, who yet pardons me from day to day. But I cannot expect this from mortall man, though neuer so mercifull : I trembled therefore, when I heard this obiected. I sought first mine owne bosome diligently, to see if there were any secret treason lurking, or any other thing that might looke like it. I found nothing but plaine truth and duty there : Yet I sighed to thinke, that perhaps these (as they had wont) might be called Treason in some places, by some persons, and then it was enough to condemne them. Then I examined the Booke curiously and diligently, which (for ought I could see) was as innocent as my heart. Vicious eyes may bring the disease with them. For Ielousie, Enuie, and Pride, haue the laundies, and all things which they see, lookes of their owne colour and complexion. As wee finde in euey wall such fancies as are before drawne in the imagination : so here *Vox populi* must needes, like another *filius populi*, speake Treason, because Preiudice, Imagination, and Detraction are pleased to say so, or wilfully mistake the person of the speaker, whom notwithstanding I haue fained to speake *English* as modestly, as the *Romaine Catholike* tongue would admit. But for mine owne part, if therein I haue iustly offended, I will doe execution vpon my selfe, and with *Mutius*, burne off my hand, for daring to hit, where it should hide and defend, as he did his, for missing where he would haue had it hit. Whilst my heart is free,
I am

I am the more confident, but withall must craue pardon, if whilst I vndertake to personate the most bitter and malicious enemies, I speake not in all tearmes as the most modest friend could wish. Those which know any thing, know what they haue printed in *Louane*, and played at *Bruxels* and *Antwerpe*, and prated at *London*, and through all the Land with safety: so that whilst I for giuing intelligence of this, am in perill, they that doe this, are in safety, and perhaps none of the least persons, whose censure I am afraid of.

A second Obiection is, *That vain-glory mooued mee to write*. Surely so to doe, had beene vaine glory indeed: and I had beene as vaine in doing what I did, vpon such a ground, as they vainely obiect this against me without shadow of a ground. The concealing of my name, the hiding of my selfe, euen whilst others would haue taken the title vpon them, and when there appeared no cause of keeping close, might witnesse for me, that I was loth to be seene, loth to be knowne. And is this the custinarie cariage of vain-glorious men? I trow not. The Pamphlet lay long by me in silence, and had still slept, if necessity had not awaked both me and it. But thus it is easie for *Enuie* to traduce the most free and innocent conception. And those that say thus by me, are as ready, perhaps, to cast the like aspersion vpon such worthy Commonwealths-men, as with his Maiesties good liking, the peoples generall applause, to Gods glorie, the States good, and their owne personall honours, haue liberally and freely layd open the Grievances of all good men, and with solid arguments inneighed against the *Abuses* of the *Time*, presented to their censure and correction, in the high *Court of Parliament*. But may this Land be still

bleſſed with the happineſſe to haue ſuch as dare doe thus in the Pulpit, in Councell, at Court, and in the Countrey; neglecting in the meane time, whether theſe Dogs baite and ſnarle, or fawne, and wagge their tayles. It is all one to *Vertue*, what *Enuie* and *Vice* imagineth; ſince their praiſe is a puniſhment; their reproches, honorable badges. The more arrowes they ſhoote, the better it is for armed Innocence, who walkes and fights vnder their ſhadow, as vnder a cloud or a canopie in the ſcorching heate of the day.

And yet as all humane actions haue their mixture of imperfections; ſo I neither arrogate to my ſelfe, or to that which I did, any immunitie from Ignorance and Error: but muſt, and doe freely confeſſe mine owne folly and frailtie, magnifying in the meane time, the power and goodneſſe of God, who was pleaſed to uſe ſo poore an inſtrument in ſo great a worke. And I ſee his goodneſſe towards me, in that my errors are not paſt by either without obſeruation, or ſome ſmall correction. For as it was impoſſible to fleſh and bloud, but I ſhould mingle ſome pride of heart, proper to my nature, with that which was Gods, and proper vnto him: and ſo either touch vpon ſpleene, or vain-glorie, or imagination in ſome particular, and inuolue the generall in ſuſpition: ſo God hath chaſtiſed me with a temporarie baniſhment, and turned the fauour of his Maieſtie and the State from me for the preſent, which otherwiſe (doubtleſſe) would haue looked towards me for good. And yet that neither I (nor others by my example) ſhould be wholly diſcouraged from good intentions, God hath ſtirred vp mine enemies to enquire after my name, that ſo, though I would, I cannot lie hid, nor loſe that reward which followes him that flies from it,

it; the honour to bee knowne a faithfull seruant to God and my Countrey. Wherein my poore example is vsed, to stirre vp and checke the backwardnesse of others in the Church and Common-wealth, who hauing greater abilitie to vndertake such a worke, haue neither dared to leade me the way, nor yet to follow me leading them; nor once to lend a hand to rescue me from the present danger the pursues me, but rather made hast to pursue me themselues with reproches.

A third Obiection was, *The Danger of the State, because I bewrayed the weaknesse thereof to the Enemy*: as if our strength consisted in being hid. Alas! hath our state any more intelligent persons, then such as are ill affected to Religion, and so as ill as Spies and Intelligencers to *Rome*? Are not many of these employed in great place? cannot euery woman, euery boy poynt at them, whilst men dare not? & whilst we see them, doe not you thinke they see vs? Besides, is not such a *person* employed here for forraine affaires, as is cull'd and pickt out amongst a million for that purpose? And because he could not be matched, was returned the second time, rewarded with an addition of Honour for the first seruice? That thus he might be sure to vnderstand more in our State, then any of our Natiues, as his multiplicitie, and certaintie, and excellencie of choyce Intelligence exceeds theirs? They which doubt either our *Enemies* wit to finde out and obserue aduantages, or their wealth to vnlocke and open secrets, or their dexteritie to pursue Plots, may ouersee the true and substantiall cause, and inuent a false and seeming one. Woodcockes onely thinke themselues safe, when their heads are hidden: but wise-men then onely are secure, when they clearely see their enemies strength and

B fulnesse

Ec. l. 8. 18. fulnesse, and their owne wants and weaknesse. *Doe no secret thing before a stranger (saith Siracides) for thou canst not tell what he goeth about.*

A fourth Obiection is, *That the Plot or Frame was a fiction, and therefore deserved censure.* Why, who protest otherwise? was there any that published it for a certaine truth? Was it not called *Vox populi*, to note it onely probable, and possible, and likely, not historical? (I meane, for so much as concerned the Plot.) And might I not borrow a *Spanish* name or two, as well as *French*, or *Italian*, to grace this Comedie with stately Actors? Or must they onely be reserved for Kingly Tragedies? why not *Gondomar*, as well as *Hieronymo*, or Duke *d'Alva*? And why not *Philip*, as well as *Peter*, or *Alfonso*, or *Cesar*? Or why might not I make as bold with them, as they with our *blacke Prince*, or *Henry* the eighth, or *Edward* the sixth, or *Queene Elizabeth*, or *King James*, or the *King and Queene of Bohemia*? If this be censurable for being a fiction, it is surely for lacke of a foole, which (they say) Comedies should not be without: and for a neede, this wittie Obiector may supply the place, if he enuie me the honour to become a foole alone, lest some of our Stage-keepers should be thought capable of that part, and forced by necessity to furnish it at their owne cost. The truth is, those that vnderstand any thing of *Spanish Affaires* know such a course is obserued vpon returne of Ambassadors, (if we may credit Histories or Trauellers) and perhaps thus it was: or worse: I pray God the successe prooue it a fiction, and not to be too true.

A fift Obiection is, *That I wrote nothing but stale and common things, what euery one saw, and spake of.* I hope one of these Obiections will answere another, and saue me

me a labour : for if this that they say be true, (as indeed it is for the matter therein deliuered) then what cause is there of displeasure ? Am I worthy to be punished for informing the State, of that which euery man thinkes, and speakes in their ordinarie discourse ? I neuer profest to publish any singular conception of mine owne. The Plot or Frame of the Discourse I borrowed out of *Spaine*, it was not mine owne : though I wish with all my heart the practise thereof, so farre as concernes the account of Ambassadors, and other Officers, were translated into *England*. The Matter contained within, was, what all the people spake, (whether *Romane* or *Reformed Catholiques*) as one man : neither was this mine owne. If all should be punished that are guiltie with me, and none but the innocent in this kinde should punish me, I suppose there should none be left to throw a stone at me, but I should be quit by the censure of my accusers.

Sixtly, it is obiected, That I medled with a forraine Ambassadour, which I should not haue done. To this I answere, First, that I did not touch an Ambassadour present, but one that had beene : for all that I sayd, was of the time past, when he was gone (God be praised) from *England*, and returned to *Spaine*, giuing vp the account of his Ambassage past : So that then he was no Ambassadour. Againe, suppose he were then an Ambassadour, yet I did not medle with him as with an Ambassadour, but as an incrocher vpon the Lawes and Liberties of our State, which exclude forrainers. For whilst an Ambassadour intrudes himselfe into things that concerne not his Commission ; such as are, the Gouvernement of our State, Church and people ; the disposition of Offices, and the like : he becomes in these things pri-

nate, and makes himfelfe at leaft fubieft to the cenfure of all men, who are wronged by his incroching: though his perfon be facred and fafe from punifhment, in regard of his Mafter, whom he *represents in publike Actions, though not in priuate undertakeings.*

Defence
of the
right of
Kings, fol.
265.

When that Donation of the Crown of *England* made by king *Iohn* to the *Pope*, is preft by the *Romish champions*, His Maieftie answers. *A king neither may in right, nor can by power transf. nature his Crowne, impaire the Maieftie of his Kingdome, or leaue his Royall dignitie leffe free to his Heire apparant, or next fucceffor, then he receiued the fame of his predeceffor. Much leffe, by any dishonorable capitulations, by any unworthy contracts, can he degrade his pofteritie, & bring his people vnder the greiuous burden of tributes & taxes to a forraine Prince.* Kings then cannot difpofe of their crowns without their Peeres & peoples confent: and therefore that gift or refignation is voyd. And as they cannot difpofe of their Crowns, fo not of their liberties: and therefore the Parliament makes free-Denizens, and incorporates members into the State by publike Acts, and not the King alone. But where an Ambaffadour intrudes himfelfe, hauing neither the allowance of that ftate, nor the king (but out of a prefumption of his own faction, and the greatneffe of his Mafter) is it not time for fuch as loue their King & country to oppofe him what they may, by giuing notice as Dogges barke at ftrangers in the night, though all be not Theeues that come to our Houfes, and knocke at our doores. And whilft I fee Ambaffadors haue bin fpies, and haue bred much mifchiefe: and that *Dauids* were fufpected to be fuch of the *Philiftines*, why may not our *Dauid* much rather iuftly fufpect theirs; & though not clip their coates, yet clip their Courts and Chappels fomething shorter?

Seuenthly,

2 Sam. 10.
3. 4.

Seuenthly, it is Obiected, *I haue meddled with a King, with whom we haue league.* I suppose, if I haue done this at all, it is verie sparingly, and in things notorious to all: and yet if I had beene bolder, Truth might haue borne me out. For it is the same King, that listened to Practises against our King and State, if we may say, what all see, and what some confesse against themselves. It is the same King in the house, I might say, the head and heart of whose Ambassadour, that banne of the Emperours against the Kings Children, was bred hatched, and published. And the like may be said of the Nation, that it is the same Nation, who hath often sought to swallow vs by secret practises, and open inuasions. It is the same Nation, that we haue beene taught and trayned vp from our youths to beware of. It is the same Nation, whose ambitions to satisfie, the East and West *Indies* are not sufficient, nor all *Europe*: but all the earth must become slaues to their pride, and the prey of their cruelties, as if all other men and places had beene made for them. For, so they compasse what they seeke, they care not by what meanes they get it, hold it they will: their wils must be the rule of Iustice, their lusts, the Catholique rule of honour to all others.

Sir VValter Raleigh.

Deductio Nullitatum, fol. 14

Fightly, it is Obiected, *I haue meddled with the mariage of the Prince, which concernes not the subiect.* Concernes it not the subiect to pray, that the wife of his Soueraigne may be of the same Religion with her Lord? If I may pray thus, wish thus, may I not endeuor to haue it thus? & shew the *inconueniences* (that I may not say *mischiefs*) w^{ch} are likely to fall, if it be not thus? Princes are married to the common-wealth; & the wife hath power of the husbands body, as the husband of hers. The Common-wealth then hath power

1 Cor. 7. 4.

of the Prince in this point. Their Wiues ought to be as Mothers to euerie Subiect. And were not he a Foole, that would not desire a Naturall Mother, rather then a Step-Mother? Queenes ought to be nurcing Mothers to the Church: Who then would seeke a dry-Nurse, that might haue another?

Againe, the Prince is to be considered as a publike and priuate person: As a priuate person, he may chuse for his priuate affection, and match where he list; prouided, he neglect not the publike part, which is the principall, but elects with the loue and liking of his people: Because betwixt them, loue is reciprocall; yet so, as it begins in the
 1 Ioh. 4. 19 Superiour, who is an Image of God; and *we loue God, because he first loued vs.* So we loue the Prince, when we discern he loues vs; and he cannot manifest his loue more, then when we see he doth all for our good; and respects the generall good so much, as for it he neglects his priuate affection, and chuseth for our affections; because he knowes *That loue which is restrained from the Wombe, will hardly be yeilded to the fruit of the Wombe; or from them againe flow as it ought, vpon the poore members of the Common-wealth.*

But must Princes then be tyed to please euerie particular Subiect in their choice? God forbid: Their case then were miserable. The consent of the *State representatiue* (that is, the *Parliament*) is only necessarie; wherein the consent of euerie Subiect is included. This hath beene done, and (I suppose and desire, pardon me if I be in an error; and rather afford me instruction, then correction) this should be done; and this, I trust, shall be done.

The ninth Obiection is, *That I wanted a lawfull vocation to warrant this Worke of mine: and that I follow extraor-*

extraordinarie examples, which are no safe nor sufficient presidents. To the first I answer, That euerie mans vocation bindes him to preuent euill, and to doe good. So that whensoever I haue opportunitie to doe it, I haue a calling to doe it. For the generall calling of a Subiect, and of a Christian, warrants any particular action, which I doe for the benefit of the State and Church, whercof I am a member; or for any part thereof, though my particular calling affords me no such Commission. For instance, the publike Officer hath onely a calling to execute the Law; yet I am bound by my generall calling, as a Subiect, to assist him; and in his absence or neglect, to execute his Office, and to keepe the Peace. So the Minister hath onely warrant to teach publikely; yet euerie man is bound by his generall calling, as a member of the Church, to teach his erring and ignorant Brother. Yea, the *King will demand the life of his Subiect*, and *God the Soule of his Seruant*, at the hand of his Neighbour, by whose neglect he perished, though he had no particular calling to looke to him.

And for such as say, That the examples which either are or may be brought to countenance this course of mine, are extraordinarie, and therefore not safe to follow: I answer, That therefore they are to be followed, because they are extraordinarie: For such examples fit extraordinarie times and occasions best. And this is my comfort, that I haue God and my conscience to witnesse for me, that no sinister ayme excited me to the Worke: And therefore I dare say with the Apostle, euen in this respect, *I hope I haue the Spirit of God also.*

The last Obiection, that I heare of, or can imagine, is, *That I wrote not like a Diuine, but like a fabulous Poet or*

an Historian, too full of coniectures. To write otherwise had beene proper indeed for me, vnproper for the subiect; and withall, the next way to reueale my selfe, when I laboured the contrarie. I was not to exhort, but to informe; and the sight of these things would perswade enough, without a stander by, to shew euerie propertie of the motion, or by a punctuall application, to worke the affection farther. That part I left to my Superiours; supposing it my part and duty only to set forth in liuely colours, things that might be, and things that were most likely to be, in one Table with such things as certainly were, and were vsually accompanied with the like connexion and coherence of circumstances and effects: knowing well, it would be too late to admonish of the danger, when they came to haue their working; as it would haue beene too late to giue warning of the *Powder plot*, (with *Garnet*) when the Match had kist the Powder.

These and many other Obiections may be brought against me, (as dust rayfed by the feete of a Droue of beasts) but they are all as easily wiped off, as cast on: Nothing stickes fast, but what Power and Authoritie is pleased to inflict: and that may be strict and seuerer, cannot be vniust; whilst the *will* of the State, (that is, the Lawe) is the rule of *Iustice* in all matters, but Religion.

And therefore, as I will be silent, and humbly submit my selfe iustly and patiently to suffer, if it shall so iudge me worthy, and not open my mouth to defend that for innocencie, which it shall condemne for errour: So to all others whomsoever, I oppose my selfe with confidence of victorie, whatsoeuer Gyants they be, whatsoeuer artificiall weapons they bring, whilst my integritie is armed with that staffe and sling, and pibble of *Dauids*.

The

The Lord that deliuered me out of the Iaw of that roaring Lyon the Diuell, and out of the Paw of that deformed Antichristian Beare, Idolatry and Errour, he will deliuer me out of the hand of this Philistine. And all this assembly shall know, that the Lord saueth not with Sword and Speare (for the Battle is the Lords) and he will giue his strongest enemies into the hands of his weakest seruants.

I know well, whatsoeuer I can say; though their were a windore in my heart, yet some would take exceptions against me: especially now, in an age of such contrarietie and contradiction, where men seeke aduantages and occasions of contention. I know some men may condemne me to be pragmaticall in other mens affaires, or proud and selfe-conceited of some shadow of worth in my selfe; or enuious, to detract from the worth of other men, whilst I seeme to presse into their places, without a vocation, or without a cause of necessitie prouokeing my vndertakeing. To all these I make the same answer, that *Dauid* made to his Brother, mentioned in the former Treatise: *What haue I now done? Is there not a cause?* 1. Sam. 17.
Notwithstanding all which, if any being either inuincibly 29.
blinde by ignorance, cannot; or wilfully blinde otherwise (as gifts and interest doe blinde the eyes of the wise) will not see the cause of my writing, I passe by their incurable maladies, without care or hope of recouerie: But for others that would gladly see the cause, out of a purpose to examine it; and so to condemne or approue my action vpon that ground of iudgement; to such I willingly apply my selfe, and freely deliuer the causes and motiues of my vndertaking this businesse: desiring such as reade what I write, to lay by preiudice awhile, and imagine themselues

to be what I am; and then to iudge whether or no they would haue done as I did.

I suppose it not perillous now to point at that, which the whole State hath taken notice of, and worthily reformed. I spake before, that there might be notice taken of the necessitie, and Lawes made to redresse enormities: for this I prayed to God and the King. I speake now, because there are Lawes made: for this I praise God, who hath opened the heart of our King, Peeres, Prelates, and People, vniting them in one, for a generall reformation of all. To paint out now, what was then, and what compelled me then to write, is to paint out the glorie of that which now is; and to celebrate the honour of his Maiestie, the Prince, and this Parliament to all posteritie: by whose wisdom, zeale, and diligence (next vnder God) it is, as it is.

The cause of penning the Booke, the Booke it selfe deliuiers; which were the generall griuances of the Church and State, and their farther feares. This I might well see, being a Member of the Multitude: my Office also being to see, to watch, to speake, to blowe the Trumpet, to giue warning both of the sinne, and of the punishment for sinne. Truth comes sometimes amongst the vulgar, with whom I conuersed. And as Famine is felt first by the Poore; and as Frost strikes the Valleys, when higher grounds scape free: So euen the Commons are they, where the disorders of a State, & the mischiefes approaching, are first felt, and soonest discerned. As Kings are for these, so Kings from these may gather the best and most certaine intelligence of their Domesticke affaires: which hath made some Princes to disguise themselves, and come amongst these, to heare how all things stood: and made

me disguise my selfe, to let his Maiestie heare and see by the Market-folke (who euer talke freely and feelingly of their owne affaires) how the Market went. I shall not need to recapitulate what there I deliuered, but to shew the cause why there I deliuered it. For I must truly confesse (though to mine owne shame) that notwithstanding all that euill which I saw, and felt, and feared; part whereof I collected; that collection had still slept by me, and I with the lazie crowd (stupified with a Lethargie of cowardice and basenesse) had contented my selfe to become a Galley-Slaue, or to kisse the Inquisition, for feare of present danger, for feare of censure, for feare of misconstruction; for feare of that Lyon in the way, which deterres *Salomons* Sluggard from action, if a greater necessitie then personall respect, had not called me out. Prou. 22.
13.

But when I saw iniquitie to abound, and the loue of many to waxe cold; and all sorts and sexes declining from their *first loue*, and inclining to a generall defection. When I saw the man of sinne grow stronger and stronger, and the men of God, euen the strongest of them stagger, as persons put to the worst, thrust downe into the Channell. When I beheld the ciuill Magistrate busie in suppressing Ale-houses, because they were the Nurceries of Idlenesse, Theeuerie, Beggerie, and Bawdry: and saw Houses of Spirituall fornication increase; which robbed God of Soules, the King of Subiects; which made men Slaues to *Beggarly rudiments*, and trained them vp in idle Gal. 4.9. and apish Superstitions. Yea, when I saw a publike and open *Stewes of Idolatry* kept and tollerated, which bred more Papists in one or two yeeres, then all the Priests and Iesuites had done, or could do before in twentie. *Was it not then a time to speake? Was there not a cause?*

When I saw diuerse (heretofore called moderate men) goe from our *Church*, and cleaue to the *Romish*; in hope of that which all good Subiects feared. And such as professed themselves *Romane Catholikes* grow insolent and bold, euen to the prouoking of others to impatience; still boasting of their *Gyant*, and attributing euerie successe to him and his wisdom; and promising themselves euery day better and better; and threatening worse and worse to vs, whereby they encreased and heartened their owne partie, and discouraged, and diminished ours. When I saw such to be weake and vnprouided of Armes, whom the Law armed to withstand foraine Force: and such only to be the armed men, and chiefe Commanders and directors in Militarie affaires, whom the Law disarmed; as iealous and suspitious of their inclinations and affections. *Was it not then a time to speake? Was there not a cause?*

When I saw them disfurnish our Maritime Townes and Coasts of the ablest Mariners and Sea-men, to furnish and secure their owne: to defend them against the *Turke* at our cost and charges, whilst they in the meane time prooued worse to the Kings Children, and to vs, then *Turkes* could doe. When I saw them cast in scruples betwixt vs and our surest friends, to make vs fall out, that whilst we wrangle for the Sea, they might get the whole Land. When I saw them sow Schismes in the Church, to alienate our hearts from each other: so that whilst we strue and dispute about *Free-will*, they might make vs Slaues to their owne wills without controuersie. When I saw it was counted no iniustice in them to oppresse all the World; but iniustice in others to free themselves from their oppressions. *Was it not then*

a time to speake? Was there not a cause?

When I saw them place and displace Officers of State at home and abroad; or at least giue out that they did it. And that his Maiestie might not whisper any thing in Councell, but an exact account must be yeelded them; and by them againe published, to the honour of their *Champion*, the witnesse of their strength, the increase of their hoast, and to the generall satisfaction of their whole Faction. When I saw in the greatest businesse of State concerning all Christendome, the eyes of all men diuerted from that object, by vnseasonable proiects and deuises of inferiour nature; and our timely supplies otherwayes preuented, and taken vp by matter of pleasure or complement. When I saw the generall combination of *Romane Catholiques*, both at home and abroad, against the Kings Children: and the forraine enemies violent and bloudie pursuite of all aduantages against them, and such as professe the Reformed Religion. So that abroad all went to wracke, and at home no remedie was thought vpon: Whilst *Spinola* with speed enters, and possesseth the *Palatinate* with an Armie; and we seeke to dispossesse him onely with perswasive Arguments of amitie and iustice. When at home I beheld ail *Romane Catholiques* bold to declare themselves for the Emperour against the Kings children, and to hinder the beneuolence of the Countrey by all politique and possible meanes: endeauouring, that either it might not be granted at all, or giuen sparingly, and with a niggardly hand, or gathered too late, and so to no purpose. When I saw it was made an infallible note of a *Puritane*, and so consequently of an ill subiect, to speake on the behaife of the Kings Children: and a certaine prooffe of a good Protestant or a discrete and mo-

derate man, to pleade against them for the *Emperour*, and *King of Spaine*, who are euer linked and interested together in one cause. *Was it not then a time to speake? Was there not a cause?*

When I saw *Romanists* labour to breed new discontentes betwixt the King and his Subiects, and to continue the old: that so the Subiect might be drained, and made either vnable or vnwilling to supply his Maiesties necessarie desires; and the King put vpon hard streights, either to indure things vnfit for his dignitie, and crosse to his free disposition, or to furnish himselfe by falling vpon their side. When I saw them endeuour, by *wringing the nose hard, to presse out blood*, hoping thus to be armed in his Maiesties colourable defence, and to haue oportunitie to draw in foraine powers on their partie. When I saw them helpe forward with art and industrie the Grieuances of the Common-wealth; that whilst the State of *Brittaine* was busie in reforming and settling those domesticke disorders, the generall State of the Christian-Commonwealth disperced thorow all Nations, might in the meane time be neglected, and left in their hands to ruine. Whilst to this end I beheld a dangerous Faction shew it selfe at home, and another breeding abroad; many English marching vnder the command of *Spinola*, to encounter the English vnder his *Exœllencie*; that Banner might be against Banner, *the Seminarie of a ciuill warre*. When I saw a foraine Ambassadour giue Passes and Licences continually to *Romish Catholikes*, to goe out of *England*, to serue the King of *Spaine* in his warres in the Low-countrieys; and, like a Pope, dispensing with the othes of *Supremacie* and *Allegeance*; which were made vpon such good ground, by the wisdome of our State, and haue
becne

been hitherto continued in practise with happie successe, for the defence and safegard of the Kings person, the Church and State. When by this meanes, I saw the matter would be of dangerous consequence in a small time, whether they were there employed against our friends, or reuerted home vpon our selues: since all of them being interested in one case, and bound together by a mis-led conscience and blinde deuotion, would pursue their Plots with constancie, & indure all difficulties with resolution, so they might effect it: whilst ours (I meane, the common Souldier) being, for the most part, the off-scouring of our Nation, was led to the warre more by couetousnesse to the wages, then by conscience to the worke. *Was it not then a time to speake? Was there not a cause?*

When I saw the Common-wealth hunted like a Deare to death, and now at a stand readie to fall: whilst euerie man with a seuerall proiect sought his priuate profit, as Hounds after the Chase expect their reliefe. When I saw the poore Commons silently groning vnderneath these pressures, and no man either willing, or daring to make them known to him, whom it most concerned, and who only had power to remedie these mischiefes. Yea, when I heard a generall despaire close vp the hearts of all men, that they should neuer see Parliament againe (which Court was the onely absolute, certaine and speedie discoverer, and remoouer of all such mightie enormities; and in defect whereof, these had presumptuously shot vp, & ouerspred the Church and State in a short time) I could not chuse (the zeale of God, the loue of my Countrey, durie to my King and his Children, and indignation to behold the enemies of all these triumphing, presenting themselves to my consideration, as to a man distracted

with sorrow and astonishment) but at length breake silence, with the resolution of *Hester, If I perish, I perish. For was there not a time to speake? Was there not a cause?*

Mar. 4. 38. The blessed Apostles are in a Ship with our Sauour, the Windes roare, the Sea rageth, the Ship is tost like a Tennis-ball with the storme, and filled halfe full with water readie to sinke; the whilst our Sauour seemes to sleepe. The Apostles affrighted, awake him with this acclamation (I might say, obiurgation) *Master, carest thou not that we perish?* And yet they are not for this challenged of treason or disobedience. I heare the Windes chidden, and enioyned silence, the Waues suppressed, and commanded to be calme: I see the enemies that disturbed the Church and State reprooued: the Apostles are onely taught and admonished to haue more Faith.

This Ship is the Church, is the State: the Windes, the Waues, the Rockes, the Sands, and (more then all these) profest Pirates assault it. It concernes vs all to looke about vs, euen from the Master to the Ship-boy. Nor shall it (I hope) be a capitall crime in me to awake the Supreme Gouvernour, the *Defender of the Faith*, with the peoples voyce, *Master, carest thou not that we perish?*

David, or some other holy Prophet, is bolder yet with Almighty God, then the Apostles were here with our Sauour; and in the name of the whole Church, with the *voyce of the people*, doth as it were vpbraide God, saying, *In God we boast all the day long, and praise thy Name for euer & euer. But thou hast cast vs off, and put vs to shame, and goest not forth with our Armies. Thou makest vs to turne backe from the Enemy, and they that hate vs spoyle for*

Psal. 44.

for themselves. Thou hast giuen vs as Sheepe appointed for meat, and hast scattered vs among the Heathen. Thou sellest thy people for nought, and doest not encrease thy wealth by their price. Thou makest vs a reproch vnto our Neighbours, a scorne and derision to them that are round about vs. Thou makest vs a by-word among the Heathen: a shaking of the head among the people &c. Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord? Arise, cast vs not off for euer. Wherefore hidest thou thy face and forgettest our affliction and oppression? For our Soule is bowed downe to the dust: our belly cleaueth vnto the Earth. Arise for our helpe, and redeeme vs for thy mercies sake, &c. Thus they expostulate the case with God, as if he had forgot himselfe: whilst notwithstanding, we doe not heare their Faith reprehended for this, but rather commended to our imitation. And yet should a Subiect so deale with a Soueraigne, one man with another (though there were iust cause of the complaint) What a Traytour should he be thought? What a seuerer censure should he vndergoe? Whilst flatterie with tickling and scratching the itching humors of men, hath made the eares so tender, as we cannot endure the least 2 Tim. 4. 3 rough touch of Faith and Truth.

Behold me, in the same state that *David* describes himselfe to be, in the 39 Psalme, where he saith: *I thought I will take heed to my waies, that I offend not with my tongue. I will keepe my mouth bridled, whilst the wicked is in my sight. I was dumbe and spake nothing: I kept silence euen from good, and my sorrow was more stirred. Mine heart was hot within me, and I spake with my tongue. And like Ieremie, I said, I will not make mention of him, nor speake any more in his Name, but his Word was in my heart like burning fire, shut vp in my bones, and I was*

D wearie

wearie with forbearing, and I could not stay: for I had heard the rayling of many, and feare came on euerie side.

- And vndoubtedly whatsoeuer cold blood may moderately thinke, or stoicall Atheists (who haue quenched the Spirit in themselues) resolute and doe, whilst they iudge it frenzie or distemperature in other men (as *Festus* iudged of *Paul*) to haue liuing affections: yet assuredly when
- Act. 26. 24. God fills the heart, the mouth must run ouer. *I beleueed, therefore I spake*, saith the *Psalmist*. *Infidels* may easily be silent, for it concernes them not to speake on Gods behalf, with whom they haue nothing to doe. But *Truth* will haue vent, or breake the Vessell that containes it: for God fills it, to haue it vntered, and not bottelled or barrelled vp in silence. *The Lyon hath roared, who will not heare? The Lord hath spoken, who can but prophetic?*
- Amos 3. 8. *We cannot but speake the things which we haue seene and heard*, say the Apostles. And of *S. Paul* it is recorded, that while he waited for *Sylas* and *Timotheus* at *Athens*, his Spirit was stirred in him, when he saw the Citie wholly giuen to Idolatry. God brought him thither to see and to heare; and stayed him there, that he might haue his heart
- Act. 4. 20. stirred: So that from the abundance of his heart, his mouth might speake what he knew.
- Mat. 12. 34

I may say, this was my case in some sort: I did not see *all the City*, but a great part giuen to Idolatry: I did not see *all the Kingdome*, but a great part returning toward *Babylon*, euen of those that had made a faire progresse before towards *Ierusalem*. My heart was stirred when I beheld this; and I hope stirred by the Spirit of God: as the

1 Cor. 7. 40. Apostle saith in another place, *I thinke I haue the Spirit also.*

But some may say, I ought to haue attended the leisure
of

of my Superiours, Elders, and betters. Alas, so I did, till I was wearie with waiting, hauing no hope of helpe. So that I might well say with *Elihu*, *I am young in yeeres, and ye are ancient; therefore I doubted and was afraid to shew mine opinion. For I said, the dayes shall speake, and the multitude of yeeres shall teach wisdom. Surely there is a Spirit in man, but the inspiration of the Almighty giueth vnderstanding. Great men are not alway wise, neither do the aged alway vnderstand iudgement. Therefore I say, heare me, and I will shew also my opinion. Behold, I did wait vpon your words, and hearkned vnto your knowledge, whilst you sought out reasons, &c.* Iob 32. 6.

But when I perceiued no reason would come forth, I would not let *Truth* receiue preiudice by my silence: but then I answered in my turne, and shewed my opinion. For I am full of matter, and the Spirit within me compelled me. Behold, my belly is as the Wine which hath no vent, and like the new Bottels which brast. Therefore will I speake, that I may take breath: I will open my lips and answer. I will not now accept the person of man, neither will I giue Titles to man: for I may not giue Titles, lest my Maker should take me away suddenly. And why so? Surely because herein to forbear speech in regard of man, had beene to honour man more then God. And yet I must truly confesse, I was as much perplexed and troubled in this businesse, as *Daniel* was, when commanded by King *Nebuchadnezzar* to interpret his dreame; the Text saith, *He held his peace for the space of an houre, and his thoughts troubled him.* Doublesse, he did not studie so long to finde out the truth, which God reuealed to him; but how to deliuer that truth safely, because it concerned the King and State. For *Truth* hath euer almost beene called

Amos 7. *Treason at Court, and banished the Chappell there long*
 11, 12. *since, in the time of Amazia : yea, in those dayes they ha-*
 Am. 5. 10. *ted him that rebuked in the Gate ; and they abhorred him*
 Am. 5. 13. *that spake uprightly. Therefore the prudent shall keepe*
silence in that time, for it is an euill time. And I know of
 2 Chr. 16. *old, that when truth is there spoken where it toucheth*
 10. *the quicke, it is time for the speaker to flee ; yea sometimes*
from the presence of good Princes, till they come to them-
selues againe : For nemo omnibus horis sapit. And the
reason hereof is, because Satan knowes it concernes Prin-
ces especially to know truth ; for that their example and
command is a great meanes to promote it. Therefore he
labours to banish it from their presence ; and to this end
entertaines and armes his Pensioners (Flatterers, those
tame Beasts, toothlesse Traytours) to staue it off with
many pretie pretences, colourable enough, being dyed
deepe in Hypocrisie, Policie, and Court-craft. So we see
all men, especially Princes, loue to be praysed ; and ne-
uer suspect such as flatter them, though they would, if
 Com. lib. 2 *they should counsell them. An example we haue in*
 ca. 13. li. 5. *Charles, the great Duke of Burgundie, who suspected the*
 cap. 6. *King of France, Lewes the eleuenth, when he gaue him*
good counsell : but when he praysed his valour, and flatter-
ed him grossely to his face, then he liked him verie well,
and thought all to be truth that he said.

Now as it is not euer safe therefore to speake truth to
 Greatnesse, though linked with personall goodnesse : so it
 Sap. 2. 12. *is neuer safe to breath it in the eares of the wicked : whose*
mercie is crueltie, and whose hearts God doth harden,
that they shall not attend or giue credit to good counsell,
by whomsoever it be brought : but they shall willingly
entertaine euill counsell whosoever giues it ; because

God

God hath determined to destroy them, and root them up. 1 King. 12.
 So that as we see when sicke men haue lost their hearing, 12, 13, 14,
 and sight, and feeling, their friends begin to prouide them 15, 16.
 of Blackes, because these are the Symptomes of weaknesse 2 Chr. 25.
 preceding, and of death presently ensuing: So assuredly a 16.
 State whose eares are stoppt, be it with *Cotton (as the eares * Cotton
 of *Henrie* the fourth of *France* were) or be it with any the Iesuite
 other Stuffe; that State is at the last gasp, and ripe towards was the
 rottennesse. For if good counsell from God cannot enter Kings con-
 into the eares, by the tongue of the faithfull, which is fessor, and
 Gods Instrument to that end: then assuredly euill coun- so had op-
 sell shall haue power to enter into the heart, by Satans In- portunitie
 strument, the hand of a Traytour, and perhaps finde the to know
 neereft way thither. For such Ministers of death and de- the Kings
 struction, are their Craftis-masters in the art of Murther: counsels,
 first, murthering the Soule by flatterie and falsehood, and & to stop
 then the body by the hand of some Paricide. Thus it is his eares
 said of *Iuda*, *That the Lord God of their Fathers sent to by vertue*
them by his Messengers, rising early and sending: for he of his Of-
had compassion of his people, and on his habitation. But fice from
they mocked the Messengers of God, and despised his words, all honest
and misused his Prophets, untill the wrath of the Lord and whol-
arose against his people, and till there was no remedie. So some in-
 when it comes to this passe, that men will not heare, then formation.
 we see there is no remedie, but they must feele. And to 2 Chr. 36.
 this end *Salomon* saith, *A man that hardeneth his necke* 15, 16.
when he is admonished, shall suddenly be destroyed, and
cannot be cured. And to this end One saith well; *That* Prou. 29. 1
good successe issuing from bad counsell, is more to be feared, History of
then calamitie: inasmuch as the one breeds a foolish confi- the world.
dence, the other teacheth men to be warie. fol. 442.
Commines hath Com. lib. 1
 obserued this long since in his great Duke of *Burgundie*, cap. 12.
 who

who hauing once good lucke by following his owne way and will, against the opinion of all the rest of his Councellours, did then learne such a restie tricke, as he would neuer after be ruled or aduised; but like a head-strong Horse, ran away wilfully with the Bit in his mouth, till he cast the rider. But good and wise Princes are farre otherwise; their eares are open, though their hearts be lockt close. And doubtlesse, a Land is happie that hath such: and then it is another happinesse to them that are such, to haue good, wise, faithfull, and bold Seruants; that both *will* out of loue, and *can* out of knowledge, and *dare* out of courage (the true ground of ancient *Nobilitie*, and for which Kings vouchsafed to call them *Comites*, Companions; and *Cognatos*, Kinsmen; to embolden and assure their faith and familiarities) aduise boldly and truly vpon euerie occasion. Of such as these *Ezekias* was destitute, when he vainly shewed his Treasure to the Ambassadors of *Babylon*, who came to congratulate his recouerie: So

2 Chr. 32. 31. that it is said of him, *That in the businesse of the Ambassadors of the Princes of Babylon, who sent vnto him to enquire of the wonder that was done in the Land, God left him to trie him, that he might know all that was in his heart.* God meant to humble him, and therefore bereft him of Councill, or a heart to follow it. And by this meanes did discouer his personall disabilitie and weaknesse, not onely to himselfe, but to others; that the wisdom of God might be onely magnified, and foolish man might not rely vpon Princes. Of such as these also the King of *France* was scanted in his iourney to *Italy*; of

Com. lib. 8 cap. 3. whom *Commynes* saith, *That he lacked a bold and faithfull Councillour, to tell him of the danger he stood in.* Is it not fearefull, that a Prince should be in danger, and none about

about him dare tell him so? Indeed he can fall into no greater danger then he is in already, who conuerseth with such, as either cannot, or will not, or dare not speake truth, for feare of losing the place they hold, or the fauour they enioy, or the next suit they looke for. Therefore *Siracides* aduiseeth Princes to seeke counsell, and command it, where men are nice to giue it freely; and that they should take all occasions to informe themselves of *necessarie truths*: Pro. 28. 26 as wise men for want of a Looking-glasse, will make shift Pro. 27. 19 to dresse themselves by a payle of cleere water. Thus no intelligence is to be sleighted; nay, oftentimes both the counsell and intelligence of meane persons is more profitable, then of wiser and better men; because these speake freely; the other, with reference to *faueur*, and their owne fortune. *Roma ubi Publicolas, Æmilios, Fabritios, Curios, Scipiones, Scauros, paupertatis, continentie q̃, amantiſimos, Imperatores sibi deligebat* (saith *Polidore Virgil*) Pol. Virg. de inuent. rerum. l. 2. cap. 3. *incredibile memoratu est, quàm breuì cresceret, quantum q̃, cum ipsa præclare ageretur: è contrario, ubi Senator censu legebatur, Iudex fiebat Censu, Magistratum Ducemq̃, nil magis exornabat quàm census, captatio in questu fertilissimo, ac sola gaudia in possidendo erant. pessum adeò ire cepit, ut nusquam ejus status consistere potuerit.* This obseruation all times and States haue approued for true; and found, that together with this corruption, all other mischiefes rush in at the same doore, to the vndoing and confounding of all. And perhaps it is from hence, that men say, They must goe into the Countrey to heare the newes of the Court: because in the Court men dare not speake what they know, and what they ought, for feare of losing that preferment, which the Countrey-man lookes not after. And thus there is such a generall conspiracie against

Plainnesse in such places, by reason of the necessarie dependencie that one man hath of another; the Inferiour of his Superiour, and all of the highest, that it is impossible, that *Truth* which is knowne to the lowest, should euer arriue at the eares of the highest, though the knowledge of all, concernes him aboue all. Therefore intelligence is to be taken any way, euery way; and the man of wisdom can make good vse of all: according to that of *Micah*,

Mich. 6.9. If the Lords voyce cryeth vnto the Citie, the man of wisdom shall see thy Name, heare thy Rod, and who hath appointed it. The man of wisdom sees God in all, and seekes for him in all; as *Dauid* sees him euen in rayling *Shemi*. And as a wittie Gentleman once said, *That he could picke some good thing out of euerie Ballad*: so a wise man findes preseruatiues in poyson; and precious Stones, or that which exceeds them, plentie, and fertilitie in a dunghill.

Now then suppose there were no other vse of that which I haue written, yet it sets forth truly the disposition of the Commons; a *Beast* (if they list to call it so, and count it so, and make it so) that is not to be contemned: for if it hath many heads, it hath more hands. And I neuer yet could reade of Prince, who contemned his peoples affections, and wilfully contradicted their generall desires, without great perill; at least without some preiudice.

1 King 12. 15. Eccl. 47. 23. This (that we looke no neerer) see in *Rehoboam*, of whom it is said, *That by the counsell of young men, who counselled for themselues, the King hearkened not to his people: for it was the ordinance of God, &c.* And when the people saw that the King regarded them not, the people answered the King thus, saying; *What portion haue we in Dauid? We haue no inheritance in the Sonne of Ishai. To your Tents,*

O Israel : now see to thine owne house David. So Israel departed unto their Tents, &c. And had it not beene better those exactions should haue beene taken off, rather then kept on, to the vexing of the Subiect, and the losse of their loues and loyalties? They required not to haue their yoke taken away; they would be yoked still: but onely to haue their yoke lined, made more fit, light, easie, &c. yet this courtesie could not be granted them. For the *young Councillours* would none of that: because perhaps it concerned them, and they had from thence the principall maintenance of their superfluities. Thus on both sides they seemed to haue forgot their duties: The *King* his, to respect and tender them; the *People* theirs, to obey him. For the dutie of Prince and people are reciprocall: and though no man will or can excuse a people, or iustifie their disobedience (their obedience being of absolute necessitie) yet there may be causes to prouoke them to disobedience, which all wise Princes haue ever shunned carefully; desiring to giue them contentment; though in giuing it, they crost their owne iudgements. So we see, though *Achish* loues *David* well, & desired to haue him stay in the Armie; yet because it likes not his Peeres and people, he sends him backe from the Field. And *David* againe, at the admonition of *Ioab* (a bold Councillour, and a happie in that) puts off his mourning habite, after the losse of his best beloued Sonne, and courts his people in publike like a Triumpher, much against his owne minde. And see the issue hereof set downe in the fourteenth Verse: *So* (that is, by this wise temporizing, as I may say, of his, and humoring of the people) *he bowed the hearts of all the men of Iuda as one man*: Therefore they sent to the King, saying, *Returne thou with all thy*

1 Sam. 29.
6.7.
2 Sam. 19.
5, 6, 7, 8.

E Seruants

Servants &c. Whilst he bent to them, he bent them : as a Bow of Steele, which bends to the string, since the string cannot be stretched to it. *David* may safely and easily yeeld the people what they desire, because it proceedes from their loue. And therefore *Ioab* is bold to say, *Thou hast shamed this day the faces of all thy Servants, which this day haue saued thy life, and the liues of thy Sonnes and of thy Daughters ; and the liues of thy Wiues and the liues of thy Concubines ; In that thou louest thy enemies, and hatest thy friends : for thou hast declared this day, that thou regardest neither thy Princes nor Servants : therefore this day I perceiue, that if Absalon had liued and we had all dyed this day, that then it should haue pleased thee well. Now therefore arise, goe forth, and speake comfortably vnto thy Servants : for I sweare by the Lord if thou goe not forth, there will not tarie one with thee this night, and that will be worse vnto thee then all the euill which befell thee from thy youth untill now.*

Surely, this was bold, but happie counsell. It might haue beene deliuered in better termes, after a more reuerent manner ; but the counsell it selfe is neuer the worse for lacke of some circumstances. And had it beene giuen by a simple *Leuite*, or a poore Doore-keeper, as it was by a principall Captaine, the counsell had beene neuer the worse, nor the King counted lesse wise for listening to it. For we see that which *Ioab* did here of himselfe, for lacke of another conuenient instrument, he performes happely in another place, by the helpe of a poore woman of *Te-koah*. Neither was it counted a fault in her, that both her person and speech was borrowed and fained, since the intention was good, and the successe happie. We see sometimes Kings are content in Playes and Maskes to be admonished

monished of diuers things : *ye suffer Fooles willingly* (saith the Apostle) and great reason sometime : for Fooles and Children will often speake truth (and therefore such as speake so are counted Fooles or Children) they knew no more how to flatter (except they be taught) then *Zenophons* Horse; which therefore makes his Prince a good Horse-man. The weaker the information be, the greater strength of iudgement doth he shew, that can make good vse of it : as good Physitions behold the state of the sicke patient, in his Vrine or Excrements.

Now then may not I cry out with *Ioab*, or the woman of *Tekoah*, *What is this that I haue done which causeth David to be incensed against me?* Did I tell thee, thy people were grieued? I know by this time thou knowest it to be true. Did I tell thee, *they were readie to depart?* I tolde thee nothing but truth : there was nothing slayed them but *Religion*; which, as it strings them to each other, so it tyes them strongly to thee. *Weare them as Bracelets on thy armes, and as a Royall Chaine vpon thy necke* (O Soueraigne.) No Prince hath such a people; nor can all the *Romane-Catholike Kingdomes* in the World boast of so much loyaltie. Let me be bold to aske, What is it that thy people seeke? Is it not thy good, as well as their owne, and thy safetie, as well as theirs? Are they not readie to doe thee all possible seruice? Nay, art not thou forced to restraine them from spending their goods and bloods for thee and thine? Haue they rebelled against thee, or seemed disobedient to thee in any thing, but in louing thee more then some thinke meet, who call their zeale a fault? Or haue they sought thy destruction, or conspired to *blow-up* thy Person and Posteritie? Or is it because some of those that would doe thus to thee and

thine, labour to perswade thee that they loue thy Children too well, to loue thee as they ought? And thus seeke to diuide thee from vs, from thine owne Flesh, from thy selfe: that they might wholly possesse thee; that they might ingrosse thy Power and Raigne; that they might effect what they seeke, the ruine of thee; and in thee, the ruine of *Religion*? Who wonders not, that it should be wisdom, for foure and fortie yeeres together to restraine them; and now wisdom to enlarge their Tents? That in the yeere 1605 the King and whole State should ioyne, to ordaine perpetuall Lawes against them; and a memorable repetition of the almost incredible cause; and now in so short a time, the same wisdom should silence those Lawes, and pull downe that Pillar of Salt set vp for an admonition to all posteritie; as if they would perswade the world that the foule fact had not beene true, but fained, and therefore now the Law was repealed or silenced as an Act of Iniustice? And yet is your Maiestie, out of your superabundant clemencie, disposed to spare them? Why who withstands it, nay who desires it not, if the Truth might yet be safe? Who pitties not the Errour of their Consciences? Who loues not their persons? Who prays not for them, whilst they curse vs? Who would not beare with many things for their sakes, and for Vnities, if they would be quiet, if they might be trusted? But whilst we see they make no conscience to massacre vs where they haue power; to inuade vs, where they can borrow or procure it; to blow vs vp by traynes and treason, where they haue no open abilitie to effect their desires: When we see they hold no faith with vs, but onely for their owne aduantage, can you blame vs, if we wish you and yours out of their armes; and are icalous of your
life

life and safetie, whilst we are assured of their hate and malice ?

Thus I might expostulate the case with his Maiestie, but I intend not to follow a course which may be any way distastfull or doubtfull. Those times are too old and too good to be presidents to these ; besides, the inequality of the persons affords me small freedome. What *David* heard with patience, binds not others : What *Ioab* the Generall did, is no warrant for me. I therefore to auoid all occasion or suspition of arrogancie, flye to his Maiesties Words and Workes for my warrant, from whence I fetch prooffe to manifest ; *First*, the desperate estate of things, and the tickle points, and nice termes whereupon they stood when I first did write : *Secondly*, the necessitie of speedie reformation : *Thirdly*, the good office of such as gaue the Information ; without which, the mischief would haue broken out past remedie, before the disease could haue beene discovered. And the course that I intend to take and follow herein, is to speake of the State at home & abroad, and of Religion respectiuelly in all parts ; because these are intermixt and wouen together, and participate of prosperitie and aduersitie, and partake all passions of ioy and sorrow, with each other in common.

To this end, behold in the first place that most worthy speech which his Maiestie made to the Parliament on Munday, the 26 of *March*, 1621 : as if a Father had spoken to his Children, wherein he acknowledgeth the grievances of the Common wealth, saying ; *I doe assure you in the heart of an honest man and by the Faith of a Christian King (which both ye, and all the World know me to be) had these things beene complained of vnto me, before the Parliament, I would haue done the Office of a Iust King ;*

and out of Parliament haue punished them as seuerely; and peraduenture more, then ye haue intended to doe.

Now then what did I but complaine in the *Voyce of the People*, that their *Grievances* might come to his Maiesties eares? Whom I beleeued to be such, as his words and actions testifie: readie to take information of truths, and to redresse them; but that the voyce and cry of his oppressed Subiects was kept from his eares, by such as oppressed them; as Wolues howle and barke, that the vigilant Shepheard may not heare the worried Lambes bleate.

But it may be obiected, *There was no cause of this cry in generall, but of one or two particulars.* Heare then his Maiestie farther taking notice of the generall clamour, presently after in the same Speech, saying: *I confesse I am ashamed (these things prouing so, as they generally are reported to be) that it was not my good fortune to be the only Authour of the reformation, and punishment of them, by some ordinarie Courts of Iustice.*

Is his Maiestie ashamed, that such things are done vnder his nose (as they say) without his knowledge? O shamelesse wretches, who did that, which caused this shame in his Royall Maiestie. Are not you ashamed to doe it, whilst he is ashamed to heare it to be done? Shall it be a shame and sin in me to admonish him of it, when he is ashamed not to haue knowne it before? Is he sorrie it was not his good fortune to be the only Authour of the reformation; and shall I be sorrie, that it was my good fortune to be one of the first that complained on the behalfe of others (being safe my selfe) so that he might heare and reforme? I trow not.

But it may againe be obiected, *That his Maiestie had diners neere about him, who could & would better informe him*

him of these things, then my selfe. I doubt not the truth of this, that he had many about him, that would, if they could: but many of these not conuersing with the people, were not sensible of their sufferings, nor could haue beene induced to beleue halfe of that to be true, which now they see manifestly. Others could, but would not, either because themselues, or their friends were interested in the businesse. Others both could and would, but these were not euer the greatest in number, or greatest of power: they were vnable to meet that mightie opposition, which they beheld prepared and armed euer at hand to beare them downe: they were loth to be accounted *singular persons*, or *maie-contents*: they were afraid of losing their own *Liberties, Offices, and Liuinges*, whilst they endeououred to doe good Offices for the life and liberties of others. Otherwise it had beene impossible these disorders in so short a time, should haue gotten such roote and head, and growne vp to such an height.

O happie Parliament therefore; and (as his Maiestie styled it) likely then to be the happiest Parliament that euer was in *England*. Happie to reueale this, happie to reforme this, and happie to me also, to approue with their wisdom much of the matter of my complaint; (if not the manner of deliuerie) had there not beene a generall despaire of seeing a *Parliament* againe, I had not written at all, but stayed and expected their leisure and pleasure. But when I had written, and saw there was offence taken, and no credit giuen to my report, I gaue way to the time; praying God, who moued his Maiesties heart to summon a Parliament; by whom I knew he should be informed of the truth beyond my report, and so my supposed error made knowne to be good seruice. Happie therefore am I

in them : and happie are they being iustified by such as they haue censured and condemned. Heare then the late Lord *Chancellour* accuse the times, iustifie the Parliamētarie proceedings, & helping to excuse me, whilst he saith : *In the midst of a State of as great affliction, as I thinke, a mortall man can endure (honour being aboue life) I shall begin with the professing of gladnesse in some things ; The first is, that hereafter the greatnesse of a Iudge or Magistrate will be no Sanctuarie or protection of guiltinesse, which in few words is the beginning of a Golden world. Thus He :* And who knew more in these things then he ? Who could say more to purpose then he ? So that it seemes before it was otherwise, and that was the effect of an Iron-age ; when *Greatnesse* might be euill with securitie, and doe euill with warrant. But heare from the same person another cause of ioy : *The next is (saith he) that after this example, it is likely the Iudges will flee from any thing, that is in the likenesse of Corruption (though it were at a great distance) as from a Serpent : which tendeth to the purging of Courts of Iustice, and reducing them to their true honour and splendour. Thus He. And this I note from him, that Corruption was a Companion to Courts ; and Bribes were not shunned, but taken from Satan in shape of a Wife, or Friend, or Child, or Seruant, as *Euah* and *Adam* tooke the Apple from the Serpent without suspecting the successe.*

It is hard with the whole Body, when the Stomach that should feed all, and concoct nourishment, is foule and distempered : when the Liuer which should water all, is smitten with infection : and it is hard with the sicke Patient, when the Phisitian is distempered : yet this was our case by the confession of the chiefe Phisitian himselfe;

himselfe; who saith, *The Courts which should purge all, lackt purging themselves; and they which should reduce all things to right, and giue vice the due punishment, and vertue the due honour it deserueth, stood in need of others to reduce them to that honour and splendour from which they were fallen.* What is this but that which God saith, *Ezech. 22. 27, 28. Her Princes in the midst thereof are like Wolues, rauening the Prey, to shed blood, and to destroy Soules for their owne lukre. And her Prophets haue dawbed them with vntempered Mortar, seeing vanities, and deuining lyes vnto them, saying, Thus saith the Lord God, when the Lord had not spoken. And Esay, 10. 1, 2. Woe vnto them that decree wicked Decrees, and write grienous things, to keepe backe the poore from iudgement, and to take away the iudgement of the poore of my people, that widowes may be their prey, and that they may spoile the fatherlesse. What will ye doe now in the day of your visitation and destruction which shall come from farre? To whom will ye flee for helpe? And where will you leaue your glorie? And Ierem. 17. 11. As the Partrich gathereth the young, which she hath not brought forth: So he that getteth riches, and not by right, shall leaue them in the midst of his dayes, and at his end shall be a Foole. And Ierem. 22. 15. Shalt thou reigne, because thou closest thy selfe in Cedar? Did not thy Father eat, and drinke, and prosper, when he executed iudgement and iustice? Surely all this, and much more to this purpose contained in the Booke of God, was well knowne to this great man, who was able to teach others both in Diuinitie, and Morallitie, and Policie. But either the height of prosperitie so amazeth the eyes of men, as it makes them vertiginous, vnable to remember where they are, what they were, and to consider what they may*

be, before they may be precipitated to ruine : or else the voyce of poore men beneath cannot reach so high, except they straine themselves to sing *Placentia*. For they contemne all that is vnder them, and whilst they know all that the poore Minister knowes, and more too, and can speake as well as he, and much better, they thinke scorne to be admonished of the least error or danger by them; forgetting their vocation, and how they may be directed by God to them, as *Nathan* was to *David*. I doubt not *David* knew all that *Nathan* knew, and more too, and could speake as well as *Nathan* or perhaps much better : but this did not hinder him from entertaining the Ambassage of God, and from taking occasion hereby to see, confesse, and come out of his sinne, that so he might auoid the iudgement of God. Yet I am perswaded, he that in the time of this *Great mans* prosperitie, should haue boldly and honestly brought these things home, and applyed them to him by way of admonition, should perhaps haue beene as much regarded, as now the like would be at the hand of his like, who thinke they cannot fall no more then he thought, and arme themselves against all Errours, but that wherein God will haue their wisedomes taken. Nay, it were well, if they onely sleighted his Message, and counted him a mad-fellow (as the Courtiers and the Captaines in *Iehues* time counted the Prophets) that should so plainly deale with them : but perhaps he should fall into a kind of *Inquisition*, and be committed to prison, and presented to some Court of censure, to be vndone for his good will. For this is sure, many Courts had wont to be (for I hope they are now mended) like *S. Winifrids Needle* in *Rippon*; you cannot passe thorough, till you be naked, and free from all impediments; and stript you must be, for
therefore

2 Kin. 9. 11

therefore came you thither; and till you be stript, you may be innocent, but you cannot appeare to be so. This is that which *Siracides* saith: *If a rich man offend he hath many helpers; he speaketh proud words, and yet men iustifie him: but if a poore man faile they rebuke him; and though he speake wisely, yet can he haue no place. When the rich man speaketh, euerie man holdeth his tongue; and looke what he saith, they praise it vnto the Clouds: but if the poore man speake, they say, What fellow is this? and if he do amisse, they will destroy him.* Ecc. 13.22
23.

And yet truly it had beene easie to haue foretold these things before, by obseruing the times, the manners, the actions of men, and the iudgements of God threatned vpon such. For God is not a *God only neere hand, and not as farre off also*: What he threatens he will doe; be it to Priest, or Prince, or People. And thus it were no difficult matter to prophecie, that is, to foretell the certaine iudgements of God for certaine sinnes, by comparing times and things wisely together. For repentance and mercie may diuert the execution of Gods iudgement publicuely declared, nothing else can. And in this sence also, I doubt not is *preaching* in the Gospel called *prophecyng*; with respect to the Law, and to the iudgements therein denounced, obseruing times and comparing like sinnes and punishments together. And would to God this kind of prophecyng were more vsed, and better beleued, that Preachers might be more respected, or left at libertie to be taught by God, without limitation of man, and to say what God hath done lately, as well as what God hath done long since: But we haue no such custome, no such 1 Cor. 11.
16. freedome, nor the present Churches of God. Yet *Dauid* Ps. 141.6. could say in his time, and we see it true in ours; *When*

their Iudges are ouerthrowne in Stonie places, they shall heare my words, for they are sweet. When these things are come to passe, and they feele the smart of their folly,
 Es. 53. 1. *then they are content to heare of it: But who hath beleened our report before? Or to whom is the Arme of the Lord reuealed?*

As for that which some say, of giuing information of
 Vicia tem- those *Vices of the time* (as that learned Lord calls them)
 poris. by an ordinarie course: I answer, Ordinarie courses are for ordinarie crimes: but that ordinarie course failing (as here it did) and extraordinary crimes arising, and extraordinary practises appearing, and extraordinary feares prouoking euerie man, *Neceffitie* droue me to seeke out an extraordinary meanes of remedie; as Nature being constiue, betakes her selfe to vomite. For I beheld what would be the issue of these things, if no body slept vp to
 Macc. 2. 40 giue the onset: As *Mathias* and his friends debate the case with each other, vpon that Massacre, or *Sicilian Euen-Song*, or Powder-plot, which fell among them: *If we all doe as our brethren haue done* (say they) *and fight not against the Heathen for our Liues, and for our Lawes, then shall they incontinently destroy vs out of the Earth*: And if we looke not about vs (might I then haue said) and bestirre vs nimbly, either our Friends will eat vs vp at home by *Suites* and *Proiects*; or our Enemies abroad, by *Plots* and *Practises*: Some therefore must breake the Ice, to shew others the danger: for to waite and stay then for a Rule or Law to warrant my Fact, had beene to run mad with Reason, and to seeke Phisicke for a dead man. All subordinate Courts are to take information by ordinarie and regular courses: Kings are the extreamest Circle; Lines are drawne from the Center to them, and information

tion must come to them by any meanes. Their eares are long, and touch vpon euerie Subiects tongue; and great reason: for they are those that must reforme the Iudges themselves; and aboue them there is no Iudge but God. We are then to flee to them in necessitie, and not before; and this was my case, and this I did.

Now because I could not come to speake; or if I had, the particulars had been too many to deliuer at an instant; and my danger in this modest, bashfull, and religious age (which makes nice onely to heare that euill reported and reprobued, which it makes not nice, but glories to commit) had beene greater then my strength could withstand: Therefore I tooke that course which God commands to *Esay, Chap. 30. Vers. 8. I wrote it in a Booke*: By which meanes I had hope it should arriue at his Maiesties hand more safely then by any other passage: And so (as I heare) it did; and since that all foraine actions haue concurred to make good my coniectures; or rather the vulgar voyce and opinion of the people deliuered by my Pen. And time will yet make it more cleere (I feare) to the cost of vs, and of our friends; except God take the cause in hand: And at home that most high and honourable Court of Parliament, hath so opened the whole Mysterie of Iniquitie, that none need doubt the truth of any thing I wrot, but rather wonder that I wrote no more.

For confirmation of this, heare his Maiestie in his own words to that short-liued Parliament, *Anno 1621*, most elegantly clearing this point, whilst he acknowledgeth the *Face of the Common-wealth was shewed him faire and fat, but the Body hidden, which was in a Consumption*. They put on the best pretences of all things, and made it their daily care, by art and industry, to keepe his Maiestie from

seeing or hearing the truth. Heare what he saith : *And now I confesse, that when I looked before vpon the Face of the Government, I thought (as euerie man would haue done) that the people were neuer so happie as in my time : For euen as at diuerse times I haue looked vpon diuerse of my Coppices, riding about them, and they appeared on the outside verie thicke, and well growne vnto me ; but when I entred into the midst of them I found them all bitten within, and full of plaines and bare spots (like an Apple or Peare, faire and smooth without, but when ye claue it asunder, ye find it rotten at the heart) euen so this Kingdome, the externall gouernment being as good as euer it was and I am sure as learned Iudges as euer it had (and I hope as honest) administring Iustice within it : And for Peace both at home and abroad, I may truly say more settled, and longer lasting then euer any before ; together with as great Plentie as euer : so as it was to be thought, that euerie man might sit in safetie vnder his owne Vine, and vnder his owne Fig-tree : Yet I am ashamed, and it makes my haire stand vpright to consider, how in this time, my people haue beene vexed and polled, by the vile execution of Proiects Patents, and Bills of Conformitie, and such like ; which besides the trouble of my people, haue more exhausted their Purses, then Subsidies would haue done.*

Obserue this well, and you shall see no man can say more then his Maiestie hath done, to set forth the miserie of a State, which seemeth to flourish like a greene Bay-tree. His Maiestie *saw the Face*, he did not see the Body ; but thought the body in as good plight as the face ; as any man in deed would haue done. He thought *the people neuer so happie as in his time* ; and great reason he had so to thinke : but now he sees it otherwise ; and must needs
griue,

griue, because it is so. The Common-wealth was as his Coppices flourishing & thicke without, within no suitable. You know where the fault lyes: The Woodreeues, Surveyers, Rangers, and other Officers, that should preferue it, are those that spoile for themselves, by a mutuall conni- uencie, and generall conspiracie: and so it is in the State, it seemes a faire Apple, but it is rotten at the heart. The *externall gouernment was neuer better the Iudges neuer more learned*: Where then is the fault? His Maiestie resolues you: priuate *Proiects*, and *Monopolies* rob the Common- wealth, disturbe Order, frustrate Lawes, discourage Inde- uour, spoile all. First, Needie persons hauing wasted and run out their owne estates in all wild and wicked courses, then inuent meanes how to worke out a liuing from the industry of other men. These run to persons in fauour at Court, and they begge the penalties of Lawes, and to pro- uide, that whilst they keepe no Lawes themselves, they will not suffer any to be kept. *To know this*, his Maiestie saith, *He is ashamed it makes his haire stand upright*, as at the sight of euill Spirits: and yet these Diuels doe it with- out blushing, nay, with boldnesse they command it to be done, and with rigour exact a penaltie of such as doe omit it: dealing here for the King with his Loyall people, as Persecutors doe with the Saints and Seruants of God, whom they spoile, torture, and put to death, supposing therein they doe God good seruice: Or as if all men were borne to labour that they might liue idely, and wast their bodies in ryot and licentiousnesse, their estates in pride, drunkennesse, and prodigalitie, and the whole Common- wealth by their disordered lues and dissolute examples.

Thus farre that faire-promising Parliament discovered, and proceeded in a plausible and profitable course of re-
F 4
formation,

formation; but here our hopes on a sodaine were overcast with a Cloud, and our calme day became stormie. For his Maiestie, hauing in the beginning of that Parliament receiued the greatest testimonie of Loue and Loyaltie from the Subiect, that euer Prince had of his People, and giuing such publique and plausible testimonie thereof to the honour, praise, and incouragement of his people, as neuer Prince did before him; and the course of this Current running smooth a long time, without suspicion of the least mutation, at last something was vnhealthily or vnseasonably touched vpon which was tender, and being handled with too rough a hand for so fore and sensible a part to suffer and endure, gaue occasion to euill Instruments, then trembling vnder the Rod of seuerer reformation, to take and follow the aduantage offered, so home to the head, as thereby the Parliament was sodainly and abruptly broken vp, with the ruine of all our hopes.

Then we had time enough to see how much more easie it was *for a few*, who had the Kings *eare*, to hinder, then *for many*, though they had the Kings *heart*, to helpe; and we began to obserue, *it was not good seeing of all faults at once*; lest, making the *Offenders* more & stronger then the *Reformers*, faction should combine and vnite the guiltie, and giue them courage, out of despaire of pardon, to breake with violence, through all the Copweb toiles, that were set to ensnare them. Here began our calamitie, and lycentiousnesse breaking loose, raged the more for former restraints; as we see a Bow starts right forth and flies out of the hand of him that shoots, when ouerbent, and ouerdrawne, it breakes the hard-twisted string asunder. Vnequall conditions of grace, which carie the countenance of constraint, are deliuered with frownes, and hold no longer then

then that obedience from the Subiect which is perswaded by penaltie, and exacted by tyrannie. For *Nullum violentum perpetuum*; the Superiour and Inferiour also, must worke freely, if faithfully.

Our euils grew great and sweld higher and higher euerie tyde; as waue followes waue, so woe followed woe one vpon the necke of another, euen so farre, and in such extreames, as nothing of *Alexanders* portion (*Hope*) was left vs. The particulars, What, and circumstances, How, being pointed at in my former Treatise, are not so pleasant, as that they require or admit repetition: Nay rather, *Quis temperet a lachrymis*, who can abstaine from teares that remembers them? I hasten therefore forward, to a more comfortable and acceptable report, being glad at the heart, that in such a storme, I descry Land so neere me. For here, whilst our Ship tost aloft, as high as the Cloudes, saw nothing but Rockes of ruine to light on, and we poore Passengers expected death, and in death what Fish would swallow vs & vouchsafe to be our Graue, Tombe, and the Monument of our Miserie, behold a calme, and the sweet sound of that Trumpet, which bad our hopes, and a new Parliament, arise together from the dead. This day seemed then a shadow of the *Last*, when the Arch-Angell and Trumpe shall proclame a generall Resurrection, and summon the guiltie to appeare at the Barre of Iustice, reuining the faithfull, to lift vp their heads towards Glorie.

Accordingly the Parliament began, *Februarie* the 19, 1623 *Stilo Anglicano*: Where his Maiestie, by a most gracious Speech, reconciled himselfe to his people, as a louing Husband to his too-iealous Wife. He acknowledged the proper vse and extent of a Parliament, in these or

the like golden Words, which before he seemed to haue abridged almost to nothing, as a body not only long since dead, but now also turned to Dust, Earth, and Ashes. See the difference betwixt power incensed, and appeased.

The proper use of a Parliament (saith his most excellent Maiestie) *is according to the Writ, Nobiscum super arduis negotijs tractare, & consilium vestrum impendere. To conferre with the King as Gouvernor of the Kingdome, and to giue their aduice in matters of greatest importance, concerning the King and the State, and defence of the King, Kingdome, and Church.*

Is. 25.

Accordingly his Maiestie declared, how much he had beene wronged and deluded, by dallying Treaties; when all his true-hearted Subiects saw he would, prayed he might, and prayed God he was so profitably abused. He professeth to awake as a man out of a sweet dreame, whose wants are doubled by the delusion. He desired their councell & assistance, promising to be ruled by them, and to doe no weightie businesse without them; he intreated (who might command) their speed, since delaies were dangerous, and the spinning out of time vnprofitable; his deare-bought experience had taught him that Lesson. To trust any longer vpon promises & hopes, he intended not, but cast himselfe wholly vpon God and his people.

Prou. 21. 1

Is not this wonderfull? Doe not these words, if we had them, and could so set them downe as they were deliuered, deserue to be lodged in euerie Subiects heart? Nay doth not this manifest the truth of that which *Salomon* saith, that *The Kings heart is in the hand of the Lord as the Riuer of Water; he turneth it whit her soeuer he will?* Before this change none could moue him, all humane applications were as if men set their shoulders to a Rock:

Nay

Nay all endeavour this way, procured more violent and resolute opposition : But now his heart is moued by God, it moues him, and he moues them, who would but could not moue him before, wils them to make hast, and to be swift in their motion, thereby to make amends for former delaies. This shewes the King is the same to the body Politique, that the heart is to the body Naturall, the Scate and Fountaine of Motion, and so of Action.

The Parliament consult, and resolue with all speed, that both the Treaties with *Spaine*, concerning *the Prince his marriage with the Infanta Maria*, and the *restitution of the Palatinate*, should be broken off presently ; and this they giue in humbly for their heartie resolution. The King congratulates their speedie and happie Councell, in a Speech made the eighth of *March*, in words to this purpose :

My Lords and Gentlemen all, I haue carse first to thanke God with my heart and all the faculties of my minde, that my Speech which I deliuered in Parliament, hath taken so good effect amongst you, as that with an vnamine consent, you haue freely and speedily giuen me your aduice in this great businesse for which I also thanke you all as heartily as I can, &c. And so proceeding to propound some difficulties, which, like a wise Prince, he desired might be considered, cleered, and remoued by their councell, he concluds thus, *Your kind cartage giues me much contentment, and that comforts me, which my Lord of Canterburie said, That there was not a contrarie voyce amongst you all ; Like the Seuentie Interpreters who were led by the breath of God. I am so desirous to forget all rents in former Parliaments, that it shall not be in my default if I be not in loue with Parliaments, and call them often, and desire to end*

my life in that entercourse betweene me and my people, for the making of good Lawes, reforming of such abuses as I cannot well be informed of but in Parliament, and in maintaining the good Government of the Common-wealth. Therefore goe on cheerefully and aduise of these points, and my resolution shall then be declared.

Now the chiefe of those points whereof his Maiestie would haue them aduise, was matter of mony, the summe and the meanes to raise it; which is the Sinew, yea the verie Soule of Warre, and must be provided for before any worke could be vndertaken.

And because there was something in this Speech of his Maiesties mistasted (perhaps by mistaking) his Maiestie was graciously pleased to expound and explaine himselfe more cleerly & fully by Letter, the seuenteenth of *March*, wherein he shewes :

That he was resolued both in Conscience and Honour to make an instant warre.

That he did desire to conferre with the House for the manner of the Warre, Places, and Persons.

That he did refuse to demand any present Subsidie for his debts, but desired that his former demands of one Subsidie and two Fifteenes might be added to the great businesse of the Warre.

Hereupon as a glad Eccho to such a gracious and muscall explanation, the whole House of Commons resound this harmonious close and consent.

Most gracious Soueraigne, We your most humble and loyall Subiects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, doe first render vnto your Sacred Maiestie our most dutifull thanks, for that (to our unspeakeable comfort) you haue vouchsafed to expresse your selfe so well
satisfied

Satisfied with our late declaration, made to your Maiestie of our generall resolution, in pursuit of our humble aduise, to assist your Maiestie in a Parliamentarie way, with our persons and abilities. And whereas your Maiestie, in your great wisdom and iudgement foreseeing that it would make a deeper impression both in the Enemies of that cause, and in your Friends and Allies, if they should not only heare of the cheerefull offers, but also see the reall performance of your Subiects towards so great a worke, your Maiestie was pleased to descend to a particular proposition, for the advancement of this great businesse. We in all humbleness most really willing to giue your Maiestie and the whole World an ample testimonie of our sincere and dutifull intentions herein, haue upon mature aduice and deliberation as well of the weight and importance of this great affaire, as of the present estate of this your Kingdome, the weale and safetie whereof, is in our iudgements apparantly threatned, if your Maiesties resolution for dissolving of the Treaties now in question be longer deferred, and that provision for defence of the Realme, and of your Friends and Allies be not seasonably made, haue with a cheerefull consent of all your Commons (no one dissenting) and with a full and cheerefull consent of all the Lords resolved, that vpon your Maiesties publique declaration for the vtter dissolution and discharge of the two Treaties, of the Mariage, and the Palatinate, in pursuit of our aduice therein, and towards the support of the warre which is like to ensue, and more particularly for those Foure points proposed by your Maiestie namely, The defence of this Realm; securing of Ireland; the assistance of your Neighbours the States of the Vnited Prouinces, and other your Friends and Allies; and for the setting forth of your Royall Nauy;

We will grant for the present the greatest ayd that euer was granted in Parliament, to be leuied in so short a time : that is, Three entier Subsidies, and three Fifteenes, to be all paid within the compasse of one whole yeere, after your Maiestie shall be pleased to make the said declaration ; the Money to be paid into the hands, & expended by the direction, of such Committees, & Commissioners as hereafter shall be agreed in this present Session of Parliament.

And we most humbly beseech your Maiestie, graciously to accept of this first Fruits of our heartie Oblation, dedicated to that worke, which we in sinceritie desire may prosper and be aduanced : And for the future to rest confidently assured, that if you shall be ingaged in a reall warre, We your loyall and louing Subiects will neuer faile to assist your Maiestie in a Parliamentarie way in so Royall a designe, wherein your owne honour, and the honour of your most noble Sonne the Prince, the ancient renoume of this Nation, the well-fare and verie subsistence of your noble and onely Daughier, and her Consort, and their Posteritie, the safetie of your owne Kingdomes and People, and the prosperitie of your Neighbours and Allies, are so deeply engaged.

Now their readie consent, shewed their Vnitie ; their bountie, shewed their good affection to the cause ; and their prouision and caution, to giue it by a Parliamentarie way, shewed their wisedome ; who, by looking backward and seeing how all things are drawne into President, and how power lets not goe what it gets howsoeuer it be giuen, did, for the good of the Ages to come, prouide there should not be a new forme of rayfing Moneys, inuented and added to those that are already settled and in practise. But as they were readie to part with all to his Maiestie for the

the good of his Person and Posteritie, to be expended in defence of the Church and State; so they would giue it by a Parliamtarie way, that the giift might be knowne to be theirs, and to be given freely, vpon good and mature aduise and deliberation. Which his Maiestie well obseruing and approving, knowing he dealt with a people well managed to his hand, free, faithfull, and withall intelligent of all grace that was done them, close and reserued where they saw any conuenance in the Clouds, and open-hearted and open-handed, where they beheld open dealing; He makes a free and publike declaration of his Royall resolution, the 23 of *March*, whereof before he seemed, to some of his plain-meaning and plain-dealing Subiects, a little too reserued, who could not looke so farre as he himselfe did, into those respects of State which moued him to it.

In this Speech, after he had repeated somethings in a former Discourse of his, and shewed his Reasons why he propounded the difficulties there mentioned, not to discourage his People, or incourage the Enemy, by pleading his cause, and alledging aduantages for him, and disadvantages for vs; to animate his pride and oppression, by representing his strength; and deterre vs, by a reflection of our weaknesse: but, like a wise Prince, casting and foreseeing the worst, and desiring to be armed both with Money and meanes sufficient, and with men resolved to overcome all these difficulties, though the worst should fall out that could be objected or suspected, he proceeds to giue them thanks for their generall offer, in which they did engage themselves, their liues, & states, to second his resolutions for warre, which he gratefully acknowledged to be more then fortie Subsidies, and more worth then a Kingdome:

For (quoth he) the strength of a King stands (next vnder the protection of God) in the hearts of his People. And I must needs say in this particular, it is without example that euer any Parliament for a beginning gaue a King so great a supply in so short a time to be leuied. This may well serue for a preparation. And for my part, first considering your generall offer, which is ten times more to me then all Subsidies; and next, considering that all these particulars comming from you, be as much as the people are able to pay in so short a time, being within a yeere, and as much as may be well expended; Therefore with as much loue, and as great thanks as a louing and kind King can giue to so louing and dutifull a people, I thanke you for your offer, and doe accept it. I tould you before that I would neuer haue craued your aduice to reiect it, and so put a scorne vpon you; thinke me not that man. It is true that I thinke no wise King can undertake so great a bargain, but he must well bethinke himselfe beforehand; and I hold better that a King aduise well before he take a resolution, then aduise rashly, and after repent it. Therefore my Lords and Gentlemen, I declare vnto you, as I am willing to follow your aduice in the annulling and breach of these two Treaties, both for the Match and the Palatinate, so on the other part, I assure my selfe you will make good what you haue said, that in what you aduise me to, you will assist me with your wisdom, and counsell, and Forces, if need be. I pray you haue a charitable opinion of me, as you are to haue of a King who hath so long ruled and gouerned you (and I may well vaunt my selfe with Iustice and Peace) that as I tould you before all my forbearance hath beene for the sparing of the effusion of Christian blood, and as the most easie and probable way for recovering the Palatinate for my Children, which now
it

it is high time I take in hand and performe. I haue beene so long delayed and paid with generals, that I dare not trust longer vnto them; which made me enioine Buckingham to make a particular relation to you of all that businesse (and I am sure that such an account was neuer before giuen in Parliament) that thereby you may know what to trust vnto. I could, in this case, haue resolved my selfe, but I thought it could not be but a strength and honour both to me, to haue the aduise of my people.

My Lords in the latter Parliament I then declared vnto you that I was resolved without respect of Friendship, or Match, or whatsoeuer, to haue the Palatinate one way or other; and I hope you all remember it. God is my Iudge and Sauour, I neuer had other end and it is pittie I should euer liue to haue other end - and for my part, except, by such meanes as God may put into my hand I may recouer the Palatinate. I could wish neuer to haue beene borne. I am old, but my onely Sonne is young; and I will promise for my selfe and him both, that no meanes shall be vnused for the recouerie of it. And this I dare say, as old as I am, if it might do good for the businesse I would goe in mine owne person, and thinke my travell and paines well bestowed, though I should end my dayes there. For if I should spare any meanes for the recouerie of it, then let me not be thought worthy to raigne ouer you. And in good faith, I neuer resolved to liue with other mind; nay, I will say more, there was neuer any Enemie of my Son-in-lawes, with whom I talked of that businesse, or any other that I euer spake with on that side, which did not say and confesse that I had reason to haue the Palatinate, one way or othrr. And when they say so, it is a good reason that they themselues allow; and it was a good spur to me to thinke vpon it.

My Lords & Gentlemen all, thus far assure your selues, that I will goe cheerefully about to prepare all things possible for it. And as you haue giuen the meanes so I will employ them towards it. And in the next degree I hope you will thinke on me. But this I leaue to your own counsels & considerations: but I protest to God, a pennie of this money shall not be bestowed but on this worke & by your own Committees; and I assure my selfe you will thinke on me for a double reason; my customes are like to fall by occasion of the warre, yet I must goe through with it one way or other, though I sell Jewels and all. In the next Session you will consider how this hath beene husbanded, and according to it, thinke what is next to be done, and how far, and it will stir you the more to enable me for the rest.

And here I will cleere you in some things, concerning doubts arising from my last speech, because I will not deale in any thing with you but freely & cleerly as a King; and seeing I haue broken the neckes of diuerse Parliaments together, I hope to deserue so well of you, and you of me, that this shall be a happy Parliament, and make me greater and happier then any King of England euer was.

In my last speech I promised, if I did accept your offer, I would follow your aduice, & would not after hearken to any Treatie of peace, but would acquaint you with it, & require your aduice. And I likewise promised nothing should be spent of those moneys, but by your owne Committees. But I desire you to vnderstand I must haue a faithfull and secret Councell of warre, that must not be ordered by a multitude, for so my designes might be discovered beforehand: a penny of this money shall not be bestowed but in the sight of your Committees; but whether I shall send 2000 or 10000, whether by Sea or by Land, North or South, by diuersion or otherwayes

*otherwaies by inuasion vpon the Baaarian or the Emperour, or
elsewhere, you must leane that to the king. Assure your selues
my delay hitherto was in hope to haue gotten it without a
warre. I held it by a haire hoping to recouer it by entreatie;
but since I see it cannot be had that way, I hope that God
that hath put it into your hearts thus to aduise me, and into
my heart to follow your aduice will so blesse it that I shall
cleere my reputation from Obloquij, & in despite of the De-
uil. shew that I neuer had but an honest heart. And I desire
that God would blesse our Labours for happie restitution of
my Children. And whosoever did the wrong, I deserved bet-
ter at their hand.*

The next businesse they fell vpon, was for repressing
the increase and insolencie of Papists within this Land :
For doubtlesse they saw, that from this root, much of that
mischiefe, which had befallne the Kings Children, first
sprung, and was since continued. And what they and
Religion in them had suffered abroad, from these and
those of their Faction, would follow necessarily vpon
themselves, and the Church at home, by this meanes, ex-
cept their wisdomes did speedily preuent it. Neither did
they post-pone Religion, as if the former point handled
and concluded, had beene meere a ciuill businesse : But
they prefer'd that first, both in respect it concerned the
Kings Children, and was the ground of all the rest, as also
because it was a mixed cause inuolued with Religion, and
concerned the whole Commonwealth of Christendome
deepely and directly ; being therefore to be prefer'd, as the
whole before a part. Now then in the second place, they
descend to matter of Religion and State at home : For so
the Popes intrusion and the Iesuites policie haue mixed
or rather confounded them, as they cannot be distinguisht
really

really and actually, though vocally and verbally they may. Shortly after therefore the House gaue vp this Petition following to his Maiestie.

May it please your most excellent Maiestie, we your Maiesties humble & loyall Subiects the Commons of this present parliament assembled, hauing to our singular comfort receiued your Princely resolution vpon our humble Petition to dissolue the two Treaties of the Match & the Palatinat, & hauing on our parts with all alacritie & readinesse humbly offered our assistance to your Maiestie, to maintain the war which may ensue thereupon; yet withal sensibly finding what seditious & traiterous positions those Incendiaries of Rome and professed Engineers of Spaine, the Priests & Iesuites, infuse into your naturall borne subiects; What numbers they haue seduced, & doe daily labor to make, their dependance on the Pope of Rome, and King of Spaine, contrarie to their allegiance to your Maiestie their leige Lord; what daily resort of Priests and Iesuites into this your Kingdome; What concourse of Popish Recusants (more then vsuall) are now in & about the Citie of London; what boldnesse & insolence they haue discovered, out of the opinion conceined of the foraine patronage; what publike resort to masse, & other exercises of the Romane religion, in the houses of Foraine Ambassadors there is daily, to the offence of your good Subiects; What preparations are made in Spaine fit for an Inuasion, the bent whereof is as probable to be vpon some part of your Maiesties Kingdomes, as vpon any other place; what encouragement it may be to our enemies and the enemies of your crown, to haue a partie, or but the opinion of a partie within your own Kingdomes, who daily encrease & combine themselves together for that purpose; what disheartning to your good and louing Subiects, when they shall see more cause of feare from their false-hearted Countrimen at home, then
their

their professed enemies abroad; What apparant dangers by Gods providence and your Maiesties wisdom & goodnesse, they haue verie lately escaped, with the no longer continuance of those Treaties vpon such unfit conditions, by your ill-affected Subiects drawne vpon your Maiestie and vpon your Estate; they in all humblenesse offer vnto your most sacred Maiestie these humble petitions following.

First, that all Iesuites & Seminarie Priests, & all others, hauing taken orders by any authoritie deriued from the See of Rome, by your Maiesties proclamation, be forthwith commanded out of this Realme, & all others your Maiesties Dominions, and neither they nor any other to returne or come hether again vpon pain of the seuerest penalties of the lawes now in force against them; and that all your Maiesties subiects may thereby also be admonished, not to receiue, entertaine, comfort, or relieue any of that viperous brood, vpon the penaltie and forfeiture which by the Lawes may be imposed vpon them.

Secondly, That your Maiestie would be pleased to giue strength and speedie charge to the Iustices of Peace in all the parts of this Kingdome, that according to lawes in that behalfe made, and the Orders taken by your Maiesties Prinie Councell heretofore for policie of State, they do take from all papists, recusants legally conuicted or iustly suspected, al such armor, gunpowder & munition of any kind, as they or any of them, haue either in their own hands, or in the hands of any other for them; & to see the same safely kept & disposed of according to the law, leauing them for the necessary defence of their houses & persons, so much as is by the law prescribed.

Thirdly, That your Maiestie will please to command all Popish Recusants, and all others who by any Law or Statute are forbidden to come to the Kings Court, forthwith vpon

paine of your Maiesties heauie displeasure, and the seuerer execution of the Lawes against them, to retire themselves, their Wiues and Families from about London to their seuerall dwellings or places by your Lawes appointed, there to remaine and to be confined within five miles, according to the Lawes of this your Realme; and for that purpose to discharge all the Post-licences granted vnto them for their repaire hither; and that they presume not hereafter to repaire to London, or within ten miles of London, or to the King or Princes Court wheresoeuer.

Fourthly That your Maiestie would forbid and restraine the great resort and concourse of your owne Subiects for the hearing of Masse, and for other exercises of the Romane Religion, to the Houses of Foraine Ambassadors or Agents residing here for the seruice of their seuerall Princes or States.

Fifthly, That whereas of late in seuerall Countiees of this Realme, some haue beene trusted in the place of Lord Lieutenants, of Deputie Lieutenants, Commissioners of Oyre and Terminer, Iustices of Peace, and Captaines in their Countreys, which are either Popish Recusants, or Non-communicants, by the space of a yeere now past, or doe not vsually resort to the Church to heare Diuine Seruice. nor can bring good certificat hereof that your Maiestie will be pleased to discharge them of their Places of trust, by which they haue power in the Countrey where they line, which is not fit to put into the hands of persons so affected.

Sixthly, That your Maiestie would be pleased generally to put in execution all the Lawes made against Recusants, and that all Iudges Iustices, and other Ministers of Iustice, to whose care all these things are committed, may be commanded to doe their dutie therein.

Seuenthly,

Senenibly Seeing we are thus happily deliuered from the dangers which those Treaties now dissolued, and that vse which your ill-affected Subiects made thereof, would certainly haue drawne vpon vs, and cannot but of force feare lest the like may hereafter happen, which will bring much perill to your Maiesties Kingdomes : We are most humble Suitors to your Maiestie to secure the hearts of your Subiects by theingagement of your Royall Word vnto them, that vpon no occasion of Mariage, or Treatie, or other request in that behalfe from any Foraine Prince or State whoisoeuer, you will take away or slacken the execution of your Lawes against the Popish Recusants; to which their humble Petitions proceeding from their most loyall and dutiful affections towards your Maiestie, the care of their Countreys good, and their confident assurance that they will much aduance the Glorie of Almighty God, and the everlasting honour of your Maiestie.

They humbly besecch your Maiestie to vouchsafe your Maiesties answer.

Accordingly his Maiestie returnes this gracious answer to their petition, the 23 of April following, in these or the like words.

My Lords and Gentlemen of both Houses, although I cannot but commend your Zeale in offering this Petition vnto me. yet on the other side I cannot but hold my selfe vnforgunate; that I should be thought to need a spur to doe that, which my conscience & dutie bindes me to. What Religion I am of my Bookes declare my profession, and behauiour doe shew. I hope in God I shall neuer line to be thought otherwise, surely I shall neuer deserue it. And for my part, I wish that

Whether
or no eu-
rie Religi-
on increaseth
by perse-
cution, is a
question.
It is true
that San-
guis Mar-
tyrum est
semen Ec-
clesiæ: but
his Maiesty
must not
be under-
stood as if
he thought
the Mar-
tyrs of
Rome
(such as
Garnet &
Faux were
& the rest
are) to be
true Mar-
tyrs, and

it might be written in Marble, and remain to posteritie as a
marke upon me, when I should swarue from my religion. For
he that doth dissemble with God, is not to be trusted of men.

My Lords, for my part, I protest before God, my heart
hath bled when as I haue heard of the encrease of Poperie:
and I take God to be my Iudge, that it hath beene such a
great griefe vnto me that it hath beene as thornes in my
eyes, and pricks in my sides. So far haue I euer beene and shall
be from turning another way.

And my Lords and Gentlemen, you all shall be my Con-
fessors that one way or other it hath beene my desire to hin-
der the growth of Poperie: and I could not be an honest
man if I should haue done otherwise; And this I may say far-
ther, that if I be not a Martyr, I am sure I am a Confessor:
and in some sense, I may be called a Martyr also. As in the
Scripture Isaac was persecuted by Ismaell by mocking
words. For neuer King suffered more by euill tongues, than
I haue done, and that I am sure for no other cause, and that I
haue bin far from persecution. For I haue euer thought, that
no way more increaseth any religion, then persecution accor-
ding to the saying, Sanguis Martyrum est semen Ecclesiæ.

that the blood of such is the seed of the Church; It may be the seed of Sins Si-
nogogue, & of Antichrists Empire, but not of the true Church of Christ. The true
Religion thrives indeed by persecution, because it is of God: this was seene by vs
in the daies of Queene MARY, and in France by the Massacre, and in Germany by
old and late cruelties vsed against the reformed Catholikes: but the Church of
Rome is not the true Church; for it doth not thrive by persecution, but by perse-
cuting others. The Inquisition vpholds it in all places where it stands vpright; and
that it doth not thrive by persecution, but by the contrarie, the reigne of Queene
ELIZABETH, and of his Maiestie, doth manifest.

Queene ELIZABETH was persecuted by them, & did persecute, or rather pro-
secute Iustice against them; whereby they decreased both at home & abroad. Our
present Soueraigne, as his Maiestie confesseth, and as we haue seene with sorrow,
hath beene and is persecuted by them in his Person, Profession, and Posteritie, but
he hath not persecuted them, nor prosecuted the Law against them, but rather the
contrarie; whereby they encrease at home & abroad; and now, *Exius acta probat.*
The effect shewes the cause.

Now

Now my Lords and Gentlemen for your Petition, I will not onely grant the substance of what you craued, but adde something more of mine owne. For the two Treaties being already annulled, as I haue declared them to be, that necessarily followeth of it selfe which you desire. And therefore it needeth no more but that I doe declare by Proclamation (which I am readie to doe) that the Iesuites and Priests doe depart by a day: but it cannot be as you desire by one Proclamation to be out of all my Dominions. For a Proclamation here, extends but to this Kingdome. This I will doe, and more, I will command all my Iudges when they goe their Circuits, to keepe the same course for putting all the Lawes against Recusants in execution, which they were wont to do before these Treaties. For the Lawes be still in force, and were neuer dispenced with by me, and God is my Iudge, they were neuer intended so to be dispenced with by me. But as I tould you in the beginning of the Parliament, you must giue me leaue as a good Horse-man, sometimes to vse the Raines, and not alwaies to vse the spur. So now there needs nothing but my declaration. And for the disarming of them, it is already done by the Lawes, and it shall be done as you desire it, and more.

I will take order for preuenting that shamefull disorder of the resorting of mine owne Subiects to all Foraine Ambassadors. And of these I will aduise with my Councell, how they may be best reformed. It is true that the Houses of Ambassadors are priuiledged places; and though they cannot take them out from their Houses, yet the Lord Maior, and M. Recorder of London, may take them as they come from thence, and make some of them examples.

An other point I will adde concerning the education of their Children, of which I haue had a principall care, as my

Lord of Canterburie, and the Bishop of Winchester, and other Lords of my Councell, and indeed all my Councell can beare me witnesse, with whom I haue aduised concerning this businesse. For in good faith, it is a shame that their Children should be so bred here as if they were bred vp in Madrid, and at Rome. So I doe grant not only your desire, but more.

I am sorrie that I was not the first mouer of it vnto you; but if that you had not moued this to me, yet I would haue done it of my selfe. Now for the last part of your Petition, you haue herein giuen me the best aduice in the world. For it is against the rule of wisdom, that a King should suffer any of his Subiects to be beholding and to depend vpon, any other then himselfe; And what hath any King to doe with the Lawes and Subiects of another Kingdome?

And therefore assure your selues, that by the grace of God, I will be carefull that no such conditions be foisted in vpon any other Treatie whatsoever. For it is fit that my Subiects should stand or fall to their owne Lord.

This great businesse of Religion, which is the foundation of all, being thus settled according to the votes of Parliament, and his Maiesties vowes and promises, and all men secured from marying any foraine Religion vnder the couerture of fraudulent conditions, foisted in, as his Maiestie saith, vpon a new Treatie. They then proceed to enquire into the rents & ruptures of the Common-wealth. And as in the Parliament before, they reformed the Court of Conscience, and censured the Lord Chancellor, as hath beene related; So now they looke into the Exchequer, the Court of Treasure, and there their eyes were fastned vpon the supremest Officer, the Lord Treasurer, whose speedie growth, from a mediocritie to that height and greainesse,

greatnesse, both of place and employment, gaue him no time to make vse of former Presidents and examples, to teach him to beware; so that he fell before he could well assure himselfe that he was vp. An Artificer that hath beene vsed from Chylldhood to climbe euerie day, and trained by degrees to acquaint himselfe with distances of altitude, can, without giddines, keepe sure footing, though the Stages be neuer so high: It is not so with the vnexperienced, though their braines be neuer so strong and steddie, if they, being hoodwinked, be mounted aloft, not seeing the wayes they came vp, and so vnacquainted with the steps and degrees, it is odds but they fall when their Bumble is taken from them. This was his fortune; his fault was that common errour of great Officers, who thinke they can be good Seruants to the King, though they be iniurious to the Kingdome; yea, that they are the better to the one, the worse they are to the other; when assuredly, they must be good to both, or to neither. That Improuement is a benefit to both, which is brought in to the Land, and added to the common Treasure and Stocke of the State, in Bullion or any other necessarie supply, or inuented here to better our homebred Commoditie, and thereby to draw in treasure from without: but that which is gotten thorough incroachings made by either of these vpon the other, is as if the Father should rob the Child, the Child the Father; the Husband should rob the Wife, the Wife the Husband; or as if the Burgers in a Towne besieged, should sally vpon their owne Souldiers in the Out-workes, or the Souldiers set to defend a place, should reuert vpon their owne entertainers. They which take from the lawfull libertie of the Subiect, to eeke out the Prerogatiue, weaken the Soueraigne power, which con-

sisteth in the Peoples loue, and makes the life of it more troublesome, painfull, subiect to diseases, and of no certain continuance : they againe who pull the proper and naturall Feathers from the Princely Prerogative, to enlarge the Peoples libertie, doe thereby open a dore to all manner of euill, which (together with licentiousnesse and disobedience) doe rush into the Common-wealth, and doe also make that great bodie of Soueraigntie vnproportionable, vncomely, and not glorious enough ; yea, altogether vnseruiceable to moue it selfe, either for the restraint of vice, the encouragement of Vertue, the execution of Lawes, or the vniting of Inward power against Foraine Force and Inuasion ; which are the ends of Royall institution.

A Parliament therefore, where Prince and People meet and ioine in consultation, is fit only for that weightie and important worke, in whose euen ballancing, the weale of a State doth consist. And without this Councel, the greatest Peere or Officer, yea, the greatest profest Enginere in State stratagems, may easily erre vpon either hand, many degrees from good gouernment, and so fall into an Anarchy or Tyrannie. And this large Point, was lost in his too narrow Compasse ; and no wonder, for neuer any single man, no not *Salomon* himselfe, could find it.

Yet his Maiestie would not take him from the censure of his Peeres and People (as vniust Princes would haue done, who hauing need of bad Instruments, must therefore vphold them, and not suffer them to be made examples of Iustice, lest they should deterre others from the like employments, and so when they haue wills to be wicked, and to doe wrong, want meanes to effect it) but as a louing Master, to shew himselfe worthy of a better Seruant, he pleads for mercie where he might command it, yet will
not

not denie it to all, to giue it to one, but when all is done, refers him to the vnsuspected equitie of that Court, willing that he should suffer, though neuer so great, though neuer so beloued, rather then the whole State.

And in this Act, he taught all Officers, euen from the Porters Lodge to the Bed Chamber, to see that they haue no protection for wrong from his power, and that there is no sure standing aloft, but by personall innocencie and integrity.

The Conclusion of the Parliament was answerable to these happy proceedings, where whose Lawes made against *Blasphemie* and *Drunkenesse* doe sanctifie and season the rest, assuring vs, that though our sinnes be great and generall, yea, such as deserue the punishment of Sodome: yet God hath not altogether left vs, but these are witnesses of his presence, as the Cloudie and Fierie Pillars to the Hoast of *Israel*; We shall not be blowne vp till these be blotted out, nor dare the *Amalekites* venter to assault our Coasts, as long as these two Hands of *Moses*, be held vp ouer vs, in *Exod. 17* praier and practise. O that we might haue been so happie to cry out also concerning the Sabaoth with *Nehemiah*, *Neh. 13.* *Remember vs (O our God) concerning this also, and spare 22. us according to the greatnesse of thy mercie.*

Thus I haue shewed from the Petitions of the Parliament, and his Maiesties gracious acknowledgment, that what I wrot in that little Pamphlet called *Vox Populi*, was as farre short in effect of what his Maiestie now knowes to be true, as the shadow is of the substance it vshereth, or the Paper stopper is of the Shot which followeth. That which I did, was to the end that his Maiestie might haue knowne thus much before; which if he had, I know he would then haue giuen a speedie remedie as well as now.

And now in doing this, I hope I haue not shewne any disloyaltie to his Maiestie, nor done iniurie to any true and loyall Seruant or Subiect of his : except (as the Apostle
 2 Cor. 12
 15. saith) in this, *That I haue not beene slouthfull to your hinderance : forgiue me this wrong. Nor doe I repent me of this; for (as the same Apostle there saith) I will most gladly bestow, and will be bestowed for your Soules; though the more I loue you, the lesse I am loued.*

Yet it must needs greeue me to see the Popish Priests and Iesuites, whom the Law calls Traytors, walke freely in the Streets, and presse into the Court, and to his Maiesties presence, when such as oppose these, and shew their dangerous intrusions, are for this, in danger and disgrace, shut vp, or shut out, from enioying the benefit of subiects, consisting chiefly in his Maiesties protection and fauour. Nay when these, after a solemne and publike Proclamation procured by Petition of Parliament, where the Head and Bodie ioyned, and commanded their departure vnder capitall penalties, dare notwithstanding stay and tempt the Magistrate to do his worst, knowing well the worst is but to liue in a Prison, better in all respects then they can in a Cloister, in any place out of the Land : Such true Subiects, as transported, perhaps, with a little too much zeale, haue erred onely, or at least offended the eares of their Superiors, with a little too seuerer and sharpe, and perhaps vndiscreet or vnseasonable admonition, doe feeble the heauiest censures of arbitrarie Law to their vtter vndoing. The cause of this cannot be to woo the Romanists to reforme by clemencie ; for, alas, after too many trials they are found to be obstinately hardned in their sinne : but the true reason is, *men are more zealous for superstition, then for true Religion, and more valiant for lyes, then for truth.* When *Elias* flees,

flee, the Priests of *Baall* offer themselves to the sword, or shun it not when it is offered. And besides this personall valour in the superstitious, nourished by an opinion of meritt, which satisfieth the sincerest sort, and a promise of Canonization, which pricketh forward the ambitious and vainglorious, if (meeting death in their attempts) they should misse temporall preferment, or shoot short of the Papacie, which is the generall marke in their eye, yea, the But of their ambitions; The laick or common professour also, is much more forward in their wayes of errour, then ours are in the wayes of God. So that, if any of their Clergie come in question, Lords and Ladies become their Advocates, and doe not onely, vpon their knees, importune their inflexible Idols to heare and helpe, if they could, but knocke at all doores, and giue not ouer knocking, till they obtaine what they desire; yea, rather then they will return emptie, they emptie their purses to this end; because their merit is no lesse in sauing life, then the others should be in suffering death. Whereas, if any of ours be in question, all men shun them, as if they were infected: Oh, they are dangerous, factious, & seditious fellowes; and let their opinions, or affections, or actions be what they will, so they be questioned, the Brand of Puritanisme set once vpon their Backes by power or policie, all men flee from them, as from Rockes at Sea, and leaue them to perish; yea, rather then faile, will add the weight of their authorities, to sinke them in the common Current of displeasure and disgrace. Nor is this the custome of profane persons only, who serue for nothing but to serue times & purposes, & to second the sentence of their Superiors with soothing; but euen some of those that will be counted forward Professors, are verie Cowards in the cause of Christ, and seeke not to rectifie

iudgement, as the Elders of Iuda did by argument; nor to rescue mistaken innocence, as *Abikam* did in the case of *Jeremiah*, *Jerem.* 26. but desert and misknow their innocent friends if once they be accused, and deliuer them vp to their angry accusers, as if they were guiltie. Assuredly, were they of Rome as faint as we are, or were we as faithfull and sure to each other as they are, these strong and dangerous approaches had neuer been made vpon vs at home or abroad, to the hazard of our liues and liberties. This is their aduantage, and our disaduantage, that they dare doe any thing for the good of their Religion, though the Lawes, and King, and God be against them; and we dare doe nothing for ours, though both Law, and King, & God be with vs.

To these my timorous & effeminate Friends therefore, who tell me still what I know, that it is good sleeping in a whole skin, I say as *Iob* did to his miserable Comforters,
Iob 13.4 *Ye are all Physitions of no value, Hold your peace, let me*
 13. *alone that I may speake, and let come on me what will.*

To my domesticke Enemies or back-friends also, whose ill wills I neuer deserued, except by wishing them well, and praying for them, I say with *Zophar the Naamathite*,
Iob 20.3 *I haue heard the rumor of my reproch; therefore the Spirit*
of my understanding causeth me to answer. And with Iob,
Iob 13: *Behold now, if I prepare me to iudgement, I know that I shal*
 18,19 *be iustified. Who is he that will plead with me? For if I now*
Iob 31. *hold my tongue, I dye. O that One would heare me! Behold*
 35,36. *my signe, that the Almighty will witnesse for me; though*
my Aduersaries would write a booke against me, would not I
take it vpon my shoulder, and bind it as a crowne vnto me?

And for Foraine Enemies (if I haue any that will do me so much honour as to oppose me) I must remember them

of that resolution which Sylla's Host shewed in *Pranesta*, Nolo (in-
when seeing his Countrey men put to death, and yet life quit) pa-
being offered him by Sylla, he refused it, and would needs *eria meæ*
dye with the rest, saying, *He would not hold his life from the* *extinctori,*
Enemie of his Countrey: Put in the enemy of his Religion *debere vi-*
also, and I am of his mind. *Let not their precious balmes* *ram.*
(Lord) breake my head: nor let me eat of their delicates. 5. *Ps. 141. 4*

But to his Maiestie, I submit my selfe humbly in the
words of distressed *Iob*; not with Religious adoration,
as he to God; but with Ciuill veneration, as to Gods
Substitute. *Doe not these two things vnto me, then will* *Iob 13:*
I not hide my selfe from thee: withdraw thy hand from *20.*
me, and let not thy face make me afraid: Then call, and I
will answer: or let me speake, and answer thou. How many
are mine iniquities and sinnes? Shew me my rebellion, and
my sinne. Wherefore hidest thou thy face, and takest me for
shine enemy? Wilt thou breake a leafe driuen to and fro?
And wilt thou pursue the dry stubble? For thou writest
bitter things against me, and makest me to possesse the ini-
quities of my youth.

O thou that art called a god vpon earth by God him-
selfe; Consider what I haue said; consider how the truth
hath beene kept from thine eares and eyes; consider how
thou dost now see it; consider how thou hast of thy grace
acknowledged it; consider how still there is a possibilitie
of the like abuse, if not in this, yet in other things that con-
cerne thy safetie, and thy peoples weale as much, and the
Churches safetie and securitie more. Pardon that which I
now write: pardon that which is past. *For what haue I* *1 Sam. 17*
now done? Is there not a cause? *29.*

The glorie of God is to conceale a thing in secret: But
the Kings honour is to search out a thing, Prou. 25. 1.

K

My

Eccl. 4. *My Sonne be not ashamed to say truth for thy life. For*
 21. *there is a shame which bringeth sinne, and a shame which*
bringeth worship and fauour. Accept no person against
thine owne conscience, that thou be not confounded to thine
owne decay: and forbear not thy friend in his fault: And
 Vers. 28. *keepe not backe counsell when it may do good: neither hide*
thy wisdom when it may be famous. Striue for truth vn-
to death, and defend iustice for thy life, and the Lord shall
fight for thee against thineemie.

Eccl. 42. *And Siracides cap 42. 1, 2, 8. Of these things be not thou*
 1, 2, 8. *ashamed, neither haue regard to offend for any person. Of*
the Law of the most High, and his Couenant: and of iudge-
ment, to iustifie the godly; To teach the vnlearned,
and the vnwise, and the aged, that contend
against the young. Thus shalt thou be
well instructed, and appreo-
ued of all men
liuing.

Proverb. 10. 12.

Loue couereth all faults.

FINIS.

EXOD. 8. 19.

DIGITVS DEI.

ESAY. 59. 1.

The Lords Hand is not shortned.

2 TIM. 3. 8, 9.

*Now as Iannes and Iambres withstood
Moses, so do these also resist the truth:
men of corrupt mindes, reprobate
concerning the faith. But they shall
proceed no farther: for their folly
shall be manifest vnto all men, as theirs
also was.*

To the Reader.



Y heart is inditing of a good matter : I Ps. 45.
speake of the things which I haue made
touching the King ; my tongue is the pen of
a readie writer.

God shall wound the heart of his enemies, Ps. 68.
and the hayrie scalpe of such a one as goeth on still in his
trespasses.

Loe they that are farre from thee shall perish : thou hast Ps. 73.
destroyed all them that goe a whoring from thee.

But it is good for me to draw neere to God : I haue put
my trust in the Lord God, that I may declare all thy workes.

Confounded be all they that serue grauen Images, that Ps. 97.
boast themselues of Idols.

It is time for thee Lord to worke, for they haue made Ps. 126.
void thy Law.

Thou hast giuen a banner for them that feare thee, that Ps. 60.
it may be displayed because of thy truth.

The righteous shall see it and reioyce ; and all iniquitie Ps. 107.
shall stop her mouth.

So that a man shall say verely there is a reward for the Ps. 58.
righteous ; verely he is a God that iudgeth in the earth.

All men shall feare and shall declare the worke of God : Ps. 64.
for they shall wisely consider of his doing.

The workes of the Lord are great : sought out of all them Ps. 111.
that haue pleasure therein.

Who so is wise, and will obserue these things, euen they P. 107.
shall vnderstand the louing kindnesse of the Lord.

Many O Lord my God are thy wonderfull workes which Ps. 40.
thou hast done, & thy thoughts which are to vs ward, they
cannot be reckoned vp in order vnto thee : when I would

To the Reader.

declare them, they are more then can be numbred.

I haue preached righteousnesse in the great Congregation: loe I haue not refrained my lips, O Lord thou knowest.

I haue not hid thy righteousnesse within my heart, I haue declared thy faithfulnessse and thy saluation:

I haue not concealed thy loning kindnesse and thy truth from the great Congregation.

Ps. 119.

I will speake of thy testimonies also before kings and will not be ashamed.

Ps. 109.

Helpe me O Lord my God, O saue me according to thy mercie.

That they may know that this is thy hand: that thou Lord hast done it.

Let them curse, but blesse thou: when they arise let them be ashamed: but let thy Seruant reioice.

Let my aduersaries be clothed with shame, and let them couer themselues with their owne confusion as with a mantle.

Ps. 48.

As we haue heard, so haue we seene in the Citie of the Lord of Hosts, in the Citie of our God, God will establisth it for euer.

Ps. 9.

The Lord is knowne by the iudgement which he executeth: the wicked is snared in the worke of his owne hands.

Ps. 102.

This shall be written for the generation to come, and the people which shall be created shall praise the Lord.

DIGITVS

DEI.

Luke 13. 1,2,3,4,5.

There were present at that time, some that told him of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their Sacrifices.

And Iesus answering, said vnto them, Suppose ye that those Galileans were greater sinners aboue all the Galileans, because they suffered such things?

I tell ye, nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.

Or those eightene, vpon whom the towre in Siloe fell, and slew them, thinke ye that they were greater sinners aboue all men that dwelt in Hierusalem?

I tell ye, nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.



IN the nine and fortieth Verse of the former Chapter, our Lord saith, that He is come to send fire on the earth. And in the one and fiftieth Verse, denies that he is come to giue Peace on the earth, but rather diuision

betwixt Father and Sonne, Mother and daughter, one friend and another.

Ier. 23.
29.

This fire is his Word (*Is not my Word like a fire, saith the Lord? and like a hammer that breaketh the Rocke in peeeces?*) the preaching whereof hath battered and shiuered asunder the *Rocke of Rome*, and hath occasioned great diuisions in the world in euerie age, filling it at this present, with warres of all kinds, reall and verball. For this cause the Romish Catholikes (a politique people) haue taken order to stop the free passage thereof, lest men should burne their fingers with it, &c. Or indeed, lest thereby their Babylon should be set on fire, as, doubtlesse, it must be so consumed, *2 Thes. 2. 8.*

Rem. Test.
Preface.

Ier. 8. 11
12.

Gen. 3. 4,
5.

And surely they haue seene a faire effect of this their policie; For from this silence of the Scripture, proceeds that vniuersall Peace amongst them, whereof they so much boast, and whereupon others so resolutely build. In the beginning and infancie of the world, the Serpent, by Satans procurement, found a meanes to betray our Parents, by teaching them to seeke a prohibited and curious knowledge, saying, *Ye shall not dye, for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof then your eies shall be opened, and ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and euill.* But now in the dotage of the world, *Antichrist*, by Satans inspiration, hath found a way to betray the Church, by closing our eyes against commanded and necessarie knowledge, saying, *Ye shall not dye, for God doth know that in the day ye fast from the Scriptures, ye shall be as Innocents, knowing neither good nor euill.* The greatest part of the world, especially of the Feminine gender, belecue this new-found Paradox of *Antichrist*; and the rather, because it neuer troubles their consciences, nor straines their wits,
nor

nor takes them off from their Canonick howres deuoted to Poeticall fictions; which Legendarie stufte is the Diuinitie, whereupon at this day the Faith of the Cloister Catechist, is principally founded.

But the word of our Saviour, though it be the Gospel of peace, is yet a *Fire* that inflames, a *Sword* that deuides. It aimes at another peace then worldlings and fleshlings dreame of; they cast their eyes vpon peace with men, this teacheth a peace with God; they seeke temporall peace, though therein they sinne against God and their consciences, and doe obstinately pursue and often obtaine it, though it lasts no longer then vntill the stronger hath gotten aduantage by it, for whole purpose and benefit it was onely concluded; this other aimes to reconcile God and man together, and to breed peace of conscience, the earnest and initiation of an eternall peace hereafter.

The Apostle saith, *If it be possible, as much as lyeth in you, haue peace with all men.* So farre as is possible, *Sana conscientia*, with a safe conscience, seeke to haue it: but seeke it not by wounding the conscience, or proclaiming warre with God. For that, though it be possible to nature, is impossible to grace; thou canst not reconcile Light and Darkenesse, Hell and Heauen, God and Mammon, Christ and Antichrist; nor canst thou by humane policie bring these together, by causing both sides to abate, and meet in the midst, through thy wisdom.

There is a worldly peace which men unhappely hunt after, whilst they neglect the peace of conscience and ioy in the Holy Ghost; which peace and ioy the Saints of God, whose hearts are inflamed with that Fire which Christ brought into the world, feele euen in the midst of Iohn 14. tumults, warres, pouertie, persecution, tortures, fire, death. 27.

B

The

Rom. 12
18.*Quod si
dei vestri
conuenit.
Sed quan-
do de pie-
tate aut de
virtute
quaestio est,
tunc nulla
pax impijs.*

The worlds peace and Gods peace are diuerse, their fire diuerse, their sectators diuerse, euen as Heauen and Earth is diuerse or rather opposite. We may be farre mistaken then seeking for peace, and behold it is warre; peace with men, may proue warre with God. Beware.

In the fīue and fortieth Verse our Sauour proceedes to tax the folly and hypocrisie of man, who can iudge of times and seasons by signes and tokens, but know not the tokens of their owne visitation, when after their internall vocation by Grace, stormies of persecution and triall followes; as Sun-shine, and Clouds, and Wind, and Raine, and Frost, and Snow, haue their seuerall turnes.

Thus we all are wise and perfect polititians in State periods and reuolutions of the world: but for discerning the incroachments made by *Antichrist*, and his affotiates, either like Fooles we obserue them not, or like Hypocrites dissemble what we see, as men wishing well to his silent and close inuasion, to his seacret and darke vnderminings.

The Lord saith by *Ieremie*, *That he is against those Prophets that steale away his word euerie one from his neighbour*: And doubtlesse then he is against vs, who sit still in the meane time, and will not ioine with him, and take his part against these politique Theeues, who steale away the Word from vs and our neighbours, saying in the meane time that Truth commands vs neither to say nor doe any

thing to the contrarie, but only to winke and shew our consent to their Sacriledge, by silence, like blind and

dumbe dogges; as the *Psalmist* saith, *When thou sawest a Thiefe, then thou consentedst to him, and hast beene partaker with Adulterers*. And thus being once rob'd of the Scripture, that part of the wisdome of God which is ne-

cessarie for vs to know, what wisdome can be in vs more then

then in naturall Fooles, more then in beasts that perish?
Man being thus in honour hath no understanding, but Ps.49.20
may be compared to the beasts that perish; The greater
 man, the greater beast.

In the eight and fiftieth Verse, our Sauour giues vs ad-
 uice to seeke reconcilment with God *betimes*, whilst we
 are *in the way*, whilst it is *called to day*, before we be arre-
 sted and haled violently by death before the Iudge; for
 then there is no remedie.

We seeke after worldly peace and clap hands with
Antichrist and his confederates, to procure spirituall trad-
 ing in his Kingdome, and temporall trading in theirs; but
 we neglect God and Christ, and make them our aduersa-
 ries; nor haue we any care to be reconciled to them, and
 to make peace with them, though we know they haue
 powre to kill both Bodie and Soule also. Herein we doe
 foolishly.

Whilst our Sauour was thus teaching his Disciples
 and the multitude, there were present certaine persons
 who told him of the *Galileans*, whose blood *Pilate* had
 mingled with their Sacrifices.

And this they did perhaps as supposing the Historie
 pertinent for that point of Doctrine which our Sauour
 taught; that is, *To perswade vs to make our peace with our*
aduersarie betimes in the way; because no man is sure, ei-
ther of the time, place, or manner of his death, death com-
ming to man so many wayes: and therefore it were good
 to be reconciled and prepared lest we be brought before
 the Iudge sodainly, by force or accident, whilst we expect
 to haue faire warning giuen vs long before, by age, infir-
 mitie, and sicknesse.

Now though there be no Historie of those times

extant, that tells of the cause and manner of this massacre punctually; yet there is light enough giuen whereby we may probably coniecture some of the principall parts and passages thereof, most necessarie for our purpose.

Antiq. Iud.

Li. 18. c. 1.

Iosephus tells of one *Iudas* the *Gaulanite*, borne in the Towne of *Gamala*, whom a little after he calls *Iudas* of *Galilee*, that ioyning in confederacie with one *Sadoc* a *Pharisee*, became Author of a new Sect, diuersified from the *Pharisees* onely in one singular point, consisting in an obstinate pursuit of all courses for recouerie of libertie from the *Romane* yoke, and freeing themselves from the *Imperiall* taxe then imposed. And it is verie probable, that *Iudas* and *Sadoc* vnder the colour of sacrificing (as the Prophets had wont) assembled the people to mooue them to pursue this proiect: of which *Pilate* hearing, being then *Gouernour* of *Iudea* for *Cesar*, he sent armed Troopes, and cut them asunder before they could gather head, euen whilst they were sacrificing.

1 Sam. 10

17.

To make this more cleere, *Gamaliel*, the great Doctour of the Law, brings in the example of this *Iudas* in his speech before the Councell, and there mentioneth his cause, course, and end, briefly, *Act. 5. 37.*

This newes being thus tould our Sauour by such, as it seemes thought him vnprovidend of examples to second and backe his arguments, and supposing it suited the purpose verie well, to perswade men to reconcilment in the way, lest they should be suddainly cut off, as these *Galileans* were, our Sauour takes occasion from hence to enlarge the point, and to inforce it farther, euen vpon the consciences of such as produced it, saying, *Suppose ye that those Galileans were sinners aboue all the Galileans, because they suffered such things? I tell ye, nay; but except*

ye

ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish. Thus our Sauour makes application of this Storie, to all his Auditorie, and causeth it to reflect vpon the consciences of the reporters, as well as vpon all the rest of his hearers.

The *Galileans* were not hereby wholly excused *a toto* (as the Schoolemen say) but *a tanto* and *secundum quid*, after a sort; nor was their act of sacrificing (wherefoeuer, whisoever, or howsoeuer done) iustified hereby; but our Sauour condemnes the rash iudgement of such, as make our sufferings from men, infallible markes of our sinnes before God. Wicked men may prosper in euill courses, good men may fall and suffer in holy vndertakings. The *Galileans* might be sinners in seeking disorderly to free themselues from the *Romane* seruitude & *Imperiall* tax; and the Emperour, with *Pilate* his Officer, might be greater sinners in laying this tax vpon the people without their consents (for *volenti non fit iniuria*) and so forcing them to wrastle for their liberties; yea, and all the other *Galileans* might be sinners doubtlesse, aboue those that suffered, whilst they sought and desired the same libertie, though they had not hearts to vse the same meanes. So if consent be a crime, where will is present, wanting onely courage to attempt, or powre to accomplish what others aduenture, then the whole Nation were as faultie as these few, though these did only suffer in their persons, because they did only enter into open action, which by the vulgar is euer censured good or badde according to the successe; and though before followed, applauded, and effected neuer so eagerly, yet it is presently disclaimed & condemned as soone as it is opposed by power, or crossed and defeated by policie. Thus these fondlings could censure the *Galileans* to be Rebles, Traytors, and Sinners aboue others,

and so to suffer worthely for endeauouring to doe that which all of them desired to be done: but they could not see their owne notorious rebellions and treasons against God, who had beene a gracious King and Ruler ouer them, from whose easie and equal yoke notwithstanding, they and their stiffe neckt Fathers shranke and withdrew the shoulder.

The sinnes against man, man censures seuerely, the sinnes against God we passe ouer slightly. The iudgement of *Cesar* or of his Substitute *Pontius Pilate*, who haue power only to kill the bodie, we tremble at, and count so terrible, as it frights vs euen from good duties, or frights all men from acknowledging vs, if we fall into their hands, and be branded as capitall offenders, vnder their tyrannicall censures, though it be for performing good duties: but the iudgements of God, who hath power to kill soule and bodie, we extenuate, hide, and peruert with our idle Glosses, Apologies, and Applycations, though we know they be euer Iust, Serious, Obserueable, Sacred, and neuer inflicted but for notorious euill.

But how fond and foolish doe men shew themselues herein? For *Cesar* owes more to God, then any man to *Cesar*: and yet *Cesar* that exacts more for himselfe then his due, denies or neglects to pay God that which belongs to him; yea, all men are more carefull to pay *Cesar* more then they ought, then God what they ought, and for this will robbe God, to inrich *Cesar*. Shall they for this be counted wise, religious, obedient, faithfull? And Fooles, Factionous persons, Rebels, Traytors for the contrarie? *Cesar* can kill thee, *Cesar* cannot saue thee; die thou must when God determines. If *Cesar* therefore will neither pay God his due, nor permit thee to doe it, thou maist deny

deny *Cesar* whatsoeuer is found to haue Gods expresse Stampe vpon it. I doe not meane the tax and tribute which he violently exacteth, but prayers for his prosperitie. That hath *Cesars* impression, this Gods. Tribute is due to euill Princes, prayers to good. *Giue therefore to Cesar the things that are Cesars, and vnto God the things that are Gods.*

Stipendium & Tyranno penditur, prædicatio non nisi bono principi. Cass. var. Lib. 9 Ep. 25.

Besides, if thou offendest *Pilate*, there is no meanes to escape, he minglenth thy blood with thy sacrifice; the Hornes of the Altar are not priuiledged; no place, no person, is exempted from the force of his fury; no repentance, no restitution can serue the turne to redceme a delinquent from his rage. O Prophane and cruell heart of man! how seuerer art thou against man like thy selfe? I say, like thy selfe, if thou beest Gods Image & not Satans; and if thou beest Satans Image, then much thy better, like thy Master, like thy Maker? Thus if man offend man, there is no mercy: but if man offend God, he may repent and be saued. There is indeed no other remedie but repentance; but that remedie is left vs in the greatest extremitie. *Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish. If ye repent, not one of you shall perish.*

With *Pilate* there is no remedie, except you can worke with his Wife vnderhand: With *Herod* no remedie, except ye can get *Herodias* Daughter to daunce you into fauour: With *Cesar* there is no remedie, except ye can giue for a pardon to *Mæcnas*. It is not so with God; He forgives, though we giue nothing. Repentance only paies all debts. Not the Mⁿion, but the Sonne is the intercessour. The one seises at a deere rate the temporall fauours of *Cesar*; the other giues freely, the eternall fauours of his Father.

Iob 36.
12.
Pf. 144.
10.

Ye shall all likewise perish, except ye repent. What all perish by Massacre as these did? Perhaps not so, but by some violent, sodaine, and vnusuall death, as fell out to the greatest part of the *Iewish* Nation about fortie yeeres after, vnder *Vespasian* and *Titus*; Or if not so, yet ye shall perish, dying vpon your beds, when others shall not perish, though they dye a violent death. *For some passe by the Sword, when others perish by it.* The end of all examples, is to teach vs repentance; and executions are done for the liuing, that they liue no longer in sinne, and not for the dead, who cannot be bettered by example or admonition.

To apply this then to our present purpose.

*Acts and
Monu-
ments.*

The *Waldenses* were a People in *France*, who tooke this their By-name from one *Waldus*, a wealthy and honest Citizen of *Lyons*. This *Waldus* chanced, with diuers of his rich neighbours, to be one day making merrie, when in the midst of their mirth one of their companie fell downe sodainly dead. This accident amazed all, but wrought more effectually with him; who was more sensible and apprehensieue of Gods hand in the sodaine and vnexpected stroke; insomuch, as afterward fearing the like death might befall him, he reformed his life, gaue himselfe to almes, and prayer, and to the frequent reading and meditating of the Scriptures; and withall, exhorted others of his kinsfolke, neighbours, and friends to doe the like. Wherein he so farre preuailed, that many sober Christians adhered to him, and a great reformation followed in that place: at which the Diuell, & his Disciples, the Libertines of those dayes, repining, information thereof

thereof was giuen to *Rome*, that Sinagogue of Satan, against these poore soules, and their pierie was accounted Heresie because they could not finde the Popes Supremacie (a maine and head Article of the *Romane Catholique* Faith) confirmed in the Scriptures. For this and other such honest and holy Heresies, the King of *France* was excited by the Papacie to butcher his owne poore subiects, which he performed which incredible cost and crueltie.

Now I demand (with our Saviour) Thinke you were these *Waldenses* sinners aboue all the people that dwelt in the City of *Lyons* or in the Kingdome of *Fraunce*, because they suffered these things? *I tell you, nay; but except we repent we shall all likewise perish.*

The massacre in *France* is yet fresh bleeding in the memorie of men that liue and sawe it, when vnder colour of reconcilment, of a marriage betwixt a *reformed* and *deformed* Catholicke, the innocent partyes were wonne from their Serpentine wisedome, and so charmed as there remained nothing in them but the simplicity, sincerity, & security of Doves; wherein asleepe in peace, they were at mid-night awaked with the shricks and grones of their murdered friends, and all-together became sharers in the Crowne of Martyrdome.

What then shall wee thinke these holy Saints, sinners aboue all that dwelt in the City of *Paris* and Kingdome of *Fraunce*, or now dwell in the Kingdome of great *Brittaine*, because they suffered such things from *Antichrist* and his followers? *I tell you, nay; but except we repent we shall all likewise perish.*

All these died for their sauing Faith, euen that Faith which was able to saue their Soules from the Iustice of

God and the violence and iniurie of Sathan, could not saue their bodies from the Tyrannie of their owne Prince, who ought to haue beene their safeguard: so mercifull is God, so mercilesse is man.

But see the iust iudgement of God vpon Shepherds that proue wolues; the King neuer prospered after, but was often affrighted with the lamentable shrieks of men, women, children intermixt, as if the massacre had still founded vengeance in his eares: which noise not only himselfe, but diuerse of his neere attendants did professe to heare often with wonder, horror, and amazement.

And thus languishing a long tyme he fell at length into a strange and generall bleeding at all the open parts of his body, which could not be staunched till he died: as if Nature by Gods commandement, would not strengthen the vaines, to hold in that guilty blood, which vn-naturally and prodigally had powred out so much innocent blood.

He that will take paines to reade the historie it selfe and to consider euery circumstance aright, shall be fully satisfied, in the particulars, and may from thence see what foule dealing wee are to expect from Papists, let their words and promises be as faire, and their treatyes, conclusions, and vowes as serious and solemne as they please. There they may obserue the simplicitie of the Admirall, otherwise a wise man, but wearyed with warre, and beleeuing that reconcilment firme, which he desired might bee so, and knew to be so vpon his part; he was wonne or wrought from himselfe by glorious promises, and rockt asleepe in senseles security and ease (the bane of bold and braue spirits) not to be awaked by the thicke and loud alarums of all his friends. There they may obserue
how

how the contrary faction of the house of *Guise*, seemed to be disgraced, and left the Court for a colour, as if they tooke it ill to be iustled out by the Admirall their aduersarie. There they may obserue how the Queene Mother tutors her sonne to dissemble; and still sets a head vpon the faction shee hated, thereby to breake them and betray them and religion together. For religion neuer receiued greater blowes then from false heads and false hearts soulderd on for that end by art and deuilish policie. There they may obserue and see, (and be astonished at it) a young King protest and sweare publicuely, contrarie to his inward purpose; and dissemble so artificially, that after the fact, being retired, he demands of his Mother, and of other his flatterors in priuate, *If he had not playde his part well*. Perhaps he expected a triumph for lying, for periurie, for dissimulation, and for betraying the too-credulous hearts of his faithfull people, as *Nero* did for fiddling, and firing of *Rome*.

There is nothing written but is written for our learning, if examples can make vs to beware and to be wise.

Wee liue intermingled in our Land with the subiects of *Antichrist*, vnto whom wee are more odious then the *Iewes* to *Cesar*, or *Pontius Pilate*, or to any of the *Romanes*: Those only sought subiection of the body, these of body and soule; Those tooke, these watch to take occasion and opportunitie of such massacres amongst vs, as in other places, with all bloody expression of vnreconcilable hate, they haue found and effected.

Our Sauour when he sent out his Apostles to preach, Math. 10 and to plant the Gospel, told them they *should goe as* 16. *Sheepe among Wolves*, and will'd them therefore to be

wise as Serpents, and innocent as Doves. We are their followers in Faith and in Fortune ; and it is no wisdom in vs to arme the *Romish* Wolues against our selues, or yet to suffer them to be armed or to arme themselves with Force, Office, or Authoritie to doe vs a mischief. Especially, since we haue the Lawes of the Land inabling vs to disarm them, in these and all other respects. And for my part, I beleue it is no part of inhumanitie or tyrannie to execute the Lawes for the generall safeguard against the secret and seditious conspiracies intended or imagined against vs ; But I thinke it Treason to the Church and State, and Rebellion against God, the King of Kings, to sit still till these arme themselves, and disarm vs, the more safely and speedily to effect a Massacre : which (I am fully perswaded, and they will smart for it who are not so perswaded with me) they will neuer forbear any longer, then till they can fit and furnish themselves for it ; nor will they abstaine from it, for any other respect of Age, Sexe, Office, or Innocencie, then for the attendance of the first, neere, and fittest occasion and opportunitie offered to do it surely ; which rather then they will long be without, and long for when they are fit for it, they will prouoke it by force and all meanes possible in their power : yea, they will faine a cause rather then want it, to serue their turne, as a colour for their cruelty.

Assuredly they will then call our Sacrificing Treason, if it can serue their turne to breed a quarrell, when they haue vs vnder hatches, and haue fitted themselves with authoritie and strength to doe vs a displeasure.

But you will aske what should moue me to thinke so, since they haue not found vs bloodie towards them ?

I answer, though they haue not found vs such, they haue

haue fain'd vs such in their writings, and what they faine vs to be, we shall surely find them to be in their workes. Their *Posteritie beleue their sayings*, and in Foraine parts they thinke, and will not be periwaded otherwise, but that we haue vsed all cruelties against them, and haue cast them to be worried and torne assunder by wild Beasts.

Notwithstanding, whatsoeuer they write of vs at their pleasure, thereby to exasperate their partie, to breed a detestation of our Liues and Doctrine, and to stirre vp compassion for the benefit of their persons (all which are as easily effected by lyes as by truth, when preiudice possesseth the hearer, and both sides cannot be heard indifferently) yet it is certaine they beleue not their owne lyes, but in their owne soules rest secure that we will do them no violence, how much soeuer we know our selues to be their Masters, except we be vrged and prouoked, beyond the patience of men. Yet this assurance of our lenitie doth no good to winne and soften their affection, but doth rather much hurt, to imbolden their presumption. They know our tenets, our practise, our natures; It is the *Romish* Milke onely which makes all that tast of those Adulterate Teates to be vnnaturall Wolues, Fratricides, and Parricides. The Powder-Treason was tryall enough of this truth, where *Digby*, *Grant*, and the *Winters*, with others not of the worst natures; and *Rookewood*, who appeared to be of himselfe a man of tender and good affections, apprehensie of other mens sufferings, & inwardly touched with naturall hate of the euill intended, yet all these were so hardned by their subtile and satanicall Guides, vnder colour of the *Romane* Catholique good, and the meritt of the worke, as they shut the eyes of Nature against Grace, and obstinately, and desperately resolved

to pursue the bloodie plot to the vitermost, though the innocent suffered with such as they iudged nocent; yea, though that blow had giuen an end to the honour of our Nation. Whereas vpon the contrarie part, our clemencie and Christian charitie therein appeared, who fell not vpon them in furie and rage to root them vp, when the occasion would haue giuen countenance to such a reueng, nor importuned our superiors to extend the punishment answerable to the crime, but wept to consider the scandall of our Countrimen, & thought it enough, that some few of the chiefe Malefactors suffered a death appointed ordinarily for ordinary Traytors, without the exact inuention of any new torture proportionable and suitable to the meritt of their cause; when I am fully perswaded, had it beene possible, the Diuell could haue made our Religion guiltie of such a villanous attempt, in any place where they had beene Masters, as we were here, it would haue cost vs a generall Massacre, and all Nations would haue risen vp against vs, and expeld vs their Dominions, as persons vnworthy to liue in the World, or to breath the common Ayre with bruit Beasts, much lesse with Christians. For neuer could Hellish villanie before, cause the Name of Christ be so blasted and blasphemed, as it might be now through the euill occasion of these *Antichristians*. Neuer could that be thought the true Religion, which dig'd so deepe for a false foundation, and tooke so much helpe from Hell to aduance it.

Notwithstanding, it may be feared through our remission, not searching the festered sore to the bottome, or through our too tender pittie (for they will not call it mercie, and Christian charitie, though *Rookewood* alone had the grace to acknowledge, that as their Act was
without

without example, so his Maiesties mercie in proceeding against them, the Actors onely, was without president) some of this Spirituall generation, may (as *Cicero* said of *Cateline*) creepe into the Senate House againe, the place they would haue blowne vp, to fire the Commonwealth by Faction, whom their former traines of grosser Treason could not blow vp. For if the Lord in iustice should so deale with vs, and permit this to be done, we had no more to say for our selues, then the *Isralites* to the Prophet, *1 Kings 20. 42.* Especially when men thus affected for point of Faith (I speake not of their honours) are admitted into this high place of Councell, which by Iustice might be shut against them, as long as they continue of that Religion; as the Sanctuarie was against the *Moabites*, though Conuerts, for ten generations, and against the *Edomites*, and *Aegyptians*, vnto the third generation, *Deut. 23. 3.* It is dangerous hauing such blood in the Bodie of the State, though in the extremest parts, but to haue it in the heart and bosome, nay, about the head, to heare, and see all, and to haue a hand in the highest and most seacret Councell, and in compounding the fundamentall Actes of State, is so dangerous in my poore iudgement, as it makes me say in this respect also, *If we doe not repent, we are like all likewise to perish.*

Garnets
arraign-
ment, &
some
passages
in Sir
Stephen
Proctors
Case,
heard in
the Star-
chamber
perswad-
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the eye
of exe-
cution
was not
suffered
to looke
to the
bottome
of that
blacke
& darke
plot.

What all perish with Massacres, as the *Galileans* did? Yes vndoubtedly, except we thinke the young Wolues not so cruell and bloodie as their Syres, or that they account vs lesse Sinners, and lesse Heretikes, then they thought the *Waldenses*, and the *Albigenses*, and our innocent neighbours in *France*, *Bohemia*, the *Palatinate*, *Hassia*, and other parts of *Germanie*, and through the Christian World to be, whom they haue so serued succes-

fuely vpon all aduantages presented or obtained. Assuredly if a Lambe be a Lambe still, a Wolfe will be a Wolfe still, and their Spirituall guides (whom they follow with blind obedience) both traine them vp, and lead them on in blood. You shall not heare of a Minister in the Head of the Troopes, pressing to enter a Worke, or to charge the Enemy with an ambitious and eager forwardnesse; well may they informe, animate, and rectifie the consciences and courages of such as goe on, and assist them by prayers, but they are no open Actors in blood; whereas it is ordinarie, as it appeared at *Ostend*, and all other places, for Friars, Priests, and Iesuites armed with holy water, and a red Crosse on their Shoulders, to leade on the Troopes most furiously and desperatly, and to mount the place which they are appointed to enter, before all others, except they be commanded backe by Leaden Bulls, or Iron Arguments. And what they doe publikely, they faile not priuatly much more to inculcate, thereby to breed a detestation of our persons and profession together, and to beget and cherish an vnreconcilable hate betwixt vs. For they know if Kings, Princes, and People, recouer their wits, and become sober, the kingdome of *Antichrist* must downe at an instant, and the deeper they haue drunke of her dregges, the more they will hate her, and their owne former drunkennesse.

Our blessed Sauour proceedes farther, in the fourth Verse, to relate that which befell to eighteene persons, who were buried vnder the ruins of a Towre, being part of the Wall of *Ierusalem*, adioyning to the Fish-pool of *Siloah*, whereof mention is made in the third Chapter of *Nehemiah*, the fifteenth Verse, demanding of his Auditorie, whether or no they thought them greater sinners then

then all other men that dwelt at *Ierusalem*, subioining his infallible iudgement, saying, as before *I tell you, nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.*

The first example proceeded from the tyrannie and malicious crueltie of man, vnder the colourable pretence of Iustice: but this latter example is of the nature of those, whom *Ignorance*, and *Atheisme* call and account *Accidents*. An accident in the iudgement of this *Dwarfe Ignorance*, and this *Monster Atheisme*, is such a thing whercof God takes no * notice; a motion which proceeds without the assistance of the First mouer; an action which is produced by a Secundarie cause, without a Primarie; or by a cause caused, without a cause causing; neither of all which can be conceiued by any man that conceiues and grants that there is a God, and that that God rules all the affaires of the World by an ouer-mastering power, and by his wisdome and prouidence guides and orders all actions and passions, euen the death of a Sparrow, the losse of a haire from our heads (as our Sauour saith *Math. 10. 30 31.*) that is, *minutissima & maxima*, the least and greatest passages, to his glorie.

* Of this minde was that Papist who being told by a Reformed Catholike that the falling of Black-Friars House vpon the heads

of their Idolatrous Priest and people, was a iust Iudgement of God: made answer, That he protested he thought God did not know of it. Which speech of his proceeded out of Ignorance, & then it was pittifull, or out of Atheisme, and then it was damnable. If God did not know of it, they might after be in Hell also without his notice. (from whence there is no redemption.) Their Saints and tutelar Angels therefore were verie negligent in their cures and charges, not to giue information sooner: And therefore an old wife (one of their companie) being deliuered from the danger, protested, she would neuer pray to Saint or Angel more, nor before a Crucifixe or other Image, but only to her Sauour and Redeemer, who was able alone to heare and helpe of himselfe. *Pf. 65. 1, 2. Es. 63. 16.*

D

There

There are others who speake of Accident right and properly, which is onely so in regard of vs. So the Philosopher saith, *Casus est inopinatus reueuentus*, Chance or accident is the sodaine event of a thing vnlooked for. *Arist. Lib. 2. Phys.* And therefore the same man saith in his *Metaphys. Lib. 1. Imperitia casum fecit*, Want of knowledge hath made Chance. S. Hierome saith, in his Commentarie vpon the Prophet Hieremie, *Cap. 12. Ver. 4. Quicquid in mundo vel bonorum accidit vel malorum, non absq^{ue} prouidentia, & fortuito casu sed iudicio Dei.* Whatsoever good or euill falls out in the world, doth not happen by chance or fortune, but by the prouidence, and iudgement of God. *Lament. Ierem. 3. 37. Who is he then that saith and it commeth to passe, and the Lord commandeth it not? Quia Deus voluit eos contingenter euenire, contingentes causas ad eos preparauit. Th. Acquin. S. 1. 2. 19. Ar. 8.*

Act. 3. 17

18.

Act. 4. 27

18.

In the first example then, Man was vsed as an Instrument of punishment, in the second senselesse Stones. Gods hand of Iustice (as our Sauour saith whilst he threatens the like to all except they repent) was in both, and both fulfilled Gods worke alike; The last, namely, the Stones and materialls of the Wall, not knowing what they did; The first, namely, *Pilate* and his Souldiers intending no more then the Stones, the performance of Gods will, or any such thing as the Lord effected, but pursuing blindly their owne plots and politike pretences of Iustice, did so effect Gods seacret will, for the punishing of a thanklesse, headstrong, and rebellious generation, who began to forget what the Lord had formerly done for them in many deliuerances from *Ægypt*, and the Red Sea, euen as we haue forgot Eightie eight, the Massacre in

in *France*, and the Powder-Plot.

To bring this then to applycation, We see what lately hath befallne the Sinogogue of Satan, the Temple of *Baal*, the Image of *Dagon*, the Sonnes of *Antichrist*, the Children of *Babylon*, who sought to bring all the *Roman* Idolatries, and Whorish Superstitions into the Land: how the Lord ouerwhelmed them, and brought vpon them sodaine destruction, as he had long before threatned in his Word.

*The doleful
Euen-song
in the
Black-
Fryars.*

Which Iudgement I relate not as a man that tooke delight in blood, or in the miserable and lamentable losse of my own deare Countrimen, or as one that hated the persons of any that then dyed, or now so belecue and liue to dye worse, except they repent: nay rather, I pittie and bemoone their losse, and that obstinate blindnesse which led them into that Pitfall; yea though I cannot absolutely with the Apostle desire to be wholly cut off for my brethrens sake, yet I could wish my body so brused, euen to the losse of this life for the saluation of their Soules that futuue. As for those that are dead I iudge them not, I excuse them not, they stood or fell to their owne Master, their sentence is sealed vp in seacret from vs, till the generall Iudgement, when all things shall be opened, nor dare I breake ope the Seale, to passe my sentence with them or against them, till that time come when the day shall declare it. But what I write is for the benefit of the liuing, and to celebrate the Iudgements of God, which none ought to conceale, nor for any respect whatsoever, to cloke, couer, extenuate, or hide from the eyes of men, since that is a notorious Sacriledge, to steale the honour of the euerliuing God, for dead Idols and dead men, of

Rom. 9.

1 Cor. 3.

which he is iealous, and for which theft he will hold no man guiltlesse.

I would therefore aduise in Christian dutie, loue, and charitie, all Magistrates supream and subordinate, and all people whether interested in the cause and losse or otherwise, to giue glorie to God by a free and open publication of this great worke of his Iustice; lest Prince, Priest, and People pay for the concealment by some seuer and strickt Inquisition. For my owne part, these few things that I heare for truthe confirmed, againe and againe by eye witnessesse, I shall reueale to Gods glorie and the Churches edification, together with such simple obseruations as I am directed to make vpon them for the vse of all men. For I beleue this Iudgement is the more remarkable, being done vpon them who stand vpon Miracles, for the confirmation of their falsehoods, and make euerie thing such, that may be wrested by wit for their advantage, either touching our disasters or their owne felicities. And I hope euen the most serious on both sides, who might otherwise iudge my obseruations rash and triuiall, sadly thinking vpon this point, and withall considering and well weighing that this befalls them at such time as they vainely hoped, presumed, & proudly boasted of restauration, when they might rather expect a Miracle from *Antichrist*, as an Omen of good lucke, and would rather haue fained one (had not this crosse come in their way) then wanted such a meanes to seduce the people, and reestablish them in the common mans conceit, will not condemne me altogether to be a trisler in my obseruations, but that some or all of them, may profitably passe vnder the verdict of their seuer censures. In assurance
whereof

whereof, I proceed to propound them, with such exhortations as our necessitie and this occasion giue me life and courage to make, to my Superiours and Equals vpon our side and theirs.

First, Obserue that the *Romane* Catholikes (who are cunning in all their courses) procured this House, and fitted it in all respects for their purpose ; when doubtlesse they iuruaid the strength of the building and capacitie of euerie roome. If the Law should take notice of their vnlawfull assembly (as that was the least of their feares) then they had the *French* Ambassadors House for a Cloake to which it was adioyning. Or if the People should rise (as this was one of their assayes or tryals before they durst appeare to play in publike, to proue if all men were growne tame enough to be muzled and hood-winked, and whether they would start at holy Water, a Masse, a Procession, or the like) then the Ambassadors House should be their Sanctuarie, against the force and rage of the people. And because it might be perillous to the *Spanish* Ambasadour to haue the first publication at or about his House, who hath beene the first and principall moouer to introduce or restore Idoll-worship in this Island, to the generall discontentment of the people, therefore the *French* Ambassadors House must be chosen, not for the Papists affection, but for ours, as lesse suspecting that Nation for all our antient enmities, then the *Spanish* for all their new friendship and high alliance hoped for, which they proffred with one hand and snatched away with the other, as if they had beene too great for our Royall coniunction, when (I prayse God) ours was too good for their commixtion.

Thus the place is secured against man ; but who can

secure it against God? Not the *French* or *Spanish* Ambassadors, though they haue more powre and priuiledge in *England* to serue their Idols, then the Prince himselfe could haue in *Spaine* to serue God. For though his Chaplaines were sent thither to satisfie him and vs, yet might they say nothing (as we heare) when they came there, to satisfie them.

Secondly, The time is obserueable; It was their fifth of *November*, wherein they perished by anticipation, as they would haue dealt with vs before vpon the fifth of our *November*. Here is the difference, they fell downe, as they would haue blowne vs vp; and did alone feele the furie of that sodaine confusion, without stirring their Neighbours Houses, as they would haue blowne vs vp, with the necessarie ruine of diuerse places adioyning. And this they suffered from God, when from the King they had in their fond conceites and mistaken hopes, obtained that, for which they would haue made him & his, vs & ours, so miserably suffer without mercie. But we see though Pardons, and tollerations passe freely at *Rome*, and in other places for politike respects, yet they are not sure, till they be Sealed and Inrolled in Heauen.

Thirdly, Obserue the Play-House stands in that place vnshaken, though too often laden with sin-full multitudes of all sorts, sexes, and sects; because it professeth it selfe to be no better then it is, a Play-House; and perhaps some Houses of Corporall Fornication stand there also, because for custome sake, that they may haue the more commings in, they desire to seeme what they are, Brothels: But this House which professeth it selfe for Christ, when it is for *Antichrist*, and playes with the Word and Sacraments in a most Anticke or Apish fashion, euen when

when it pretends to be most serious; and teacheth men to commit Spirituall Fornication vnder the shew of Sanctitie and Holinesse; this must not stand, but the Lord makes it a spectacle of his Iudgement; as he made the Beare-Garden long since, whilst they prophaned the Sabbath day (a day at the Creation ordayned for peace and rest) in that beastly sport of crueltie betwixt the Creatures, proceeding from Gods curse vpon our Fore-fathers sinne; which sight should make *Adam*, *Abell*, and *Seth*, with their pious posteritie, weepe; as it makes *Caine*, *Lamech*, *Cham*, *Nimrod*, and *Esau*, laugh, with all their Sa- uage and impious Seed and succession. These Houses therefore must not stand when they touch vpon the skirt of Religion, to prophane and pollute the holy things of God, whereof man is not so carefull a keeper and zealous defender, as of his own right and interest. It may perhaps not seeme friuolous to some that I mention here, what I haue heard for truth, concerning an other Play-House called the *Fortune*, in which, repeating their Playes vpon a Sabbath day in the afternoone, at night following the House fell on fire and was consumed to ashes. The Gallorie in the preaching place at *White hall*, which stood from the dayes of King *Edward* to King *Iames*, must fall then vnder the *Spanish* Ambassadors feet, when he was sent the second time to perfect what he had before but rough drawne. I doe not wonder that it fell then, hauing stood so long; I rather wonder it fell not before, being oftentimes as heauely laden (except with the sin of Idolatry). But that Gods prouidence must reserue it to that instant, at that I wonder; and me thinkes it told me the *Spanish* footing was not so certaine in this Land as he presumed, but that whilst his power did tread downe the preaching

places of the Land, he might hap to tumble with them, and by opposition giue a happy occasion to reedifie their ruines more strongly.

Reuel. 18
II. Fourthly, Obserue no Idols, Crucifixes, Crosses, Holy-Water, Medals, Beades, or any sacred Relique or *Agnus Dei*, whereof doubtlesse there was great prouision laid in, could preferue or protect from this blow. Let this open the eyes of their superstitious and bewitched Customers, and abate the price and esteeme of such *Romish* and Anti-Christian *merchandize*, teaching wise men to distinguish betwixt toyes, trash, and reall safeguards.

And here I make bold to demand, What became of those Wafer-cakes which the Priest had before turned into gods (for doubtlesse some were there or in the roome vnder (which was the Massing place) reserued for the sicke) What were all of them brayned with the Timber and Brickbats, and did they perish with the Priest and the rest of the people? O blind men, lift vp your eyes and see your owne absurdities! Should I feare the ruines of Heauen, if he who sits at the right Hand of God the Father stood by me, to support the Roofe from his owne omnipotent and my impotent Head? Reply not ye blind who make others blind with your sophisticating tongues, but pray to God for your selues, as I doe for you, that he would vouchsafe to giue you grace to acknowledge the truth which you cannot choose but see. When our Sauour rose from the Graue, the Priests hired the Math. 28
II. Souldiers to say, *His Disciples came and stole away his body whilst they slept*. Had he not risen alone, I should neuer haue beleeued he could raise me; now I can neither doubt his power or will; Saint *Thomas* his seeing and feeling hath resolved me. Hire you some Souldiers (if Souldiers

Souldiers will be such hirelings, as doubtlesse you may fit your selues with some zealous *Reformados* vpon promise of absolution; or otherwise make shift with your owne equiuocating Locusts, armed at all points for the purpose with mentall reseruations and dispensations) to say, they saw the consecrated Cakes rise alone from vnder the ruines, or I shall neuer belecue your Transubstantiation, nor can you perswade any to retaine your erronious opinion any longer, or receiue it farther; except such as you with the Cup of Abominations haue transubstantiated or transformed Spiritually (as *Medea* and *Circes* did their Guests Corporally) into such *Don Quixshots* or *Gorgantuahs* as would eat vp their God Almightye at a mouthfull, or in their melancholly mood imagine themselues to be such Monsters as could doe it.

The Lord complaines against his People that they rob'd him of Tythes and Offerings: But you haue rob'd our Sauour of Head, Heart, Hands, Feet, of a true Body, of his Humanitie. Mal. 3. 8.

Fifthly, Obserue how after the Fact, either those that were reserued or their obstinate friends, clouded the worke of God, and out of malice cast the aspersion vpon man, to their owne disadvantage; as if God, who would not suffer them to blow vs vp in Parliament, would yet suffer vs to pull their *Baalitish* Temple ouer their eares in time of their deuotions.

So in the Powder-Treason it was their plot and purpose after the stroke, to lay the fault (if Gods mercie had not preuented their malice) vpon the Puritans (as now they haue gotten a trick for their aduantage, to nickname euen good Protestants) & accordingly they had drawne a Proclamation to that effect ready for the presse. Wherein

E they

they charged the Puritans (meaning hereby, all honest men that are not like them) with that odious and execrable fact ; and with this draught they were found, and taken in the manner, beyond retracting, or shadowing.

O what honest man can be safe among these Slanders? The poyson of Aspes is vnder their lips. If they entend mischief, the Innocent man must suffer for it ; if they suffer from God himselfe, his Seruants shall be blamed for it.

But they speake truer then they are aware (as *Caiphas* prophesied) It is true, it is true, O *Antichristians*, those poore Christians vnbind and sawed asunder the beame which vpheld the flore whereon you stood, from whence you fell.

But they did it onely with Hands lifted vp to Heauen, which will vnpin the principals of *Babylon* also, and with *Sampson*, plucke the House ouer the *Phelistines*, in the midst of their mirth, whilst they are reioycing and triumphing before their Idols.

Sixthly, Obserue the silence of all men at that time and in that action, prouokes God to speake and to doe. *Peter* himselfe had here need of *Paule* to reprove him to his face, for he was worthy to be blamed ; yea, some of those that ought to haue honoured their profession with Martyrdome, before they had giuen silent way to the encroachments of *Antichrist*, shew their readinesse to hold their peace if they should be requested, and say it is their dutie to doe so. Holy *David*, a man after Gods owne heart, made once a promise to doe the like, but for all that when it came to the point, he would not, he could not hold his word against God and his Truth, but we see his zealous heart was moued to heat, and he spake with his tongue.

tongue. Silence in Gods cause was an iniunction layd vpon Peter and Iohn by the Councell, who answered, *Act. 4. 19*
Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken vnto 20.
you more then vnto God. iudge ye. For we cannot but
speake the things which we haue seene and heard. It was
 Saint Pauls case, whose heart was so stird when he came
 to Athens and saw that learned Citie deuoted to Idolatry,
 as he could not hold his peace, though his person was
 thereby in perill. That Historie betwix Theodosius the
 Emperour and Ambrose Bishop of Millan makes more
 for the vertue of the Emperour, then for the valour of the
 Bishop. It is no great matter to say what the Bishop did,
 since he for so doing may be censured to be *satis audax*,
 but what the Emperour did and said of the Bishop, when
 his anger was ouer, is to the purpose. For as Sozomen re- *Soz. l. 5.*
 cords. *Theodosius dixit se solum Ambrosium dignum* c. 18.
Episcopi nomine nosse. Theodosius said he knew one Am-
 brose onely worthy the name of a Bishop. And this was
 for speaking truth, and discharging his conscience, though
 herein he plainly condemned an action of the Emperors,
 and doubtlesse crost his present desires.

Let no man cloake his luke-warmnesse or personall
 cowardice vnder the pretence of modestie, patience, dis-
 cretion, moderation, prudence, or temperance. He that
 hath a Soule hoping to be saued, will speake for his Sau-
 our. Shall there be so many offer themselues to plead for *Iudh. 6.*
Baal, because he cannot plead for himselfe, whilst few or 31.
 none pleads for Christ, who pleads continually for vs all?
 No, no, Let all men assure themselues if they will not
 speake because they will not be counted factious, furious,
 and hot-headed fellowes, but discreet, moderate, and pru-
 dent persons, fit for preferment and imployment, that yet

God can raise vp Stones to doe that which they should, but will not, or dare not; neither shall they escape the Hand of God, but he will find them out, and punish their falshood and faintnesse in his cause.

Proceed to expresse your Christian courages, therefore O Princes, Nobles, Priests, People! Behold God goes before you, Who will not follow? Remember what *Nehemiah* said to that false Prophet, that hireling, who sought to discourage him, that his example might discourage all the rest, *Should such a man as I am feare?* Surely it doth not become his Place, his Profession. What could a Slaue, a Coward, a Traytour doe more? O let it neuer be recorded of you, to your perpetuall dishonours, as it was of the ignoble Nobles amongst the *Tekoites*. Next
 Neh. 6. 11. *unto them the Tekoites repaired, but their Nobles put not their necks to the worke of the Lord.* And what I speake to *Ephraim*, I likewise speake to *Manasses*. *England* and *Scotland* should be vnited in this. They both looke for examples from each other, both should be examples to each other; *England* as the richer in regard of the world, *Scotland* as being no lesse rich in Spirituall treasure; *England* as the stronger, *Scotland* as the freer; *England* as being more engaged for the Royall Presence, *Scotland* as being more enterested in the Royall birth and education; *England* as being neereft the danger, *Scotland* as being too neere to auoid it.
 Neh. 3.5

O all ye Peeres, Priests, and People ioyne with your Royall Head, and remember what he hath often said, written, and vowed, and caused you to say, write, and vow, whilst he hath proued by his learned Labours that the Pope is *Antichrist*. The truth is too strong to be repulced or retorted, since *Bellarmino*, that *Romish Goliath*, with all his

his assistants, could not wrest the Staffe and Sling out of his hand with Arguments. Nor is our *Dauid* growne so faint now with age, that he must goe no more to battell, for feare of quenching the Light of *Israel*. 2 Sam. 21

You that haue fought Gods battells with him against the red Dragon, the seuen headed Beast, and her whorish rider, with all their armie, & can tell how brauely he hath borne himsele, and what blowes he hath dealt with his tongue and with his pen. It was *Saule* and not *Dauid* that fell vpon his owne Sword. If the Pope be not *Antichrist*, why hath he written so? It is Gods Word and his Pen that hath deceiued vs. If the Pope be *Antichrist*, then to make a Couenant with him, or to trade with him in Spirituall Merchandize, is to make a Couenant with Death, Satan, and Hell, against God, his Sonne, and his Church. Ier. 20, 7 Es. 28. 15

To be a *Mahumetane* is to be an open profest enemy, which is in comparison honourable; but to be an *Antichristian*, is to be a Traytour, For *Christ* in *shew*, against him in deed, which is superlatiuey detestable. To be a *Iudas*, though one of Christs Apostles, is worse then to be a *Pilate*, though a condemner of Christ. *Antichrist* of all the enemies of the Church, is the most perillous and most pernicious.

But what need all this? What cause haue we to feare the reentrance of *Antichrist*? What shall euerie shadow afright vs?

I answer, We doubt not the sodaine reentrance of *Antichrist*, but his slye insinuation, and their wiles who pretend to worke reconcilment, and say that humour is too much stird vpon both sides. We would not haue conference with the Serpent, nor cast an eye vpon the forbid-

- Gen. 19. den Fruit, though neuer so beautifull. *Is it not a little*
 20. *one* ? made way for a great offence. We are will'd to
 Apol. 18 come out of Mysticall *Babylon*, as out of Spirituall *So-*
 4. & 11. *dome*, not to looke behind vs as if we long'd to turne
 8. backe, nor to touch any vncleane thing, but to flee the
 garment polluted with the flesh. This puritie becomes
 Virgines and Angels, who will not mixe with Spirituall
 Fornicators. Such Soule-chast Spirits shall onely see the
 face of the Bridegroom in glorie. We feare to looke of
 Num. 25 a *Moabitish* woman, lest she proue a snare and a stum-
 bling blocke to the Princes and People; or to take a fauor
 from *Antichrist*, lest it proue to our Church and State as
 Iudg. 7. *Achans* wedge to the Hoast of *Israel*.

What hope of reconciliation is there, where the er-
 ring side holds it to be a fundamentall veritie, that they
 cannot erre. To abate, is to denie their grounds, they
 know it, they haue set downe their rest vpon it, and this
 alone forgeth them to maintaine shamelesse errors with
 an obstinate and womanish will, hauing nothing to de-
 fend their nakednesse, but these arguments that they are
 old, and belong to an infallible Chaire. For if they should
 confesse in one, all *Babylon* were ouerthrowne.

The experience of *Charles* the Fifth, and *Ferdinand*
 his successour, mightie Emperours, armed with all aduan-
 tages which man can thinke vpon, to procure reformati-
 on and reconciliation, and studiously and constantly em-
 ploying their power and policie to that end, with great
 zeale and affection to the cause, and faire probabilities to
 effect it, may notwithstanding in their bootelesse endea-
 uours resolue the World how vaine a worke it is to vn-
 dertake or attempt such an enterprize which God hath
 referued to himselfe to accomplish. It is an easie worke

to draw vs to them by corruption, but it is too hard a worke for man to draw them to vs by reformation, which is a kind of regeneration. The passages of the Councell of *Trent* may instruct vs sufficiently what to hope of their reformation, except we long to be deluded; and for vs to come on vpon their side, and take vpon vs the least marke of the Beast which we haue cast off, therby to buy our peace, and to endeare our entertainment, is to wound our owne Consciences, and to sinne with a high Hand against the Light of Knowledge. And hauing thus swallowed one abomination (which God forbid) a reprobate sense will make roome for all, and men, by the iust Iudgement of God giuen ouer, will begin to beleue those lyes in good earnest, which at first they heard and repeated in ieast.

Leaue that great worke therefore, to the Reconciler of Heauen and Earth, to the Moderatour and Mediatour betwixt God and Man, who will consume the Man of Sin 2 Thes. 2 (by degrees, not altogether) with the *Breath or Spirit of his Mouth* (by the powrefull preaching of the Word, and effectuall working of the Spirit) and will *abolish and destroy him with the brightnesse of his comming*; till when we shall haue *Antichrist*, though impotent, old, and in a consumption. Thus let vs guard our owne, for it is probable God will no more vse the temporall power or policie of *Princes* in the totall and finall supplantation and eradication of *Antichrist*, then he did vse them in the first planting of the Gospell of Christ. They are to be nursing Fatheris and nursing Motheris, not generating and naturall Parents to the Church, that Christ may be *all in all*.

Consider this well ye moderate minded men, and shew vs a way how we may be such politique Christians, as to

2 Kin. 18 please God and the Diuel, Christ and *Antichrist* together;
21. Or let vs leaue haulting, and declare our selues plainly for Christ by open action as well as profession.

Therefore leauing that which is improbable, and perhaps, impossible, *Let vs follow after charitie*, and pursue that which is both possible and probable, that is, The vni-
1 Cor. 14 ting of the Reformed Churches within themselves. And
E. to this end consider what things they are that keepe vs deuided. Whether they be points of Doctrine, or points of Discipline. Whether matters substantiall and fundamentall, or ceremonious and circumstantiall. Whether of necessitie and vnalterable veritie, or of indifferencie and variable conueniencie.

If of the first sort, then consider whether they may be reconciled by clearing or remouing some termes diuersly vsed and vnderstood, or by silencing some peremptorie expressions and absolute definitions, setting a modest bound to the inquisition of curiositie and singularitie in matters vnsearchable.

Whether we may be accorded in the generall heads, and the branches and consequences left free for the exercise of euerie mans seuerall gifts, so they depart not from common vnitie, and giue not publique scandall by obstinate opposition.

Whether this or some other way may be found of reconciliation.

If the questions be of the second sort, then whether the formes & diuersities of gouernment may be left free to euerie Nation and Church, without the breach of brotherly loue and charitie, and of the vnion and communion of Saints.

Whether, although we iudge it fit to hold those formes
amongst

amongst our selues in Great *Brittaine*, and to continue them, being settled, without alteration, yea, to perswade them what we can vpon others for vniformities sake; if it be charitable to suffer other Christian Churches without (holding the same faith with vs) to be embroyled and exposed to ruine, thereby to settle them amongst such as hold them not to be indifferent. And whether vpon the other side it be charitie in them who are at libertie, to condemne vs and all other Churches of *Antichristianisme*, who vse those formes and esteeme them indifferent,

Whether it can be imaginèd that we will in *France* by Treaties, Articles, and Arguments, or in the Vnited *Provinces* by reall assistance, or in the *Palatinate* by chargeable Armies, deale so seriously and effectually for the vpholding and replanting of Religion, as long as these differences remaine vndetermined, vnsettled, vnreconciled, as the Papists doe for the planting of their Superstition, or, as we would doe if in all respects we were perfectly one.

And whether the Religion in *France*, the Vnited *Provinces*, and the *Palatinate*, be not the same in substance with that in Great *Brittaine*, which we should not doe well therefore to discountenance and abandon for the outward forme sake.

These points in the humilitie of my Soule, and as in the presence of God the Searcher of the Heart, and the Iudge of all men, and all actions, I present with all feare and reuerence to the eye and consideration of my Superiours, not with any purpose to contend or saucely to censure the contrarie resolutions of such as God hath placed ouer me in authoritie, or to giue them the least offence

or distast by propounding these things publikely, or as a man that thought my selfe able to direct in these bottomlesse Depths, or to saile in these Seas by my selfe and my owne skill without Compasse, where no Land can be seene; but hoping hereby to giue occasion, to men of place and abilitie, to studie the point, and to pursue it to purpose to a finall resolution and determination. And if these poore vnworthy papers of mine shall euer haue the happinesse to kisse his Maiesties hands, or the hand of any that may whisper a plaine truth into his Iudicious eare, then I humbly desire he may know (and from my Soule, and the sinceritie and simplicitie of my Heart, I speake it) that nothing could haue moued me to write what I haue done (lest thereby I should offend his Maiestie, whose wisdom hath beene pleased to run a contrarie course) but onely that I feared to offend God by concealing this truth from the eares of his Maiestie, and the rest of his loyall Officers and louing Subiects, which I am fully perswaded God put in my Heart to the end I should vter it. And to encourage me and prouoke me the more to this worke, the infirmitie of this Season and of my body with it, are continuall messengers telling me I must make hast, for I am not likely to stay long here, but I must

Pr. 22. 2. appeare before his Tribunall, where Kings and Beggars stand vpon euen termes, and where men shall answer, as well for the concealing of truth, as for the venting of falsehood. The Pestilence also walkes about the Street, and enters euerie mans dore at night or noone-day without knocking; This also makes me the bolder, as men that are in the heat of warre, dare do more then vpon cold blood. But my hope is in the vnspeakeable mercie of God, that he will perswade the Heart of his Maiestie, and all others that

that shall reade this Treatise, that whatsoever is herein vttered, proceeds from an vpright and good intention, thereby to helpe to vnite the reformed Churches in one, and to remoue or qualifie such differences as hold them deuinded, to the great aduantage of the enemy: Wherein if I haue tailed to little purpose, or perhaps a little too much, it is because I am able to doe nothing but rattle; but were I able to doe more, I would doe it, that our deuisions might not be told in *Gath*, nor our nakednesse published in the Streets of *Askelon*, to the reioycing of the publike enemy.

For I know how much it concernes the Reformed Churches that they should be vnited in one (if it be possible) that the humours of men might be mitigated, and made in loue with Peace, which is so much in their mouthes.

And I know how much it concernes the prosperitie of our Church and State, and the peace and prosperitie of all Reformed Churches, that *England* and *Scotland* should first be perfectly vnited.

I know what aduantage euen in opinion, much more in action, the enemy takes from our deuision; and I feare euen some of those who pretend to be Chyrurgions to close the wounds, do make them wider vpon purpose by pressing the Flesh too hard. Force neuer did good, especially with fierie natures, but mollifying Oyles of interchange and abatement, may by kind conference close and consolidate all differences.

And vpon the other side I know how much those Spirits haue disaduantaged the cause, that haue made their breath bellowes only to blow vp contention by opposing Superiour powers with violence, and dipping their pens

in Gall and Vineger, haue exasperated the humour without any other profit to the cause, then prouoking of farther prosecution, where patience, submission, and expectation might haue qualified and allaid the heat.

In which regard I could wish that men howsoeuer forward and zealous that way, would be warie how they stirre vp coles of contention by writing against *Iuda*, as if they writ against *Aegypt*, lest they kindle a fire to the great hurt of the Reformed Churches, which may waste that strength and Spirit within, that, employd abroad, would waste and consume the foundation of *Babylon*. Especially I wish this course were taken at this time, when his Maiestie hath beene gratiouly pleased to condescend to our weaknesse, and to secure our feares and iealousies, by open protestation, that his whole intention is to procure and effect the good of the Reformed Churches and Religion, in all his designs; that he will neuer entertaine Treatie to the contrarie; and to resolute vs of this (a thing that he need not) hath made a fearefull imprecation against himselfe and his posteritie, in case he do otherwise. It is no more then reason that we belecue what we heare him say and sweare, and shew so much good manners at least, as to meet him halfe way vpon our knees, when he wooes and inuites vs to come; attending a while with silence and patience his Maiesties leasure and pleasure, for the timely fulfilling and perfecting of these promises; which as it is my resolution to doe out of dutie, so I wish it were the resolution of all others; especially considering if euer we may haue hope in outward meanes for effecting amitie and vnitie amongst the Reformed Churches (a thing so much desired by all that know how to desire that which is good) we may expect it in his Maiesties peaceable

peaceable Reigne, who is made by God an able instrument to this end, being acquainted with all the controversies that trouble the Church, and exercised in all the differences both concerning fundamentall and circumstantiall points, and armed with power, art, and argument beyond all other princes, to accomplish this worke, which would make him more famous, being finished and compounded by his meanes, then if he had conquered the whole world.

And now to conclude by returning to the *Romane* Catholiques, I desire them that they would not slightly passe by that Iudgement of God executed vpon their Brethren in the *Black-Fryars*, but that they would lay it to heart, and confesse ingeniously it was neither Chance nor Accident that did it, but the Hand of Gods power, which is in all actions, yea, in the ouerthrow of that house wherein the children of Iust *Iob* feasted *Shall there be euill in a Citie, and the Lord hath not done it? Who is he that saith and it commeth to passe, & the Lord commandeth it not?* Confesse then your wisedomes had charmed many wise and sensible men, but you could not charme senselesse Stones. Man may be mocked and deluded, God cannot. Submit your selues therefore to him, *Kisse the Sonne lest he be angry, and so ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little.* Amo. 3. 6 Ps. 2. 12

Acknowledge your Pope to be *Antichrist*, that Man of sinne, that Sonne of perdition, that sits in the Temple of God as God (that is dispensing, pardoning, absolving, binding the conscience, making new Articles of Faith, which none but God can doe) exalting himselfe also aboue all that is called God, and worshiped, that is, aboue Kings, Princes, and Gouvernours, Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall, aboue

Saints and Angels, whom he appoints to be worshiped, and canonizeth or condemneth at pleasure.

Math. 13 All those that write, and dispute, and labour the point so eagerly about personall and visible succession, thereby to retaine you still in their superstitious bonds, doe but labour to proue the Pope to be *Antichrist*. For prouing a visible Temple of God at *Rome*, they proue a visible *Antichrist* to be there. The Field was well knowne to be the Householders, wherein he first sowed Wheat, & the enuious man after sowed Tares. If it had belonged to the enuious man, why should the Householder or his Seruants complaine? Might not he sowe what Graine he would in his owne Field? But it was not his Field, it belonged to the Householder, and therefore his intrusion, to intermingle Seed for the spoyling of the whole crop, was an effect of Enuie.

The Doctrine of Christ and *Antichrist* is mingled in your Church, as the Tares and Wheat both in one Field; doe but distinguish that which is of God, and that which is of man, and the controuersie is cleared.

We confesse you haue sauing Truth amongst you, but it is mingled with all-condemning falshood, as Apothecaries mixe poyson and preseruatiues. And therefore the rising of *Antichristianisme* in the Church, is called, *A Myserie of Iniquitie*, for the subtile and close creeping in of Errour, and winding about the Root of Truth, so that they seemed all one, and of one age. This Myserie began to worke euen in the Apostles time, and good men perhaps, out of good entention, were made Seedsmen against their wills, whilst one inuented one thing, another man another; one added this Ceremonie thereby to in-
grosse the people, another that to win the Heathens from a
grosser

grosser Idolatry to a lesse, as they thought; and thus doubtlesse it Errour be examined it shall be found to be verie old, and much of it fathered vpon none of the worst men; nay, much of it will be found to be so ancient, as the time when it was brought in, and the person who introduced it, will hardly be found; yet if this be compared with the pure Wheat of the Word, which God by his Sonne, and the Ministerie of his Seruants the Apostles of Christ, hath sowne in the Church, it will easily be found to be Tares and trash of humane inuention. Doe but cast out the Diuell therefore, whose name is Legion or Multitude, and the man is ours which is amongst you, and will sit quietly at Iesus Feet. Mar. 5.
15.

Acknowledge also your *Rome*, as it is the Seat and Sea of *Antichrist*, and the Head Citie of your Church, to be *Babylon*; and as in the ruines of *Shilo*, *Ierusalem* was taught to see her future miserie, so in this shadow, behold what the Lord will doe (though perhaps mystically, as *Rome* is mysticall *Babylon*) to the Sinagogue of Satan, which you now stile the *Romane* Catholique Church, when it shall be fulfilled which the Spirit of God proclaimes, *Apocal. 18. 2. Babylon the great is falne, is falne, &c.* Not that I belecue the Citie it selfe shall be ruined and burnt, the Houses and Temples puld downe, and your Pope no more named; but that I thinke the Truth shall be reuealed to such as now sit in darkenesse and in the shadow of death, and then Kingdomes, and Countreys, and Churches, will one after another reforme themselues, and forsake the Doctrine of Diuels, that absurd Superstition and Idolatry, which you now zealously, out of a scornfull Ignorace, exercise, thinking you doe therein God good seruice. This seemes to be *Hieroms*

B. Hieron. opinion vpon these words, 2. *Thef.* 2. 8. *Quem Dominus*
 Com. in *interficiet Spiritu oris. Hac interfectio non abolitionem*
 Mich. C. 5. *significat* (saith he) This interfection doth not signifie a
 torall abolition, but a cessation of euill life which they led
 before. *Et destruet illustratione aduentus sui.* And shall
 destroy with the brightnesse of his coming. *Nunquam*
autem destrueret. si interfectio, abolitionem sonaret, cum
iam esse cessasset.

But let vs returne to consider the words vsed by the
 Angell, *Apocal.* 18. 2. *Babylon the great is fallen, is fal-*
len, and is become the habitation of Diuels, and the hold
of euerie foule Spirit, and a cage of euerie vncleane and
hatefull Bird; For all Nations haue drunke of the Wine of
the wrath of her Fornication. (Marke the note of vni-
 uersalitie, wherof the Church of Rome so much glories,
All Nations; Marke also the Metaphor vsed to expresse
 beguiling Errour, *Drunke*; The most wise and learned
 man, may be ouertaken and mistaken in drinke.) *And*
the Kings of the Earth haue committed Fornication with
her. (Marke the Metaphor, doting Lust will doe much.)
And the Merchants of the Earth, are waxed rich through
the aboundance of her delicacies. (Marke the Metaphor,
 for couctousnesse and commoditie will preuaile verie
 farre, and make euen good men looke through their fin-
 gers; but for bad men they will easily be perswaded to
 proue such Merchants as *Iudas* was, and to sell their Ma-
 ster Christ for pleasure and profit.) Here is the strength
 of Wine, of Women, and of Wealth, or of the King, ioyned
 against the strength of Truth, yet at length, *Magna est*
veritas & preualet; Truth is strongest, and beares away
 the victorie. Yet Truth must struggle for the victorie, her
 opposites are strong enough to stroue, and will not be
 conquered

1 Efd. 3.

30, 11, 12

conquered till we haue fought vnder her Banner, and re- Heb. 12.
sisted vnto blood. 4.

Now after you haue heard and considered this aduisedly, then attend to that which followes immediately after at the fourth Verse. *And I heard another voyce from Heauen, saying, Come out of her my People (God hath a People, God hath a number of Elect names, God hath a Church in Babylon.) that ye be not partakers of her sinnes, and that ye receiue not of her plagues; For her sinnes haue reached vnto Heauen and God hath remembered her iniquities. Reward her euen as she rewarded you, and double vnto her double according to her workes: In the Cup that she hath filled fill to her double. How much she hath glorified her selfe and lined deliciously (Marke; what she hath assumed, challenged, and arrogated to her selfe.) so much torment and sorrow giue her: for she saith in her heart, I sit a Queene, and am no Widow, and shall see no sorrow. (Doth any Church boast so but the Romish?) Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death and mourning, and famine, and she shall be utterly burnt with fire, for strong is the Lord God, who iudgeth her. Stronger then all the Kings that would defend her. And doe not say, or hear others saying, that such as perished were greater or lesse sinners then the rest of the Romish Idolators that suruiue (since we iudge not their persons, but opinions and actions) For except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.*

The Lord open your eyes that you may discouer *Antichrist* in the midst of his masking, and open your eares that you may heare Christ in the midst of the Candlesticks, and turne your hearts from following

G

the

the vanitie and Idolatry of those superstitious Fathers
of your Flesh, that you may beleue the Veritie of God
the Father of your Soules, and so possesse an eter-
nall habitation with him in Glorie
and Immortalitie.

Amen.

FINIS.

THE
BELGICKE
PISMIRE:

Stinging the slothfull SLEEPER,

AND

Awaking the DILIGENT

TO

FAST, WATCH, PRAY;

And

WORKE OVT THEIR OWNE

Temporall and Eternall Salvation

WITH

Feare and Trembling.

Prov. 30. 25.

*The Pismires are a people not strong, yet prepare they their
meate in Summer.*

Printed at London. 1 6 2 2.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

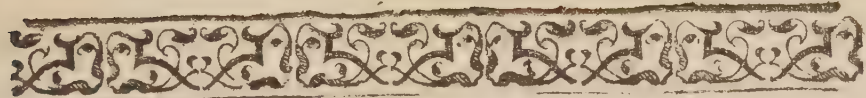
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Printed by J. Streater, in Strand, near St. Dunstons Church

1679

By Authority

Printed by J. Streater, in Strand, near St. Dunstons Church



To the true-hearted British Readers.

D*eare Christian Country-men;* I send out this *Treatise*, in this doubtfull and dangerous time, not only to shew you the necessarie dependencie betwixt our Kingdome of *Great Brittain* and the *united Provinces*, but also to comfort & strengthen you against all feares, that are or may be interjected, by the subtiltie and malice of our Adversaries, or our owne misconceite or diffidence. For I do not finde the Enemie more busily praëising to discourage vs, and to raise false fires to affright vs, then vvee our selues (as Melancholy persons vse) apt to misconster all things, and to imagine the worst, vpon the sight of euery shadow.

And yet I must confesse, that, as there are many of those who labour to effect a division betwixt vs, and to this end, reviuie old grudges, and provoke new quarrels; so the common current seemes to runne a contrarie course to that vvhich it had wont, (as tides have their ebbs) and the generall disposition of most men is wavering, as persons light of loue, who desire to shift their old approued friends for fresh Suiters, and prefer the change of an adulterous bed before the married. But I take this to be but a fit or throw of passion, which vvilbe easily cast off, vvith more hate and loathing, then it is now hotly pursued vvith longing, when some discontents are settled, and men on both sides are come to themselves againe. And for the State it selfe (I meane that maine Axeltree vvhercon our Kingdome

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turnes) I do assure my selfe, it is the same it was, firmly grounded on former principles extracted from experience on both sides; and that wee only move, whilst it remaines constant, though wee imagine otherwise; as simple passengers sayling swiftly by the Continent, suppose the trees, steeples, towers, and rockes to goe backward.

Thus wee are distracted & affrighted with our owne shadowes; ignorance makes vs Infidels: and whilst wee see the face, but vnderstand not the intention and scope of some passages of State, we and our friends waxe suspicious of each other; and that suspicion raiseth many rumors; and those rumors, though false, may beget and nourish a true and dangerous hate betwixt vs. My owne Countri-men haue tongues laxatiue enough, and Strangers are in their wordes, as in diuerse other things, libertines. That which I write may helpe to make both sides more confident of each others loue, more retentive and sparing of their censures; at least it shall haue that effect in me, till I behold the yssue, which I hope will be happie.

The bell is rung out, and I heare the sound and report it gives on both sides. Vpon the *States* side, men feare the passages and cariages of all things in *England*; and for this, are liberall and free in their discourses, making the feare greater then the cause requires. On the *contrarie side*, they are doubtfull or rather desperate, and therefore prosecute his Majestie with all kind of calumny. *Pictures* and *Pasquills* are day by day there vented thicke and threefold one vpon the necke of another, wherein not only the *King of Bohemia* and the *Prince of Orange*, but our *King* also is basely traduced and abused. This comforts me, and assures me, they persecute

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secute none of their owne , and therefore hold his Majestie to be anemie. Let this assure vs, that he is the same we would haue him, howsoever for some respect of State, he seemes, (to weake eyes who behold things aloofe off) to be otherwise inclined. But, for my owne part, I comfort my selfe especially, and desire you would be comforted against all these suspicions, feares, and jealousies, out of two considerations; the goodnesse and mercie of our *God*, and the wisdom and policie of our *King*.

First, let vs consider wee haue a good and gracious God watching over vs, who will not suffer his Truth to be extinguished, but as he hath hitherto miraculously preserved it, so still he will continue to do the same.

And though, for our abuse and contempt of the *Gospel* (together with our barrennesse in good, our fruitfulness in euill) *he visite our transgressions with the rod*, yet *will he not utterly take his mercie from vs, nor suffer his truth to faile*. Let vs then rest in peace; *for hee that keepeth vs doth neither slumber nor sleepe*. And let the remembrance of those many former deliverances, which he hath wrought for vs, after an extraordinary and miraculous manner, assure vs of the like fatherly care and protection still, if wee faint not, but faithfully and constantly depend vpon his mercifull promise.

*Psal 89.32.
33.
Psal, 121.4.*

*1. Sa, 17.34.
35.36.37.*

Secondly, consider the wisdom of our *Prince*, which is so renowned, as for it he is gladly admitted a generall Arbitrator in foraine parts to determine controversies of State. Let this comfort vs, and assure vs, that God hath not given Him so much light for nothing, much lesse for euill. Let vs thinke, that since He was intertained with so much love, and so great signes of joy into this Kingdome, and hath beene served since

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with so much obedience, (farre more then a father could expect from his children) that Hee will so much seeme to neglect his owne honour and safety, or our lives and liberties, as to leave vs in the hands of our enemies, or abase vs in the eyes of other Nations, to leade vs, or suffer vs to bee led into temporall or spirituall captivity. Let vs thinke also he cannot forget either 88. or the *Powder-plot*, (though now perhaps, it be vnseasonable to remember them) nor yet the many attempts and practises against His person, Crowne, Dignitie, and the Truth he professeth: nor that God will suffer him to sleepe securely in the armes of such, as He knowes watch onely for oportunitie to destroy Him and His. Thinke also, that Nature will revine and worke in Him, though it seemes to lye in a trance for the present time: and that He cannot but see, that it is impossible to love the Root, and hate the Branches; or to love the Fruit and Branches, and hate the Roote. Our love to his Royall Progenie must needs assure our love to Him; and the hate of others to Them, assure their inward hate against Him. And for such as perswade otherwise, that our love to the Kings Children, and hate to the adverse party, proceedes either out of discontent, or a Puritanicall humour in vs leading to disloyalty, *Let their lyes turne vpon their owne pates; and let evill happen to them that thinke evill*, and that would poyson and pervert all good purposes with practise.

Psal. 7. 16.

And though the subrill Enemies labour to breed jealousies betwixt Him and His, knowing it to be for their advantage, and the onely way to blemish the Gospel, and discredit good men, by breeding this suspicion, which may estrange and alienate the heart of the Prince from his people, and friends from each other; yet
thinke

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thinke it cannot sinke into his Majesties brest, that such *servants, such subjects; Professors of the Gospel*, should intend the least hurt to him, who is the *Defender of their Faith*. It is for *Heathens, Turkes, Papists*, to become Assassins, Parricides, and bloody Traitors; and it is for Tyrants amongst these, to suspect their friends, brethren, and children, and therefore to cut them off at the motion of their Flatterers, *Bashawes, Jesuites*, and other tame trencher-Traytors. Good Princes, who are fathers of the Common-wealth, cannot do thus, will not doe thus; whilst in themselves they see no cause of their subjects hate; or if they see any, can finde a readier way by amendment, to remove the cause, and prevent the mischief, then by seconding one evill with another, to indanger the overthrow of all, and to make the disease desperate, by endeavouring a contrarie cure; or the flame rise higher, by casting in fresh fuell, or quenching it with oyle.

Thinke also it is our Enemies plot, to stirre vp our heady and hastie humors, and to cause the Prince to discontent his best and truest subjects; and, if it were possible, by all meanes to provoke them to impatience and resistance, that so themselves might be armed in His colourable defence, and have occasion also to bring in other borrowed Ayde vnder the same pretence, but with assurance of His and all our ruines in the yssue; as hath ever happened to that vnfortunate State where they haue become *Sticklers*. But thinke his Majestie cannot but see this aswell as vvee and much better; and therefore be you quiet, that their intents and projects may be frustrate.

Finally, thinke now your *King* is making of his owne *Monument*, vwriting his owne *Chronicle*; both
A 4 which

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which are raised and composed by deedes, and not wordes: and assure your selves, *Hee* that can speake and write so wel, will never so farre contradict his owne wordes with repugnant actions, as thereby to race his Armes, to staine the honour he was borne vnto, and which hee hath made good and bettered hitherto, by high and holy enterprizes of act and *admonition* against *Rome*: but thinke therefore, that all this time, *Hee* is acting his part in the eye of the whole world; that he is working his Master-piece in the publique market, and trying his exact skill in *King-craft* vvith the greatest *State* and *Statists* in Christendome; that is, vvith *Rome*, *Spaine*, *Austria*, *Italy*, *Machiauel*, and the extracted strength and quintessence of all these, the *Iesuites*.

And therefore thinke, howsoever for the present he carries himselfe, and seemes to be led by some of that side, yet in the end, the *Lyon* may awake, breake loose and teare his keeper; or else leade, vv whilst he seemes to be led; and then the vvorld shall see, that neither the opinion of his sinceritie in the *Truth*, nor of his vnmatchable wisedome and policie, were vaine mistakings, but that our harmelesse *David* can vse honest *Hushai* to ouerthrow their craftie *Achitophel*.

Then the *Church* shall triumph and be comforted; the *Common-wealth* flourish, His *honor* shal be eternized; neither shall you repent of your patience, nor I of my perswasion to this end; vv wherein I rest, vvith an assurance of Gods mercy herein, and that wee shall see our desire vpon our Enemies.

To the halfe-hearted English-Spanish Reader:

DEsiring him, if he finds me too tart in his taste against the *Spanish* Nation, and (as he thinks) too much

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neglect their honors in some passages, that he would consider there are three things mouing me to this; any of which when they come in my vvay; may force me to strike them vvith my tongue, since I cannot reach them vvith my hand.

1. The first is the *Libertie of the Gospel*, to vvwhose free passage they are open and profest enemies, altering Religion for the worst where they conquer, taking part vvith the Serpent against the Seed of the woman, and desiring to bee knowne Catholique persecutors of all true *Christians*.

2. The second is the *Libertie of life*, that by the benefit of nature each Nation hath and seekes to preserve vnder their owne rules; vvwhich likewise the *Spaniard* labors to take from humane societie, and to prescribe Lawes to all Christendome. Which ambitious mood hath possesst them euer since that Catholique title was confer'd vpon them by that Sea, vvwho next and immediately vnder Satan, hath the disposition of all the Kingdomes of the Earth at his pleasure. Luke. 4. 6.

3. The third is the bloody, inhumane, and vnchristian dealing vvith the Kings Children, even when they pretend to desire affinitie vvith that House; and that dallying about restitution of wrongs, tossing the ball from one to another, and laughing in their sleeues, that their dissimulation hath deluded our plaine meaning, and possesst them of so rich a Countay, vvwhich is a fit roade to invade all Christendome. For now they haue a high vvay, or thorow-fare to convey their Armies commodiously from *Flanders* to *Austria* all the way in their owne Command. But vvhome have they not thus delt vvithall for their owne advantages, if former presidents could make men beware of their courtes?

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I do protest, sauing these quarrels, I beare no spleene nor malice to any *Spaniard* living, much lesse to the Nation, whome (these things excepted) I honor as befits me: but when any of these considerations come crosse my thoughts, they stir vp a salt humor, vvhich fals from my eyes into my inke; and turnes it more blacke and bitter, and more sharpe vvithall then the Gall and Coperas vvhich gaue it the first tincture; and this makes my stile harsh, when I touch vpō that string. No other good can cause me to forget these evils, or perswade me to take those for my friends who are enemies to these; or affoord them good words, who loade these vvith opprobrious scoffes and open injuries. Injustice in them begets indignation in others, and no man that doth euill, can euer hope to heare well from any but Cowards, or flatterers.

To the indifferent Dutch Readers.

I Assure them and all the world, these three considerations aforementioned, worke contrarie effects in me towards them. I loue them first for Religions sake, they being a hiding place for the pore persecuted members of Christ hunted out of Bohemia, the Palatinate, and other distressed Countries. Secondly, being become a Bulwarke for the libertie of all Christendome at this present. Thirdly, being a happie Sanctuarie for the Kings Children, when very few Christian Princes durst professe themselves their friends.

Men may say, their owne respects worke these effects; and I willingly grant, that perhaps, they are involved together. And what Nation is there, or what State; nay, what man, that in all friendship looks not inward and homeward vvith one eye? When I thinke vpon these things, I cannot but loue them and speake vvell of them; nor can particular injuries (which
may

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may be raised from their and our enemies, intermixt with them, as pricks in their sides and thornes in their eyes) Ios. 23. 13.
nor generall Wrongs in any other kinde though profest and justified, worke mee so much to hate and division, (though they may tempt me shrewdly) as these to loue and union.

Yet because I praise this Belgicke friend, as I thinke, worthily in the body of the booke, I must in the Preface admonish him of such faults as I heare or see, that he may mend them (if there be cause) in the beginning, and so be truly worthy of those praises I giue him, and thinke he deserues, in the course of this Treatise. He is a foole that cannot see his friends faults as well as his perfections; and he is a flatterer that (if he sees them) will not be his friends glasse for amendement to dresse him to Glorie and perfection. Let him neuer take me for a friend, that loves not this plainenesse: if for this he proues my foe, I haue lost nothing, but saued much I might haue lost, had I ventured any thing in so light, weake, and unbalast a bottome.

1. First therefore they say, Children are not generally there well educated, hauing too much libertie allowed them, so that they soone learne to forget that duty to their Parents, which they were neuer taught to remember.

2. Secondly, they say, frugality makes men neglect pietie, 1. Tim. 6.
and the gaine of vngodlinesse makes marchandize of godli- 5. 6.
nesse; so that buyers and sellers, and spirituall theecues Mar. 11. 15.
possesse the temple; I meane, the labor proper to sixe dayes, makes a sacrilegious vsurpation and horrible profanation of Exod. 20.
that Rest proper to the Seuenth; and many for feare of see- 9. 10.
ming Iewes, become Gentiles.

3. Thirdly, they say, the reuerend Ministers are respected but not rewarded according to their labors and merits. The oxe is muzled, & in the meane time the Ass and Mule eate 1. Cor. 9. 9.
up his provender in prodigality, ryot, and euery excesse. 10.

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4. Fourthly, your profest Enemies take you with vntthankfulness, and make this a just motiue to prouoke his Majestie to leaue you.

Ingratum
dixeris,
& omnia
dixeris.
Senec.

They challenge you of ingratitude to his Majesty, to the British Nation, to the Souldier. I know not whether these be truthes or slaunders, I tell you what I heare and reade in their writings. If they say true, amend it, if they come neere the truth, avoyd so monstrous a shadow as ingratitude. Remember how much English blood hath beene spilt to saue yours; this cannot be recompenced without extraordinarie respects; for Mony payes some, Honor others, Love all. Nor is there a Nation whose loue hath beene, or is more vsfull to your State, nor that is more worthie of it then the British. You neither dishonor, disprofit or weaken your selues by this admittance and conjunction, but should euery way reape advantage by it. Now thus you haue heard what others thinke and say, for my owne opinion, if you thinke it woorth any thing, you may reade it in that which followeth.

THE



THE
BELGICK E
PISMIRE.

PROV. 6.6.

Goe to the Pismire, O Sluggard, Behold her wayes, and be wise.



An vvas not created to idlenesse, nor to any base or vile employment: but enjoyned labour to preserve by industrie what God himselfe had created. *Adam* in his integritie should haue wrought, but vvithout vvearinesse; as the *Angels* now take pleasure in the diligent discharge of their offices. In idlenesse man seemes to be like Satan; in action like God, his servant, his substitute, his coadjutor; for it is sayd, *Genesis 2. 15.* after the Creation of all things: *Then the Lord tooke the man, and put him into the Garden of Eden, that hee might dresse it and keepe it:* God made it, he must dresse it and keepe it; therefore hee must vvorke. And to this end, that man might not performe actions casually or by contingencie, but legally according to a rule, God hath giuen him both bodily strength to till the ground, and reason also to doe it seasonably. Yea hee hath skill to direct the Creatures subjected to his government, in their voluntarie obedience

Gen. 2. 19.
20.

dience, and to make them seruiceable helpes, to the speedy accomplishment of his honest desires. Thus as soone as he saw them, euen at the first sight, by the intellectuall facultie, he discerned their powers and vertues, and to what imployment they were apt; and vvas able to giue them names, properly expressing their natures. But such vvas the precipitation of his fall, as therby he did not only lose his dignitie and vvisdome, and equall himselfe vvith the beastes his naturall subjects, but cast himselfe vnder the basest creatures, as *Samson*, buried vnder the ruines of that house, vvich his owne hands pulled downe vpon his owne head: or rather, as vvhen things are turned topsie-turvie, the highest becomes lowest; euen so heere, man, the most excellent creature is cast vnder all; the higher his standing, the greater his ruine, the more noble his nature, the more base his declension. All that he can now doe (neither can he doe that of himselfe by nature, but by grace infused) is by degrees to remoue the vvaight from himselfe, piece after piece, and from the backe of one creature, to clime vp on another, and so to looke towards God, and tovwards Paradise, from vvhence he vvas excluded for sinne. He is prest dovne to the earth and loaden with many difficulties, weakned vvith many infirmities, and yet hath this addition cast vpon him as a curse, euen novv vvhen he is least able to helpe himselfe, *In the sweat of thy browes thou shalt eate thy bread*. Before thou vvert to labour, *O man*, yet then thou didst it vvillingly vvithout paine, vvithout vwearinesse, vvith pleasure and delight: the Earth answered thy expectation, and preuented thy desires vvith overflowing fecunditie: Novv thou must labour by necessitie, by

com-

Ecc. 40. 1.

Gen. 3. 19.

compulsion, in anguish and sorrow of spirit, in toyle and sweat of bodie; and when all is done, thy hopes shalbe frustrated; the earth (like an euill debtor) will not pay the due vse, but (like a coufening companion) run away with the principall: Nay (like an vngratefull wretch, like thy selfe, and worse it cannot bee, worse I cannot say) shall in stead of flowers bring forth weeds; in stead of corne, Cockle; In stead of Roses to refresh thee, thornes to pricke thee, to crowne thee with curses, (as thou crownest thy Saviour) and in stead of Manna to feed thee, it shal bring forth thistles to choke thee. If thou labourest not, thou canst not eate, sterue thou must of necessitie, and if thou labourest, death comes to thee that way also; yea oftentimes thou doest kill thy selfe with toying. And yet O happie punishment! O mercy in the midst of miserie! O blessed curse, that leades thee the right and only way to happinesse! for except thou labourest heere, thou canst not liue heere: and this doth teach thee, that except thou labourest spiritually and workest the workes of grace, thou shalt not liue eternally the life of glorie. In working thou maist obteyne, but thou doest not yet merit thy daily bread; thou beggest it, thou hast it by gift, by Gods blessing: And this will teach thee, that if all thy sweat be not able to purchase a crum of bread, all thy holinesse cannot merit Heauen; worke yet thou must, first to shew thy penitencie, and how well thou wouldest behaue thy selfe, if now thou wert in possession of Paradise, as thou hast beene: secondly, to shew thy obedience to that commandement of his which thou hast broken, when it was in thy power to keepe it: thirdly, to shew thy faith in the assurance of that

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promise,

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promise, vvhich hee that made, never failes to performe: fourthly, to shew thy thankfulnessse to that God, vvho notwithstanding thy sinne, hath not done execution vpon thee, but left thee meanes to liue here, and to assure a better life hereafter, then that vvvhich thou hast lost. If thou diest not temporally, thou canst not liue eternally: O therefore happie transgression, which procurest this blessed curse! O happie sinne, that art incountred with so much grace! O joyfull and pleasant miserie, that hath met vvith such abundant and overflowing mercie! Consider Paradise was not thine by nature, but grace at the first; God made thee vvithout, he brought thee thither, hee put thee into possession, vpon condition of thy good behaviour; thou didst forfeit thy right by ill desert, vvvhich at first was given thee freely vvithout desert; thou canst much lesse lay claime to it now by merit, or hope to get it againe that way, since grace brought thee in at the first, and the same grace onely can and will bring thee in againe, if thou wilt worke; for *in the sweat of thy browes thou shalt eat both thy temporall and spirituall bread*. Now if thou hast forgotten how to worke, (O thou great governour of all creatures; thou man, that wert made their schoole-master to teach them their lessons) doe not thinke scorne to refresh thy memorie by their examples, but now humble thy selfe to be taught of them: (as doating fathers of their obedient children) behold, the holy Ghost sends thee to learne of a most contemptible creature, a worme, a Pismire; *Goe to the Pismire, O Sluggard, consider her wayes, and be wise: Goe, for thou hast a bodie and legges: Consider, for thou hast a soule and reason: Goe and consider; vse both, joyne both in this businesse,*

nesse, stirre vp the faculties of the soule and body, that thou mayest attaine by industrie, that which this silly worme retaines by nature, and learne to bee wise for thy self, seasonably wise; wise to sobriety, procuring thy selfe timely sufficiencie, both for this life and a better.

The words are exhortatory; wherein we behold, 1. the *Admonitor*, 2. the *Admonished*, 3. the *Admonition*.

1. The *Admonitor* is *Salomon*: 1. a *King*, 2. a *Preacher*, 3. the *Preacher*.

1. *A King*, and therefore deserving reverence and attention, for the dignitie of his person: For counsell partakes authoritie with the person that giues it, and is respected or sleighted accordingly: *When the rich man speakes* (saith *Siracides*) *every one holdeth his tongue, and looke what he saith, they praise it vnto the clouds: but if a poore man speake, they say, What fellow is this? And Salomon* *saith: The wisdom of the poore is despised, and his words are not heard. Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis;* whether he speake or no, they will doe as hee doth. And therefore it is enough for such persons, vvith *Gideon* to say, *Looke on me, and doe as you see me doe.* But besides the dignitie and authoritie annexed to his person, and the force and sway of his example, he hath likewise power to compell and command, and therefore speakes in the imparative moode, *Vade, Goe to the Pismire, O Sluggard;* who dares but goe, vvhen *Salomon* the King commands him? And yet if you had rather vnderstand this as an advise and counsell, then as a lawe or command, (because wisdom perswades, but layes not violent hands vpon man to compell him to benefite himselfe against his will) then heare the *Preacher* perswading, since you will not heare the King commanding, and goe to the

Eccl. 13. 24

Eccl. 9. 16.

Judg. 7. 17.

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Pismire, O Sluggard, consider her wayes, and be wise.

2. *A Preacher, & therefore deserving reverence & attention, that being a King he would descend to take paines to instruct his people, by way of exhortation as a Preacher, was admirable; they should doe ill not to hearken*
Ioan. 21. 19. and obey such a Pastour. This is ποιμαίνει, to feede and rule indeed; not as the Pope doth, but as Christ did. Art thou not ashamed, O Antichrist, whilst Salomon painefully and carefully acts the Princes part, and the Pastors part, ruling and teaching his people aright: that thou whose profession it is to teach and to preach, doest scorne to be Christs Vicar as he vvas a Prophet, and wilt vsurpe authoritie to be his Vicar as he was a king onely? Art thou not ashamed to say that Salomon is damned notwithstanding his diligent discharge of his duty, and thou art saued; nay, hast the power of Salvation in thine owne hand, vvhilest thou neglectest thine? And are yee not ashamed, O all yee Wolues in sheepes cloathing, to neglect the flocke, ouer which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to become Courtiers, and leaue the care of the Church to others? whilst you heare Salomon say,
Pro. 27. 23. Be diligent to know the state of your flockes, and take heed to the herds: And whilst you see him leaue the Court, and apply himselfe like a Preacher, to instruct his people in all necessaric knowledge? The more wise the Preacher was, the more he taught the people knowledge, and caused them to heare, and searched forth and prepared many parables: The Preacher sought to finde out pleasant wordes, and an vpright writing, euen the wordes of truth. But the lesse you teach the people, the more wise you thinke your selues; and the more you know, the lesse yee labour to profit other men, especially the people. You study indeede to finde out

Out pleasant vvordes and parables, as Apothecaries, picke fallads euery Spring; These you vent once euery yeere, out of the hearing of your owne Cures; the Court only must pertake your parables, which are farre more precious (if rare things be so) then euer was *Salomons*. But *Salomon* heere applies his vvisedome to countrie capacities, he speakes and sings in their key; therefore ^{1. Reg. 4. 34.} he deserues serious attention, and he had it.

3. The Preacher by vvay of excellencie; for so he be-
ginnes his booke called *Ecclesiastes*, or the Preacher. *The Eccl. 1. 1.*
Words of the Preacher the sonne of David the King: and af-
ter in the 12 verse, *I the Preacher haue beene King ouer Israel*
in Ierusalem, and I haue giuen my heart to find out wisedome, by
all things that are done vnder the Sunne. As if he should say,
I say by my Prerogatiue royall, my sceptor, my crowne,
my svord: I betake mee to my booke, to my penne, to
my prayers, to fitte my selfe to teach you. I haue beene
king; that office and dignitie I lay off; I am the Prea-
cher; and that I may be a profitable one, I haue giuen
my heart to studie and contemplation, to finde out
vvisedome by all the creatures, to instruct man (the
chiefe commander and king of all creatures) to make
my subiects vvise, that euery man may be a king to him-
selfe. For as the vegetables are nourished by the Ele-
ments and by things inanimate, and the sensitiue, by
the things vegetatiue: so reasonable man doth not
only receiue corporall nourishment, but spirituall in-
struction, from the sensible creatures. And therefore
Salomon takes paines in these; so that he spake three thou- ^{1. King 4.}
sand Prouerbs: and his Songs were a thousand and five: And he ^{32. 33. 34.}
spake of trees, from the Cedar tree that is in Libanon; euen to ^{Sapient. 7.}
the hyssope that springeth out of the wall: hee spake also of ^{17. 18. 19.}
beasts, ^{20. 21. 22.}

beastes, and of Fowles, and of creeping things, and of fishes :
*And there came of all people to heare Salomon from all
 kings of the earth, which had heard of his Wisedome.* So hee
 had a continuall auditorie, and he deserued it; hee tooke
 paines to speake pleasantly, but his principall ayme was
 Eccl. 12. 10 to speake profitably: for he knew, *that which pleaseth not
 somthing, profits nothing;* & therefore he would not preach
 extempore, but he sought to find out *pleasant words, and
 an vpright writing, even the wordes of truth:* and he found
 Sapien. 7. 7. what he sought, whilst he sought it as he should, from
 Sapie. 8. 21 a right person, and in a right manner; from the right
 person, he sought it of God: It is no shame for a King
 Sap. 7. 7. to seeke there. *Wherefore I prayed, and vnderstanding was
 given me; I called, and the spirit of Wisedome came vnto me:*
 1. Reg. 8. 54 In a right manner, *by prayer:* by prayer *on his knees,* to
 honour God publicuely. Kings cannot honour them-
 selves by any meanes more, then by honouring God
 after this manner, by an humble, holy, and reverend de-
 portment in publique worship.

Thus his example teacheth vs as well as his wordes :
 and he is a Preacher, and *the Preacher, the most excellent
 Preacher,* in thus seeking, in thus finding, and in thus
 teaching vs to seeke vwhat we want, that wee may finde,
 whilst we seeke as we should, as he did.

The Preacher, and such an one as did not thinke him-
 selfe wise enough to governe the whole world, like a
 Catholike King; to rule the whole Church like an vni-
 1. Reg. 12. 6 versall Bishop, or to rule his owne Kingdome, for all
 his wisdome, without *wise Councelors:* but acknowled-
 ged himselfe too weake to governe a Kingdome lesse
 then *Spaine,* lesse then *Italy;* and therefore he saith hum-
 1. Reg. 3. 9. bly vnto God, *Give vnto thy servant an vnderstanding
 heart,*

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heart, to iudge this people, that I may discerne betweene good and badde; For who is able to iudge this mightie people? O ignorant Salomon, art not thou able? knowst not thou who is able? I can resolute thee; S^r. Peters Successor can not only rule that people, but all the people of the world. And yet he is no Preacher, and yet he sits still in one place, and yet he labours not to find out pleasant words, and an upright writing, and the words of truth, as Salomon the Preacher did.

The Preacher, who speaking thus humbly to God, had the honour to heare God speaking to him, in this gracious manner: *Because thou hast asked this king, and hast not asked for thy selfe long life, neither hast asked riches for thy selfe, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, but hast asked for they selfe understanding to heare Iudgement: Behold, I haue done according to thy words; Lo, I haue giuen thee a wise and understanding heart, so that there hath beene none like thee before thee, neither after thee shall arise the like vnto thee.* I doubt not, had the Bishop of Rome beene licensed to aske, as Salomon was, he would haue desired long life, that his Cardinals might not poyson him in hope to succeed; or riches, that he need not begge Peter-pence through the world; or the life of his enemies, that he need not send Iesuits to murder them, or Iudasses to blow them vp. Therefore he misseth of what he would wish, and pretends to haue; whilst Salomon had what hee desired, and more too; for God saith, *I haue also giuen thee that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour, so that among the kings there shalbe none like vnto thee in all thy daies: None like him for honour and wealth: heare therefore Salomon the king; none like him in wisdom; heare therefore Salomon the Preacher; for he is*

1. Reg. 3.

11.12.13.

1. Reg. 13.

best able to informe you, and comes neereſt vnto that perfection of wiſdome, wherein *Adam* was created; hee diſcernes the natures of plants, birds, beaſts, and fiſhes: he takes paines to extract obſervations from them for thy inſtruction: wrong not thy ſelfe therfore ſo much, as to loſe this oportunitie of bettering thy knowledge: heare what he ſaith, obey what he bids, goe whither he commands thee: *Goe to the Piſmire, O Sluggard, conſider her wayes and be wiſe.*

2. The admoniſhed: that is, the *Sluggard*: hee is the perſon to whom *Salomon* ſayth, *Goe to the Piſmire*. The *Sluggard*, what's he? ſurely hee is a longer that is neuer ſatiſfied. *The Sluggard luſteth, but his ſoule hath nought:* Prov. 13. 4.
He is a prater that never doth any thing. In all labour there is abundance, but the talke of the lips bringeth onely want: Prov. 14. 23.
He is alieni avidus, ſui profuſus, The Sluggard coueteth evermore greedily, but the righteous giveth and ſpareth not. Hee is a moover without proficiencie: *As the doore turneth vpon the hingedes, ſo doth a ſlothfull man vpon his bed.* Hee is a niggardly prodigall; niggardly of his paines, and prodigall of his time. *He that is ſlothfull at his worke, is euen the brother of him that is a great waſter.* He is a couragious coward; a coward, for hee dares not goe out, but ſaith, *a lyon is in the way, I ſhall be ſlaine in the ſtreet:* and yet Pro. 22. 13. couragious; for whilt he will not goe out for feare the Lyon ſhould eate him, he *remaines within, foldes vp his armes, keepes his knife in the ſheath, and eates vp his owne fleſh:* He is a wiſe foole; wiſe in his owne conceipt, a foole in *Salomons*. *The ſluggard is wiſer in his owne conceipt, then ſeven men that can render a reaſon.* And therefore there is more hope of a Foole then of him. Hee is a reſolute waverer, a conſtant changeling: *vult & non vult,* (ſaith the
the

the vulgar.) By this description of *Salomon* we see, hee is a longing, prating, prodigall, cowardly, slow, selfe-conceipted, certaine vncertaine foole, who sleepest away his time, and thinkes all men are borne to vvorke, that he might play; concept hath dam'd vp his eares; *for he thinkes himselfe wiser then seuen men that can render a reason*: and therefore will not heare, or will not beleeue, or will not obey the doctrine that is taught; his owne opinion is still wisest and truest, his owne way is still best and rightest, hee hateth to be reformed, and doth sooth vp himselfe in folly, opposing all that can be sayd, with a silent and selfe-wil'd obstinacie and contempt, sleeping out his life in solitarie retirement, and brutish sensuality, as if a Lethargie had seized vpon him, and bound vp his cold braine in forgetfulnesse both of himselfe and of God also. Hee is *socors*, that is, *sine corde*; for he hath a head and wit enough, but hee wants a heart, affection, courage, constancie to doe what hee knowes. He is *piger*, that is, *pede ager*: he lacks a foote to convey him to any honest and honourable vndertaking. The Ambassage of *Sparta* vvas vwithout head or foote; this man (if he bee worthie to bee called a man) hath neither heart nor foote: but rockt asleepe in desperate securitie, with a lullabie of peace and safetie, he derides all happy admonition, and shutting his eyes against the knowledge of danger, he cares not who kils him, so hee fees not his death.

O Incredulitie, the wit of fooles:

The Cowards castle, and the Sluggards cradle!

How easie 'tis to be an Infidell?

To this man it is that *Salomon* the Preacher lifts vp his voyce like a trumpet, and rowseth him vp from that

sleeping stoole of his, with this acclamation, *O Sluggard! Goe to the Pismire, consider her waies, and be wise.*

3. *The Admonition: Goe to the Pismire, consider her waies and be wise:* Here wee finde three things advised: 1. *An action, Goe to the Pismire.* 2. *A Consultation; Consider her waies.* 3. *A Conclusion or profitable extraction from the consultation; and be wise.*

1. In the action, there is *terminus à quo* implied, and *terminus ad quem* expressed: first, goe from thy bedde, where thou sleepest in securitie, goe from thy selfe-conceited opinion and imagination; goe from thy sensuall pleasures, thy bewitching pastimes, thy brutish passions, thy beastly companions; goe from thy customarie coldnesse and stupiditie; goe from thy fearefull cowardise and infidelitie; goe from thy blinde and superstitious folly, wherein thou art mis-led, brought vp, and rockt a sleepe, as in a cradle, supposing there is nothing good, but that vvvhich thou knowest, no house commodious but thine owne, no ayre to liue in, but vvwhere thou breathest, no life like that vvvhich thou leadeest in darknesse and ignorance. *O Sluggard,* goe from all those thoughts, and goe to the *Pismire*; goe in thy body, exercise that; for surfets are bred for lacke of exercise, and thy body so weakned and made vnfit for any employment; Nay, that wherein thou placest thy chiefe felicitie (which is sleepe) would bee sweeter to thee, if thou wouldest take paines to exercise thy selfe vvith labour; *For the sleepe of him that trauelleth is sweete whether he eate litle or much; but the satiety of the rich will not suffer him to sleepe.* *Exercitium dicitur sanum, eo quod conseruat sanitatem;* It is compounded of *ex* and *arceo*, because it driues out all diseases; and an army is termed *Exercitus*, *quod exercitando fit melior*, because it is much

much bettered by exercise: This the *Romans* knew well, and therefore vvere not only carefull to exercise their owne persons and the people at home, but their armies abroad; and to that end, in the time of truce or cessation of Armes, did euer imploy them in making of cawseys, or walles, or draines, or fortifications, or such like profitable workes; knowing well, that as water corrupts and stinks by standing still, but is preserved by agitation, so the bodies and mindes of men are corrupted by sloth, and inabled and preserved by action: Go therefore, O *Sluggard*, goe to the *Pismire*, if it were for nothing else, but to exercise thy body and preserve it from diseales.

Dost thou not see, (if thou hast so much heart to looke vp, or so much wit as to consider) dost thou not see (I say) what we were in *England* when wee vsed exercises, especially shooting, running, vvraftling, and the like strennuous and manly sportes? how able, how strong, how actiue, how healthfull, how honorably esteemed of our friends, how terrible to our enemies? And seest thou not since wee left those, (I know not vpon what peaceable and politique pretences) how our bodies are generally weakned; our manners corrupted, our healths impayred, and our estates wasted in drunkenness, gluttonie, lecherie and pride; yea, how wee are contemned, and sleighted, and counted the off-scouring of all Nations? O *Sluggard*, goe therefore to the *Pismire*, consider her waies, and be wise.

But if thou thinkest it too much toyle to go personally to the place to behold and see the manner of the *Pismires* working, and the course she takes in ordering of her affaires (though this would helpe and aduance the busines in hand very much, and make things clea-

rer to thy conception) yet goe in thy conceipt, goe in thy imagination, goe in thy minde; that is, call to remembrance what thou hast seene, and read, and heard of that little creature, compare thy selfe and her together, thy wit and hers, thy strength and hers, thy nature and hers, thy vvayes and hers; then *consider of it advisedly, and after giue sentence, and speake what thou thinkest.*

Iudg. 19. 30

2. *The consultation: Consider her vvayes.* Consideration is a serious examination of any businesse, with the causes, effects, beginning, continuance, and issue thereof. It is a reflection of the minde vpon it selfe, from some worthy object; a rumination of the judgement, pondering, and revolving some matter in hand, vntill the same be perfectly digested, settled, and disposed by reason: The lacke of this, is that vvwhich vvholly keepes men in slouth, and so in all sinne and ignorance, whilst they doe not consider either the reward of glorie, vvwhich they lose by omission of good and vertuous actions, or the punishment of shame, and eternal paine, which they procure to themselves by sinne and slouthfulness. And this is that vvwhich the Prophet alledgeth, as a cause of all miserie happening to the lewes. *All the Land is fallen into vtter desolation, because no man setteth his heart to consider it: now the Sluggard cannot doe this; for he is socors, sine corde, that is, as wee may interpret it, vvithout consideration, or defectiue in that facultie.*

Ier. 12. 17.

Desolatio-
ne desolata
est omnis
terra, quia
nullus est
qui recogni-
ret corde:
so reades
the vulgar.

Although euery man therefore, at the first sight, thinkes consideration to be no great worke, but that the weakest may wel effect it, yet the wise (vvho better consider the matter, and who truly can onely consider vvell) know, that it is a difficult vvorke, to contract the

the whole power of the soule to one narrow point, and to hold it there firme, stable, and vnmoued: vntill from thence a resolution or certaine conclusion be vvrought out and effected. This cannot be done vvithout labour and practise, euen when the mind is most able, and the faculties at best command: But vvhere the mind is vnsteddy, and the imagination too stirring, or the memorie too slacke, the iudgement cannot certainly, and to good purpose consider, as it should or vvould, if these vv ere obedient. As vve see a burning-glasse held firme, contracts and gathers the vnited beames of the Sunne, and so sets the object on fire: but if either the glasse moue, or the object moue, it loseth the force, at least sayles in the effect. This likewise wee may see most cleerely in persons, vv whose braines (as they say) are crackt and distracted, how they flicker and flit in their discourse, as the phantasie shifts and vvanders to and fro; so that they can hardly bring either their vvords to a perfect period, or driue their purposes to any determination, because of this defect. They may be witty, cannot be wise: and neuer did Age so abound with such brittle spirits as this of ours.

And to this end, I remember a vvitty mad-woman (who found her owne disease, and by long experience tooke notice of her owne imbecility) tolde a friend of hers, vv who demanded, in what part she found the interruptions of her discourse, since for the present shee seemed very sober and composed, as shee had wont to be: O my good friend (quoth shee) I am for flashes, but I cannot *Thinke*: that is, shee could not ponder, and deliberately consider of this or that thing, as shee had formerly done. We see therefore, the lacke of con-

sideration; I meane, of the power to consider, is an inclination to madnesse; and the lacke of indeuor, where the power is present, is an inclination to folly; and the lacke of execution and action, where invention and deliberation haue gone before, is not onely an inclination, but an absolute consummation of slouth and cowardise. In which sence *Salomon* saith, O mad-man, or O foole, or O Sluggard, or O coward, (chuse you which) *Goe to the Pismire, consider her wayes, and be wise*: that is, Cease to be mad, and become sober; cease to be foolish, and become wise; cease to be a Sluggard, and become diligent; cease to be fearefull, and become courageous and actiue: which cannot be, except you consider; that is, invent, consult, execute, accomplish the vvorkes which are proper to your vocation, wisely and couragiously.

Consider her wayes: 1. First, consider her in nature, Physically: 2. Secondly, consider her in moralitie, or the Ethickes: 3. Thirdly, consider her as a Statist, in the Politickes: Shee will affoord you lessons euery way; and you will thinke her the more vvorthy of your paines, the more paines you take in considering of her woorth.

1. Consider her in the *Physicks*: Her structure is admirable, who can anatomize her? who can distinctly judge of her parts, and describe her members? vvho can sufficiently admire the Wisedome of her Maker, vvhilst he loseth himselfe, and all the vvitt he hath, in contemplation of so small a creature? As a face, or other piece drawne in the smallest forme, oftentimes commendeth the Painter better, then in a faire and large Table: euen so in this little creature, the admirable

able skill of the Creator is discerned, as well as in *Leviathan* or *Behemoth*, the Whale or Elephant: *O how delectable are the workes of God*, (saith *Siracides*) and to be considered even to the sparkes of fire! Ecc. 42. 22

The wisest amongst the *Grecians* or *Romans* haue not thought their time mis-spent in the consideration of this little creature; whom they haue honoured in their Histories with the title of *Ciuility*; an attribute which those two imperious Nations would vouchsafe to none but their owne people. *Salomon* seemes to ioyne with these, or rather they with him, vwhen hee calls them a *weake, but a wise people*. No creature subjected to man did euer obtaine this title, which is proper to man, but onely the *Pismire*, and the *Bee*; but these haue wonne it by ther vertues, and man is constrained to acknowledge how much they resemble him, nay, how farre they exceed him in these particulars: Arist. lib. 9
Hist. Animal.
Plin. lib. 11.
cap. 30.

1. First, they are ciuill and sociable, they cohabite and converse, as the most ciuill Nations vse. They haue a kinde of Faire, Market, or meeting-place, where they trade and traffique neighbour vvith neighbour: so that you may obserue the pathes and high-ways betwixt one nest and another, is track't and beaten plaine with their little feet: yea, treading vpon rockes, they haue left the visible prints of their diligent and common commerce behinde them, to the amazement of sluggish beholders.

2. Secondly, their proportionable strength, bettered by industrie and exercise, is scene in the great burthens which they carry; great, if we compare them with the porters themselves.

3. Thirdly, their prouidence and wisdom is apparant,

parant, in laying in Summer store against winter; in losing no time, but taking oportunitie of seasonable weather, and for feare of the vvorst, vworking in Haruest by Moone-light: In diuiding their meate at the mouth of their Cane, if it be too great to carry in whole: in conditing and preserving their food from growing in the earth, which mans wisdom cannot doe: and to this end bringing it forth to dry in the Sunne or winde, if it hath by chance taken wet.

4. Fourthly and lastly, in the solemne and louing buriall of their dead; which no creature but Man and these doe carefully and decently performe.

These are the observations of *Aristotle and Pliny*, neither need any man bee ashamed of such Tutors, such schoole-fellowes.

Either a
foole or a
Physitian.

Dost thou therefore desire health, and to shunne sicknes? Goe then to the *Pismire*, consider her wayes and be vvise; If thou beest not a foole, shee vvill teach thee to be a Physitian to thy selfe. Shee will learne thee both to be stirring betimes, and to be neuer idle, but euer exercised: *Diluculo surgere saluberimum est.* The desire of the slothfull (saith Salomon) slayeth him, for his hands refuse to worke, and, The foole foldeth vp his hands, and eateth vp his owne flesh; that is, he kills himselfe with slothfulnesse, whilst he prouides not against it, and breeds the scurvie, gowt, stone, and other diseases, for lacke of exercise, as rust eates vp the Steele which is not vsed: Therefore follow the counsel of *Siracides*; My sonne heare mee, and despise mee not, and at the last thou shalt finde as I haue told thee: in all thy workes bee quicke, so shall there no sicknesse come vnto thee. But if thou wilt not be ruled, then there is a curse that followes thee; He that sinneth

sinneeth before his Maker, let him fall into the hands of the Physician.

Or dost thou desire learning and knowledge? Goe then also to the Pismire, consider her wayes, and be wise. *Aurora Musis amica*; whosoever doth great things beginnes betimes. The first part of the day, the morning is best for studie; and so is the first part of thy life, thy youth: the impression is then easily made, and what is then gotten, may easily be retained if good; can hardly be lost, if euill. Either thou must rise early, or run apace being late vp, if thou intendest to make any proficiencie in the Arts. Beleeue not me, who bewaile mine owne losses in this kinde too late, and am driuen therefore to many hard shifts to hide my ignorance from the derision of boyes; who am often forced to trauell for that which children know: (and who is hee that can goe step by step all day with a childe and not be wearie?) but beleeue them which tooke time at the best aduantage, and therefore obtaigned the excellencie of knowledge: Heare *Salomon* therefore and his second *Siracides*; *Wherefore is there a price in the hands of the* Pro. 17. 16. *foole to get wisdome, and he hath no heart? Get Learning With a great summe of money, for by her ye possesse much gold.* But Eccl. 5. 18. *how can shee be compassed? very easily in youth, very hardly in age. Wisdome (saith Salomon) shineth and neuer fadeth away, and is easily seene of them that loue her, and found of* Sap. 6. 12. *such as seeke her. She preventeth them that desire her, that shee may shew herselfe vnto them: Who so awaketh to her betimes, shall haue no great trauell; for he shall finde her sitting at her doores; To thinke vpon her then is perfect vnderstanding, and who so watcheth for her, shalbe soone without care. But perhaps thou art foolish, and therefore art afraid to*

seeke, because thou fearest thou shalt not finde: yet be not discouraged, but therefore seeke, because thou art foolish, thou hast the more need of her instruction. And seeke diligently, for if thou seekest her, shee vwill seeke and finde thee; let that incourage thy diligence, thy studie; Shee knowes thy wayes, and vvhere thou goest alone, sadly thinking of her, and seeking to finde her with the expence of much Oyle; shee would finde thee sooner, but then thou wouldst judge her scarce worth finding. Heare Salomon what he saith to this;

Sap. 6. 16. *She goeth about seeking such as are meet for her, and she vveth herselfe cheerfully vnto them in the wayes, and meeteth them in euery thought: for the most true desire of discipline is the beginning; and the eare of discipline, is loue; and loue is the keeping of her lawes; and the keeping of her lawes, is the assurance of immortalitie; and imomortalitie, maketh vs neere vnto God.* Heare likewise what Siracides saith to this

Eccl. 4. 11. *point: Wisdome exalteth her children, and receiueth them that seeke, and will goe before them in the way of righteousness: he that loueth her, loueth life; and they that seeke life in the morning, shall haue ioy. First, shee will walke with him by crooked wayes, and bring him vnto feare, and dread, and torment him with her discipline, vntill shee haue tried his soule, and haue prooued his indgement. Then will shee returne the straight way vnto him, and comfort him, and shew him her secrets, and heape vpon him the treasures of knowledge,*

Sap. 1. 14. *and vnderstanding, and righteousness. But if he goe wrong, shee will forsake him, and giue him ouer into the hands of his destruction.* Thus wee see, as the idle youth wandering vp and downe the street, seeking satisfaction for his lust, meetes the Harlot seeking him as busily; who imbraceth and kisseth him, and inviteth him vvith flat-

Pro. 7. 6.

tering

tering blandishments, till shee draw him to her Lure; *(as an ox that goeth to the slaughter, and as a foole to the* Pro. 6. 17.
stockes for correction, till a dart strike thorow his Liver: as a
bird hasteth to the snare, not knowing that he is in danger, but
thinking stolne Waters to bee sweet, and bread eaten in corners
to be pleasant, because both are easily gotten without ordinarie
labour, whilst the diuell is the broker and the band:) So on the
 contrarie part, wisdome and knowledge goeth vp and
 downe the street, seeking to meete vvith all that seeke
 after her; yea, shee cries and proclaimes aloud, that
 shee is ready to instruct all that will attend and heare
 her. Nor need wee bee discouraged because wee are
 simple, for she is wise; and if wee know not where to
 finde her, yet wee are assured shee knoweth where to
 finde vs. And obserue, that Salomon saith, *Shee seekes vs* Prov. 8.
in the streets, and in every place: that is, A man that will dili-
gently give himselfe to observations, and to lay vp lessons for
his owne instruction and information, may finde some remark-
able poynt of wisdome in every thing hee sees: in every act he
doth, or sees done; whilst the foolish and idle-brain'd ideots, who
give themselves over to the vaine fashions, and childish or wo-
manish curiosities of the time, doe passe by the most serious pas-
sages, with a sleight neglect or contempt of their worthinesse.
 Therefore it is that Salomon sayth to such, *Goe to the Pif-*
mire, O Sluggard, consider her wayes, and be wise. Consider
 how much wit is contained in that little bodie, vvwhose
 members cannot be distinguished by the most curious,
 sharpe, and inquisitiue eye. And let this teach thee, that
 thy reasonable Part is spirituall, and vvould bee as vvise
 as now it is, though it had as little a bodie to inhabit as
 the *Pismires*, nay, though it had no body at all. It is not
 the strength, the beautie, greatnesse, or gracefullnesse

of the body, that addes to the minde. The excellencie of the soule is seene in high and vertuous actions, which oftener proceed from itigmatike, weake, and dry bodies, (who follow their aymes vvith diligence, and industry) then from the excellent formes, vvho relying and presuming too much on their naturall abilities, neglect the meanes to better themselves by artificiall exercise. *Goe therefore, O Sluggard, goe to the Pismire, consider her wayes, and be wise.*

2. Secondly, consider her vvaies *morally*, (for *sloth* is a vice, *diligence* a vertue) and see what thou canst learne from her in these respects, for the enriching of thy minde, the bettering of thy manners, the honouring of thy profession. Sloth is a sinne; nay, it is the roote of all sinne, the mother-sinne. For sinne hath no existence in nature, but is a privation of grace, a depravation of action; so that in the alteration and change from right to vvrong, there must needes be a residence in sloth. Surely had *Adam* beene diligently imployed in his vocation, the entrance and acquaintance of *Sathan* had not beene so easie, and open, as idlenesse and security made it.

The contrary to this then, is, *That diligence is a vertue*, and the very roote of all vertue. Wee see man vvvas first created to action, and enjoined it; wee see, he
 Gen. 1. 26. had his very being from action; vvhere vve finde consultation about the creation of his bodie, and the infusion of a spirit, and this afterward performed by God accordingly. And then presently after followes his imployment, as soone as hee had life; yea, before life, God provideth a vvorld of creatures for him to take charge of, and a Garden to dresse and keepe, that hee
 might

might want no worke, but as soone as hee vvas made fall to action, to which hee vvas made, that therein he might resemble his Maker, and bee a liuing image of his, and no dead Idoll: for though it be true in some sense that *Lucan* saith:

— *Quid querimus ultra?*

Iupiter est quodcunque vides, quocunque moueris, &c. yet man is more expressly the image of God, then any other humane creature, in respect that he is not onely actiue, but hath reason to guide, order, and marshall his actions aright. Now yet amongst men, the diligent man seemes onely to bee the image of God, the Sluggard seemes in comparison to bee but his idoll. *An idoll* (saith the Apostle) *is nothing in the World*, that is, a *1. Cor. 4. 8.* thing either to no purpose, or to euill. So a Sluggard *doth nothing in the world*, or if hee busie himselfe in any thing, it is in some idle or superfluous employment, or vvorse, in doing some mischief. *An idoll* *Psalm. 151. 4.* hath eyes and sees not, eares and heares not; a mouth, and speakes *5.* not; feete, and he doth not trauell: and such a golden *Sap. 13. 15.* Calfe or silver idoll, is a mighty Sluggard, vvhose *16.* use is not those partes of bodie, minde, and authoritie that God hath giuen him to the right end vvhich they were giuen him, that is, to Gods glory, his owne information, and the good of humane societie, and communitie. Thus if we looke into mans first becing and creation, or to his progresse and course afterward, we shall see, vvhilst he vvilled freely nothing but what vvas good, hee did diligently vvhatsoeuer vvas good: but so soone as he declined from action to ease, and begun to giue way to a contrarie suggestion, he fell first from diligence into sloth, and from sloth into other

actuall finnes; and from sinne, into death and destruction, the conclusion of all.

Ecc. 42. 22.

23. and 43.

10.

Psal. 19. 1, 2,

3, 4, 5, 6.

We see all the creatures of God how diligently they discharge those duties, whereunto they were created : among others, the glorious Sunne (who is diligent in his constant and annuall course) will not onely teach vs by example, to be like glorious in diligence, but also lend vs light, to see the like diligence in all the creatures of God, euen in this little *Pismire*, vvhich creeping vpon the ground, can hardly bee discerned through her smalnesse, without good heed taken, and great diligence vsed. Yet since to her *Salomon* directeth vs for an example of diligence, let vs learne of her to know, that the Church hath a Summer, when wise men gather instruction, to arme them against persecution, the Winter of the Church : That likewise every man hath his Summer, that is, the day of peace and prosperitie, when it is fit he gather provision for the Winter of aduersitie, affliction, temptation, tryall : To this end beginne to store thy selfe betimes ; for man can hardly conquer and subdue his passions and affections, and the filthy inclination of his nature to sinne, when custome hath taught them to get head and waxe wilde: But in youth they are easily broken, and made tame, otherwise the weaker and older we grow, the stronger they grow : and great reason for this, because they spring first from weaknesse, they increase afterwards by reason of our weaknesse, and they continue and feed vpon our weaknesse. Needes therfore must we waxe weaker and weaker, whilst they waxe stronger and stronger, as the worme in wood, or the Moth in wooll, till they have vtterly wasted the thing that bred and nourished them.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, consider her waies in the *Politickes*. that is, as a good Common-wealths-man; for it seemes this is the naturall and proper drift of the place, as the two next verses immediatly following doe manifestly declare; wherein the providence of the *Pismire* is illustrated by foure notes of observation:

Eccl. 42. 24.
Contraria
Contrarijs
magis elu-
cescunt.
Arist. de
Cæl. &
Mund.

1. First, what *shee* doth, is freely of herselfe without coaction, or instruction, having no guide, governour, nor ruler: how much more then ought man to do the like, having a Preacher to instruct him, a King so governe him, and all the creatures to admonish him of his dutie?

2. Secondly, knowing the ordinary meanes to preserve life is food, and that the ordinarie season to lay in this provision, is the time of Summer: *Shee* both forecasts where best to provide herselfe, and then diligently takes the oportunitie of the time for her best advantage. For *shee* knowes, Winter may bee long, hard, sharpe, and tedious, and therefore *shee* layes in good store aforehand, that if *shee* should be besieged by frost and snow, yet *shee* might feelee no scarcitie.

3. Thirdly, from hence and other places may bee collected this point of vvisedome besides in her, that *shee* doth not onely and barely know this by a naked speculation; but considering it aright, *shee* puts it in practise, and makes vse of euery occasion, for the full and finall accomplishment of her purposes.

4. Fourthly and lastly, because *shee* is but weake of herselfe, *shee* vnites herselfe vvith others, making her Nest a perfect plat-forme of a Commonwealth, as knowing herselfe by this confederacie, to be safer from forraine invasion, and that to dwell together in com-

E

munity,

munity, as it were in a citie, is farre more commodious, then to inhabite a solitarie mansion, where there is neither helpe in time of necessitie, nor comfort in time of doubt, nor societie in time of pleasure. These things she doth, I say, of her selfe, without a Tutor, or a head and governour, to binde her vvith others in a strict league of amitie; and herein shee becomes a Tutor to man, and makes Reason a Scholer to Sense; laying the perfect plat-forme of a Common-wealth, which fooles admire, cowards and sluggards maligne, wise men imitate, no man exceeds.

Pro. 30. 25.
Qui admira-
ratur, igno-
rante vide-
tur, Arist.
Metaphys.
lib. 1.

And if vvee looke into the societie of man, vvee shall finde, the greatest felicitie to be in such places, and among such people, as are ordered according to this president: that is, Where there is most diligence vsed, and vvhere sloth is most carefully avoyded: for it stands vvith reason, that vvhere many joyne in an orderly and vnanimous consent and combination, the successe must needs be there prosperous and happie: But vvhere as some draw backe and stand still, vvhist others draw forward and proceede, they doe not onely disorder and distract the diligent, but increase their burden, and make the draught heavier to such as labour. Thus in Armies, a few Cowards may occasion the losse of all, and a few valiant persons resolutely knit in one fortune and iagagement, may discomfite a multitude of negligent persons. Sloth is the Nurserie of euery evill in a Common-wealth, scarcitie, famine, beggery, theevery, sedition, disobedience, and finally, the ruine and dissolution of the whole bodie and frame of the State ariseth from thence.

It is written of the *Malabars* in the *East Indies*, that
their

their Noble-men called *Nagros*, weare long nailes on their handes; to shew, that they are Gentlemen, and no workers; for to worke they are ashamed; others must worke for them, and they were borne to no end in the world, but to liue and eate, and drinke, and waste the good creatnres of God, and so to doe mischief till they die; wherein they seeme to resemble Swine, who are neuer either pleasant or profitable, till they be seene in a dish. Wee see all the beasts and birdes of prey, are not so sociable or vsfull to man, as those that labour diligently for their liuings with man. There is more vse of the Horse, then of the Lyon; of the Oxe, then of the Beare; of the sheepe, then of the Wolfe; of the innocent Dove, then of the rauenous Kyte, Buzzard, or Hawke; though many men rather delight to associate themselues with these then with those, to shew the lazie disposition of their base, barbarous, and tyrannous natures; and how much they incline to the execrable example of *Cain*, or the new-found Canibals, the sonnes of cursed *Cham*.

I need not trauell farre for examples in this kinde; the Monopolists and Improuers of our Land, and the irreligious Impropriators, who prey vpon Church and State, are of this Order; yea all our private Wealth swarmes vvith these Monsters, and their breede is from the lazie scumme of counterfeyt Gentilitie, who bearing those Armies idely, which their diligent Predecessours haue purchased as badges of some honorable atchieuement, doe thereby disgrace their Originals, as if they were priuiledged to be vicious by the redundancy of their predecessors vertues. But as it is true that the Philosopher saith, *Nobile est quod ex bono*

Arist. de
Anim. li. 1.

Procedit genere: so it is as true which he likewise saith, *Generosum est, quod non à natura sua non degeneravit*: these therefore either being base in their Originals, or degenerating from the nobilitie and verue of their Ancestors, become of *Common-wealths-men, common-woes-men*, and study to doe such acts, and invent such projects, as may vndo the publique for their priuate and inordinate desires. Yea, the example of these so corrupts the State, and so ouerspreades the face and body thereof, like a Canker or Tetter-worme, as it hath wel-nigh eaten out the valiant race of the ancient *English yeomandrie*, which was one of the chiefe glories of our Nation, and the principal base and foundation of the Common-wealth, at least of the strength and libertie thereof. Not that heereby I intend to disparage the Nobilitie, (which is *supplementum, or complementum*, as the other is *firmamentum Reipublice*) but rather to preserue it intire from mixture and coagulation, and to let all men see that the roote of euery commendable vocation is diligence; and to be without a vocation cannot subsist with true Nobility. For all the honors & priuiledges of the ancient Nobilitie, were granted vpon this ground, that they had worthily acted smething for the generall benefit of many: yea Principalitie it selfe springs from this low, but fruitfull root. So that as *Primum ens consideratum in Metaphysica, est illud quod prius est nobilitate & caritate: Sic in Physica, sic in Politica, &c.* And therefore *virtus & malitia determinant nobiles & ignobiles, seruos & liberos*: according to that which *Siracides* saith: *Blessed is the rich that is found without blemish, and hath not gone after gold, nor hoped in mony and treasures. Who is he? and wee will commend him: for wonderfull things hath he done amongst his people;*

Arist. Pol.
lib. 1.
Eccl. 31. 9.

ple; Who hath beene tried hereby and found perfit? Let him be an example of glorie. Who might offend, and hath not offended, or might doe euill and hath not done it? Therefore shall his goodnesse be established, and the Congregation shall proclaime his loue and charitie. And after, speaking of Enoch, Noe, Abraham, Isaak, and Iacob, the ancient Worthies, and of their workes of wisdom, he saith, *All these were honorable men in their generations, and were well reported of in their times. There are of them that haue left a name behinde them, so that their praise shalbe spoken of. There are some also which haue no memorie, and are perished, as though they had neuer beene, and are become as though they had neuer beene borne, and their children after them.*

Thus if we looke into Antiquitie amongst the Ethnicks, euen vnto those that canonized, or rather deified their Princes, we shall finde, that when the desire of dominion began to disturbe the whole World, and brake out into open hostility and invasion, the diligent and industrious persons were forced, for their owne safety, to elect out some of the strongest from the rest, to be their guard from forraine assaults: And to these they gaue both titles and priuiledges, to encourage their diligent attention on their offices; yea and after death did so farre celebrate their happy memories, as the Ages following (ignorant of the true cause) made them gods, and gaue them diuine honour; especially the Poets, which were the Chroniclers of those times. Thus it appeares, that Nobility was first from Office, not from nature, among the Heathen: and for the Iewes, *Siracides* speakes of the Iudges who governed the State, and defended them from forraine tyranny. Let (saith he) *their bones flourish out of their place, and*

their names by succession, remaine to them that are most famous of their children. So not the eldest sonne, but the most vertuous and actiue, is the heyre of his fathers honors, though the other be of his fathers titles and lands.

Thus whether we looke on the roote or branches, wee shall finde Nobilitie to spring from action, and to die by idlenesse: so that it is true which the Philosopher saith; *Honor est benefacti & operationis signum*. Now for any man therefore to purchase honour without some worthy action fore-going, or for any man to conferre this without merit concurring, is not truely to be Noble, but the idole of Nobility: and such *Parchement honour*, (as One well calls it) is nothing but as a licence to be idle, or to begge withall, because they put it to no better vse. *Great and worthy actions* (as the same Author saith) *are the right children of honourable persons, who liue not so much in the yssue of their bodies, or in the name and title of their fore fathers Nobilitie, as in the yssue of their mindes, their good deeds, and the good name those good deedes haue gotten them.* Therefore saith *Siracides*, *Let all thy workes be excellent, that thine honour be neuer stayned.* The workes that Nobility is originally tyed vnto, are actes of bountie, iustice, charity, piety, loyalty, and prudence; to watch and warde, and study, and counsell, for the Common-wealth; foreseeing that they doe no injury to it themselves, nor suffer it, through their slouth and negligence, and cowardise, to receiue prejudice from others. For a Noble man therefore to be a Monopolist, or a racker of Rents, or a corrupt taker of bribes, or a protector of wicked persons, or to busie or employ himselfe in priuate workes, as common persons doe, is to deny his owne office and calling, honour and becoming.

Arist. Rhet
lib. 1.

Hist. of the
world lib. 3.
fol. 15. 3.

Ecc. 33. 21.

ing. For such are the Guard, the Sentinell, the Watch, the Perdu for the Common-wealth; great reason they should therefore stand together, and defend the State vvith their goods and bodies, from an invasiue warre, and not invade it themselves by force or fraude, as if they vvere open enemies. It is therefore farre vnfit for true Nobilitie to be educated in an idle course of life, and trayned vp onely to hunt, to hawke, or daunce, or drinke, or court, or play, (the ordinarie exercises of these degenerate times) when the contrary is injoynd them; as if it were expressed in their Patents, vnder the forfeiture of their honours. So that they ought to study, and take care by all meanes, to inable themselves for the generall service of the State in publique employments, to vvich end they vvere first created men, and after by men like themselves, adorned vvith honourable attributes, vvich are the badges and attendants of honorable actions.

It is vvell therefore, vvhere the children of the Nobility are trayned vp in counsell and militarie affaires: where they seeke the warres, and places of action as their proper Academies; and doe not thinke themselves accomplished, till they are able both to advise, and execute in matters of State. But on the contrarie side, where the Nobilitie liue idley, acquainting themselves with all effeminate fashions, and mollifying pleasures; vvhere in stead of good bookes and examples, (the true mirrors of the mind) they dresse themselves in no other inward habite of vertue, then such as the eye of their Mistresses judgeth fit: vvhere no other counsell is called for, but the Page, the Foot-boy, and the Coach-man: no other action exercised, but

Court warres ; no other armour vsed , but vvhat the Taylor and Sempster put on ; no other enemy seene, but vvhat the Stage presents , and no other end propounded to honour, then the pursuit of ease and pleasure : Where the Yeomandrie (to bee lightened of the heauie burthen that presseth them , by exactions and projects) are content to passe vvith their estates, to purchase themselues those lazie and idle attributes of honour : And the Merchant, Mechanicke, and Husbandman, consen each other interchangeably ; and all for their private gaine, prey vpon the Common-wealth, there must needs desolation and dissolution follow.

I haue seene in *Scotland* the miserable Cottages of the poore Hindes ; and I wondered awhile at the cause, imputing it either to the barrenesse of the soyle, or the lazie disposition of the Commons : But vvhen I looked vp higher, and inquired diligently into the true cause, I found the Land fertile, the poore men painfull, but the lordly Owner is in all the fault; who desirous to liue at Court (not for action, but idlenesse) must raise his Rents to the extreamest racke ; yea pull one piece from another vvith violent torture to this end. And that he may doe this the better , hee neuer lets out Lease but from yeere to yeere ; and he that giues most is the next new Farmer for my next new master : I say for my next new master, because of late the auncient Owner, by this idle course hath learned to out-law himselfe of all ; so that the diligent tradesman eates out the lazie Lord : and as the Poet sings of *Troy, iam seges vbi Troja fuit*, so may I say of these , the Taylor hath taken measure of many faire Mannors, and survayed them by the Yard-wand; making that the

Jacobs-

Jacobs-staffe to leuell the Nobilitie : who being carefull to dresse themselues superfluously braue , care not for their countrie , but make that naked and ragged ; and the poore Tenant vncertaine to stay longer then his yeare , is loth to build a nest for another bird : and so the Land is impouerished , and polled , and every thing exposed to waste. But this is not all the mischiefe , for the poore Tenant vndone also by this hard Farme , and outed of all , (hauing notwithstanding his paines and providence , eaten vp his horse and cowes , and whole estate) now fals either to theft or beggerie ; in vvhich lazie kinde of life , hee soone findes such sweetnesse , as hee wonders not now , that his Land-lord loued his ease so well , since he sees by experience , that proverbe to bee true which saith ; *Well fare nothing once in the yeare* ; for such as haue nothing are vvithout care or feare , and may sit still when others must looke out. You may as well reclaime him from this course , as you could before his Land-lord from that cursed crueltie and exacti-on , whereby he first fleade his Tenant , and after stript himselve , and puld his owne estate (in the iust judgement of God) ouer his owne eares. Now he fills the Common-wealth with beggers of his owne breed (as lowly persons their next neighbors with vermine) and meeting with many like himselve , bound vp together in one fortune and condition , hee becomes vvith them a dangerous body , fit for any desperate attempt , either of theft , ryot , or rebellion ; as waters falling from a steepe hill raise a floud in the next valley. And thus vvhereas they vv ere profitable and diligent members , the idleness and sloth of other men hath made them superfluous excrements to be cut off or purged out ; for feare of

farther infection. And whilst I speake of *Scotland*, because it is there a generall practise, I except not *England*, as if this sinne were a stranger in any part of *Brittaine*: For though I must confesse it is not so vniversall a custome with vs, both in regard of some long Leases yet vnexpired, and of some good men yet left, who beare the honorable Characters of their Ancestors, and in regard of the Yeomandrie (who are not yet wholly extinguished, and who are the only men that support the liberty of the State, and make it still retaine some resemblance of the ancient countenance) yet it hath gotten such footing, that euen good men (thinking they may doe with their owne what they list) forget that they are Gods stewards, to doe good with their goods; and that they are trusted with such an estate, for the benefite of more then themselves, for which they must giue an accompt: but supposing themselves to
 Sap. 15. 12. liue in this world as *in a market*, imagine there is nothing else for them to doe, but to buy and sell, and that the only end of their creation and being was to gather riches, by all meanes possible.

And looke now from the Noble-man, or from the Pope himselfe, (if wee count him the highest) through euery office, trade, or profession, to him that holdes the plough, if this be not the common practise and course of life, as if the very end of each mans beeing were to enrich himselfe by the losse of others, yea by the losse of all; and the more he doth thus, the more wise he is thought to bee, and the more worthy of preferment; and if he doth otherwise, he is esteemed but a simple fellow, vnfit for any imployment. To instance this in two or three particular professions at home,
 looke

looke vpon the Lawyers, and see who it is amongst them, that refuseth to plead against truth and innocency, for falsehood and treason, if he may haue his Fee. Looke vpon the Clergie, if there bee not a *D. Shaw*, ready to iustifie any action or opinion which should be borne out with the strength and authoritie of the time, and to proue it Canonically and Orthodoxe, for the hope of preferment. Looke into the Countie, if the greedy Farmer doe not ingrosse three or foure severall Farmes, which had wont to maintaine as many families; whilst, being vnable to stocke all of them, or to follow all of them being stockt, he beggars hereby himself, the poore, his Land-lord, and the Commonwealth. And though this be contrarie to the Law of the Land, and to all conscience, yet in hope of priuate gaine he will doe it to the publique losse. Looke into all Offices either of the Church or Common-wealth, if this abuse be not generall: so that the places which had wont to maintaine, and imploy three or foure able men, are now ingrossed by one that perhaps vnderstands nothing in them, but must execute by deputy; nay, perhaps this one ignorant man ingrosseth two or three of these, to the generall detriment and discouragement of all. And whereas heeretofore able men both in state and otherwise, were chosen to high and honorable places, who would neither giue bribes to come in, nor neede take any being in: Now others are imployed too often, who must bribe to come in, and must needs take bribes to recouer their expences, and to maintaine their estates, being once come in. Would to God there were an Act made, that whosocuer should seeke directly or indirectly, by himselfe or friends, by mony or other-

wife, any office in Church or Common-wealth, till he were thereunto freely called and invited by such as had lawfull power, might thereby be disabled to enter, and bee cast out, vpon prooffe, beeing entred. Then men would labour to make themselves fit, and that might truly be termed a *Calling*, vvhich now is nothing but an intrusion, vsurpation, or purchase. Thus the studie of privacie disturbes and overthrowes all blessed communitie, and turnes the blessings of God into curses: for if God send plenty, the poore Farmer cannot liue, things are so cheape, that all the increase hee hath cannot pay his Landlords Rent, it is set so high, and proportioned to the greatest increase, and to the greatest price: And the Land-lord can abate nothing of his Rent, having set his apparell, dyet, and other expences at the highest pitch: if he should abate of his Rent, hee must then abate of these also, which neither his wife, nor his childe, nor himselfe vvill admit: Nay rather let the poore sterue, let the Common-wealth decay, and the vvhole runne to ruine, then they reforme any of their sinnes, or forbear any of their superfluities. Thus therefore whereas wee had wont to pray for peace and plenty, vvhiest charitie dwelt amongst vs, now both rich and poore must pray for warre, scarcitie, and famine, else one man cannot liue by another.

This is the effect of privacie, whilst every man cares onely for himselfe, and neglects the Common-wealth: but this is contrarie to the practise of the Pismire, vvho like a good Common-wealths-man, gathers for himselfe and others in communitie. And therefore *Salomon* sends vs to learne there a lesson of true policie and wisdom to doe the like: *Goe to the Pismire, O Sluggard,*
(saith

(saith he) *consider her wayes and bee wise*: that is, provide for others as well as for thy selfe, provide for thy selfe vvith respect to all: To doe otherwise, is to play the foole; thus to doe, is to be truly wise.

3. The *Conclusion* or extraction remaines, which is, *to be wise*: For that is the end or scope of all; the thing wherein vve truly resemble the Angels, and excell the beastes. As one saith very vvell, that *Reading makes a full man, Writing a perfect man, and speaking a ready man*: so say I heere: consider the *Pismire* as a Naturalist, it Eccl. 38.24. will make thee a great scholer: consider her as a Mo- Eccl. 39.1. ralist, it will make thee a good and diligent man: consider her as a Polititian, it will make thee a good Citizen, Eccl. 39.4. a good Common-wealths-man.

To be a great Scholer, a great Philosopher, to bee seene in the hidden secrets of Nature, to haue the Arts *ad vnguem*, the Languages *ad verbum*; yea to know as much in all as *Aristotle*; or more then so, as much as *Salomon* did, is not yet to arriue at this point, *to be wise*.

To vnderstand the whole bodie of Divinitie, to resolve all the knotty controversies that are in the world, or may bee imagined, to confute all the falshoods, to confirme all the truths that are proposed and opposed, to know as much as *Salomon* did; and more, as much as Satan doth, is not yet to arriue at this point, *to be wise*.

To bee a great and perfect Politician, diving into those *arcana Imperij* that are sealed vp in silence: to bee acquainted with all forraine Countries and Customes, to know the natures of all people, and to be able to carry a sweete hand, vvherewith to manage them easily and naturally: to haue a wit apt and ready for all times and turnes; sitting all persons, places, and occasions: to haue

Gigas Ring, to see all, yet bee vnseene : *Mydas* eares, to heare all, euen the whispering of the reedes : *Argus* eyes, to see all : *Briarius* hands ; a finger in every corner of the world : to dissemble more artificially then *Machiavell*, more naturally then *Lewis* the eleventh : to exceed *Achitophel* in crafty hypocrisie, to equall *Hushai* or *Salomon* in warrantable, honest, and necessarie policie, is not yet to arriue at this point, to be wise.

For he that will be wise, must not onely labour for vvisedome, (that is, to get the *Theory* or bare *Speculation* thereof as it is a *Science*) but when he hath gotten that, he must labour with wisdom also, or else hee can effect nothing : that is, he must shew his wisdom in action : for *virtus in actione consistit*. Wisdom is not giuen that we should sit still and sleepe with it, or play or dally with it, as with a pleasant companion, but to direct vs in vertuous vndertakings.

There needes no wisdom to sleepe, to bee silent, or to be idle ; the foole can doe all these as well as *Salomon* : But to watch when others sleepe, and to that purpose that others may sleepe the safer ; to worke when others play, and to that end, that the idlenesse of one may not be prejudiciall to many, to all : to speake when others will not, cannot, dare not ; and so to speake, that others may be informed, awaked, edified, warned, instructed, and made wiser : this requires wisdom, this is to be wise : that is, diligent, discreet, and couragious.

The idle and secure people were drowned in the generall Deluge : there needed no great wisdom to doe as they did. A foole can sit still, and laugh, and sing, till the vvater stop his winde, and he be drowned ; and so can a drunkard, or a mad-man ; but to obey the
voyce

voyce of God, to vvarne and admonish others, to build the Arke, to prouide for the creatures as a master for his seruants, to enter into and stay in the Arke, till the fullnesse of time apointed by God vvas accomplished; this required vvisedome, this vvas to be truly vvise: as *Salomon* saith, *Wisedome when the earth was overflowne, preserved it againe, governing the just man by a little wood.* Sap. 10. 4.

To vvasite and impoverish a plentiful Estate like a Prodigall, to sucke the life-bloud out of the Commonwealth, thereby to deject the spirits of men vvith their fortunes, and so subjugate them vnder the yoke of slavery, to draw all the joyce and marrow from the veints and bones of a people, requires no great vvit to bring about: We see *Claudius* the dullard, *Nero* the Mountibanke, *Caligula* the debosht drunkard, (that had neither vvit nor honestie) could doe this as vvell and as readily, as *Tiberius*, that had vvit vvithout honestie: But to fill the veines of a decayed estate, to enrich a Commonwealth, to restore libertie, and to rule by vertuous Lawes: this requires vvisedome, and this is to be thus vvise. For the vvealth of a State, stands not altogether in the vvealth of one man: The Prince may be rich, and the State poore; but if the State be rich the Prince must needs be rich also; his vvealth consisting in his subjects loue: And vvhat he is, compared vvith his ovvne, is not respected; but vvhat he is, compared to his neighbours, enemies, or Confederates abroad: nor is it vvorth thought, vvhat he hath alone in particular, but vvhat he enjoys in the generall, as a Prince in his peoples affections.

To commit Idolatrie, (as all the World did) to call that vniversall, common, and catholique confusion, Gen. 1. 13. and, 12. 1.

Vnitie; to runne a whoring after our owne imaginati-
ons, or the blinde obedience of our blinde leaders, re-
quires no great light of wisedome, but what the fire of
our owne lust affoordeth. But (to doe as *Abraham* did)
to come out of *Idolatrie*, to leaue his parents and natieue
Country; to deny our predecessors, and our selves also
enticing vs to *Idolatrie*, this requires true wisedome, that
is, to be thus *wise*.

- Gen. 19. 16 To eate, drinke, daunce, and rise vp to play with the
Sodomites; to abuse our bodies woorse then beasts in
sinnes not to be named, there needs no other wisedome
then to follow the sway of our owne corrupt concupi-
scence; a beast can do this (but that hee hath more wit
Sap. 10. 6. 7 then to doe it) vvith as much diligence as man: but to
Iob 3. 1. line soberly and chastly in this filthy place; to make
heere a covenant with our eyes, and eares, and tongue,
Iam. 3. 6. and heart, that one should not set the other on fire; to
leaue this polluted place, not to looke backe, or touch
a ragge stayned with the flesh, but with diligence to flee
Iude 23. from *Sodome* to *Zoar*, this requires wisedome, and this is
to be thus *wise*.

This wisedome heere spoken of, is requisite in euery
worke wee take in hand: It lifteth vp the head of him
that is low, and maketh him sit among great men, and
it satisfieth the desire of all men living: yea saith *Salomon*, *A diligent man in his businesse standeth before kings, &c.*
Nor can this vvisedome bee attayned vvithout much
diligence: for though God filles the heart of euery
expert workman vvith vvisedome, making him natu-
rally apt to climbe towards some perfection, yet he hath
appointed labour as the meanes of attayning this ex-
cellencie; insomuch as we see such as exceed others in dili-

gence, exceed also commonly in the degrees of perfection, all those that are lesse diligent & attentive at their workes, and therefore it is said, that *God filld the heart of Bezaleel the sonne of Vry the sonne of Hurr With the spirit of* Exod. 31.2
Wisdom and understanding, to finde out curious Workes. 3. 4. So
 God giues him wisdom to seeke and to finde out, but if he seeke not he cannot finde; for labor is the meanes God hath appointed to this end, and *Bezaleel* is not borne a perfect workeman, neither hath he his art altogether by infusion, but by instruction, and experience, and practice; nor yet by these (which are second causes and meanes) without Gods blessing, which is the first and principall. And doubtlesse though he would neuer haue sought to excell in his art except he had beene wise (which wisdom was a speciall gift of God exciting him to seeke, & directing him to finde what he sought) yet he is not termed wise till he hath attained a kinde of perfection in his art, by diligence and industrie; but then beeing (as wee say) his crafts-master, he is said to be wise, because then his wisdom, beeing drawne into action, is made visible, and sensible, and profitable which before seemed to be idle. And thus likewise in the building of the Tabernacle, wisdom is attributed to Exod. 35.
 those women who did spinne and worke with their hands, for the full and perfect furnishing of that holy place with rich and decent ornaments. As if they were only wise which wrought, and the idle Gossips were only fooles. And perhaps it is for this that *Salomon* calls the *Spider a wise creature*, because shee layes hold with her Pro. 30. 28.
hands in kings palaces: As if God set her vpon purpose there, by spioning to admonish idle *Ladies* of their duties: who (alasse) are growne so foolish, as they scorne, or
 G haue

haue forgot to spinne with the Spider, whilst yet of her they haue learned to ensnare Butterflies, and to poyson them; yea to hang their copwebs in euery corner of the Court, though much of it be built with Irish

- Pro. 31. 17. Oake. *The vertuous woman (saith Salomon) ouersees the wayes of her husband: she doth not ouer-rule them as a Lady, and mistris, according to the new English fashion, but she ouer-lookes and reviews them as a good helper, to make all sure, that there may be no ouersights; and shee eates not the bread of idlenes; (that bread of idlenesse which is the common Diet bread of these daies) what therefore shall her reward be? Truly that which shee hath deserued, a double portion; honor, and maintainance: Giue her (saith he) the fruit of her hands, and let her owne Workes praise her in the gates: since shee hath wrought shee shall eate, since she hath spunne she shall be clothed; and shee is cloathed with her owne web, her owne workes praise her in the gates. All the world sees what shee weares is her owne, God hath giuen her a wise heart & diligent hand, so that shee can both couer her owne nakednesse, and helpe to couer the nakednesse of her husband, children, and houshold also: Such Clothes are farre more rich then cloth of gold; and this is praise enough for her, and shame enough for others, whose heads haue not wit enough, nor hearts will enough, nor hands art enough, to couer their owne sinne, their owne shame, their owne nakednesse. O Ladies blush for shame, (if your sophisticate and adulterate beauties, in compounding whereof you only vse diligence, will suffer you to blush) blush I say, whilst you eate the bread of Idlenesse, and toote in euery basket like Flyes, for the first blossomes, to satiate*

ate your longing and lusting pallats, that would devoure all the increase & store of nature at a mouthful; blush, whilst you are clothed with the forraine labours of the silly Silk-worme; neglecting in the meane time, the more commodious clothing of your Countriman the Sheepe, whose fleece, with artificiall fingers, might be made fit to be worne, both in the heate of Summer, and in the colde of Winter. Blush therefore at your apish pride, and idle luxurie; or, if you cannot blush, tremble, least with that lady of *Hierusalem*, those sinnes be repaid with a severe judgement; whilst yee are forced to eat, first the flesh of your Children, and after that your owne flesh, if the hungrie Souldiers spare you so long, as judging your painted carkeyes too much infected and forfeited for their diets. But if you feare, and desire to avoide this course, heare and follow *Salomons* advice in this place; for to you he speakes as well as to your Tenants and servants, whilst he saith, *Goe to the Pismire, O Sluggard, consider her wayes, and be wise.*

Now, since wisdom is so requisite for the life of man, as that without it a man is worse then a *Pismire*; and, since wee see to be wise, is not only to know by speculation, nor only to goe and to consider, but also to resolve, to practise, and to execute what wee know, and haue considered, let vs vse diligence in consideration: and first and specially let vs consider who is the author and giuer of diligence and wisdom; (for to finde *Eccl. 51. 19.* out that is none of the least parts of what wee seeke) and let vs seeke her as *Salomon* did, that wee may so finde her as hee did. *I haue loved wisdom and sought her Sap. 8. 22. from my youth, I desired to marrie her, such love had I unto her: Neuerthelesse, when I perceiued I could not injoy her, except*

Sap. 7.7.

God gave her, (and that was a point of wisdom also, to know whose gift it was) *I went unto the Lord, and besought him with my whole heart, and sayd, &c.* See then the effect of this: *I prayed, and understanding was given mee; I called, and the spirit of Wisdom came upon me.*

Eccl. 51.14.
15.

When I was young (saith Siracides) or ever I went abroad, I desired wisdom openly in my prayer; I prayed for her before the Temple, and sought after her unto farre Countries. Hee travelled into forraine Lands, not onely for his private pleasure or profit, to attaine the Languages, or learne fashions, or by way of merchandize to enrich himselfe, (which are the ends proposed and pursued by all our moderne Travellers) but for the publique, that hee might returne able to serve the Common-wealth, and bring home some knowledge with him, to enrich, adorne, or reforme the State wherein he was borne.

Thus divers of the Heathen Philosophers did the like, whilest either being banished their Countries, or making a voluntarie travell, they observed whatsoever they saw might bee beneficiall to their Countries, and brought it home with them for the generall profit of all. Thus did *Lycurgus, Pythagoras, Solon, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Seneca*; and before all these, *Moses*, that mirror of Magistrates; who being forced to flie from his native soyle, in forty yeeres space had time to re-examine, and purge the Arts hee had learnt in Egypt, and by forraine conference, and divers severall changes of fortune, to extract principles of wisdom and experience for future times. For assuredly hee that never met crosses or troubles, be his nature never so pregnant, can be but a foole, in comparison of what hee might be, or in comparison of others. But the best
Master

Master is he that hath served; the best Pilot, he that hath
 beene shipwrackt; the best Governour, hee that hath
 obeyed; and the best teacher, he that hath erred. *Assu-* Eccl. 25. 6.
redly the Crowne of old men, (especially of Princes) is to have
much experience, and the feare of God is their glorie. Cast
 your eyes backe to *Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Ioseph, David,*
 and all the servants of God, and marke how they were
 fitted for their vocations, & put to many hard schooles
 to learne wisdom: yea *Salomon* himsele, into whom
 God infused a plentiful portion of wisdom, did not-
 withstanding increase and perfect the same by experi-
 ence. So that though in his other words and writings
 he excell other men; yet in his *Ecclesiastes*, (which is a
 survey, a review, a censure of all both of his life, his
 vvords, and vvorkes, and vvritten in age after all this
 addition of experience) he therein excels himsele.

Consider in our owne dayes what difference there
 hath beene betwixt Princes and great persons, who
 haue neuer felt or feared the change of their Estates, and
 others who haue beene persecuted from their Cradles,
 and so forced to beware of their seeming friends, as well
 as of their profest enemies.

Consider if ever Age afforded such three Contem-
 poraries, as *Elizabeth* then of *England*, *Henry* the fourth
 of *France*, and *Iames* our present King and Sovereigne.
 The first and last periecutated from their Cradles, be-
 came thereby wise aboue their fellowes; and the one
 did till her last, and the other doth continue a *Defender*
of the Faith, in spite of Hell, whose gates could never
 prevaile (though set wide open) to touch a hayre of
 their heads. The third, wise and valiant, lost the true
 vse of both with His Faith; when feare and humane

frailty, for politicke respects, caused him to admit *Their* entrance into his State, vvho never left vvorking till they cast him out: He by Gods just judgement beeing made an example to warne other Princes, whilest hee would not take example by the like fall of His Predecessours.

Eccl. 34.9.
10. 11. 12.

A naturall foole cannot bee made wise by experience, nor any other man without it. *What knowledge hath he (saith Siracides) that is not tried? A man that is instructed understandeth much; and hee that hath good experience, can talke of wisdom. He that hath no experience, knoweth little; and he that erreth is full of craft. When I wandered to and fro, I saw many things, and my understanding is greater then I can expresse: I was oftentimes in danger of death, yet I was deliverd because of these things: that is, by experience of the like former evils.*

Eccl. 20.
29. 30.

And when all is done, if men hide vp what they know, they may vvell flatter themselues with an opinion of wisdom, of reservednesse, of privacie, contentment, modestie, and I wot not what flourishes: and others may perhaps soothe them in the same follies, and perswade them, that their cuts cover their pride, sloth, and nakednesse: but except wee draw out, what wee haue drunke in, for generall vse, we are Sluggards, and vnprofitable servants: To which end a Philosopher said to a silent observer of other mens mirth and free speech at a Feast: *If thou beest a foole, thou doest the part of a wise man to hold thy peace; but if thou beest wise, then doest thou the part of a Foole to bee silent: For wisdom that is hid, and treasure that is hoorded vp, saith Siracides, what profit is in them both? Better is hee that keepeth his ignorance secret, then a man that hideth his wisdom.*

But

But some object, that to vtter all and draw our selues dry, is the next way to be contemned: Common things are cast away, and emptie vessels haue the lowdest sound. I answered, it is no matter, therefore I was filld to be emptied, my praise is not expected from men, but from God. What skils it, whether my soule departs with many concealements, (which might haue bettered others had they beene left behinde) or haue freely discharged herselfe of all her lading, of all shee knowes? The latter is farre the better, I am the lesse cumbred with accompt, and I shalbe the more filled with fresh glorie and knowledge: *Do thou thy dutie betimes, and God Eccl. 52.30. Will giue you a reward at his time.*

All that I haue said is to this end, to leade you by the hand, to the Pismire of the vnited Prouinces, that considering her wayes and course aright, (which I purpose to lay downe with as much perspicuity as I can to the meanest capacity) wee may by her example, and *Salomons* instruction, grow wiser then we are, though we fall short of what we ought to be.

Wee haue gone to *Beelzebub* the god of Flies, to the *Indians*, *Turkes*, and other Heathens, for Drugs to poyson our bodies, vnder colour of purging and clesning them; for infinite vanities to discover our corruptions, vnder pretence of hiding them. And thus for lacke of consideration, haue made all these things so necessarie to vs, as if without them wee could not live: So that had not *Columbus* happely found out the new world in time, there must needes haue beene an end of the old world long before this time.

We haue gone to the *Cantharides* of *Italy*, and learned there to provoke lust, vnder colour of quenching

it, To vitiate virginitie vnder the colour of professing Chastitie ; To poyson , vnder colour of preserving or curing ; To be jealous over all but our owne liues ; To plot and practise vvith hell, for the obtaining of earth ; To bee frugall of our vices , and prodigall of our honours ; To waste our estates in a retired kind of baseness , where sensualitie may bee close and secure ; To feede our selves , and to sterue all others ; To be woorse then beasts , and to make Saints of the Sodomites . And thus for lacke of consideration , have made our selues Politicke , Machiavelian , Atheisticall fooles .

Wee have gone to the *Silke-worme* , and learned there to vvasste and spin out our owne bowels , to make our backes brave ; To consume all in flourishes , Banquets , Maskes , Revels , and merriments ; vvhilest our brethren in one faith , goe fasting in sackcloth , are besieged with dangers , threatned with Massacres , and sit mourning and weeping by the vvaters of *Babylon* : And thus for lacke of consideration , vvee haue made our selves fantastique , dissolute , deboshed , prophane , prodigall and ridiculous fooles .

Wee have gone to *Abaddon* the King of Locusts , and from that infernall pit of falshood , brought smoky superstitions , to darken our vnderstandings in discerning spirituall things , and old vvives fables , and lying Legends , to fright children , and insatuate men of more yeeres then discretion : And thus for lacke of due consideration have lost our first love , and made our selves blind , senselesse , blockish , idle , and idolatrous fooles .

Wee have gone to the *Waspe* and *Hornet* , which infect and sting all Christendome , and with them have taken so deepe a draught of the cup which the Whore holdes

in her hands for all Nations to drinke of; The brimme whereof shee hath cunningly hunnied with faire pretences of seeming pietie, devotion, charitie, chastitie, willfull povertie, obedience, vnitie, vniversaltie, and spiced with glorions titles of the Catholique Church; as now wee are growen giddie and drunken, vn sensible of our owne nakednes, and vnwilling to heare of it, and vn able to hide it; And thus for lacke of consideration wee haue made our selues vninersall fooles.

Let vs now at the last (if it be not too late) goe with the Sluggard, to the *Pismire* of the *vnited Provinces*, and considering her wayes, learne to be wise.

Neither need wee be ashamed of such Tutors, vvho come of the same race originally that wee doe, as our speech witneseth, vv which varieth more in pronuntiation then in the elementarie foundation, as *M. Versteegan*, an able and indifferent iudge in this case, declareth. Besides, they are such whose natures and manners we better agree with, then with any other Nation: having euer found them plaine, but sure friends, both in these latter times, when *Spaine* would haue swallowed vs, and before that for many hundred yeeres continuance, as the constant Leagues betwixt them and vs manifestly proveth. Consider at this present, if they be not friends to vs and our friends; and foes to our foes; if wee dare trust any but them, if they trust any like vs; if Nature hath not bound vs together in necessarie bands of Friendship; and God by miracle first made vs meanes to preserue them, that they might now be a blocke in the way to such as would deuoure vs with greednesse. If this bee not so, why did not the King of *Bohemia* resort to *Spaine*, with vv whom wee haue out-

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ward

ward peace, as to a sure prop at neede? Or why doth he now stay and remaine with them, or at least leaue his dearest Iewell there, whilst his owne Countrie is possessed and guarded by those traitie *Spanish* friends?

Pro-17. 17. *A friend loveth at all times, and a brother is for the time of necessitie.* O Spaine therefore, shew thy selfe a brother, or let the *Illustrious Lords the States*, be knownen and accounted as they are, honorable, and religious friends! But I haue forgot my selfe: passion hath transported mee, I must leave these *Elephants*, and returne to the *Pismire*.

Deare Countrimen, reade with patience that which followes, and consider it advisedly. The contents are a brieft collection of such good Customes and Orders, as are established and practised amongst this diligent and happie people; some of which I could wish translated into our Common-wealth. Many of them are knownen to diuers of our Countrie-men before; some of them put in practise in some places already, but not vniversally knownen or practised as I wish they were. I may misse to mention many, I may mention some amisse: I may hap to set downe some, that I might well omit, being neither proper nor profitable to vs. Many others could haue done better; none did it; I haue done my good will; and where you like what I propound, apply it, follow it, and you satisfie my private, whilst you profit the publike. *Goe now to the Pismire, O Sluggard, consider her waies, and be Wise.*

Now, that wee may view all as in a Map or Lantskip with the best advantage, wee must consider, that this State hath two great Enemies, the one by Land, the other by Water, which they by their wisdome turne to be

be profitable friends; as vvifemen make greatest benefit of their greatest adversaries. The first of these is the State of *Spaine*, the other is the *Sea*; the first vnites them, the other enricheth them; the manner how, I will as well as I may briefly and plainly deliuer.

The first, seeking to cast vpon them that heavy yoke which they haue shaken from their shoulders, doth by that meanes force them to stand close together in their owne defence, and by a firme confederacie, to consolidate their seuerall and distinct parts in a vvhole and intire bodie, who otherwise would fall asunder, by division and contradiction vpon euery slight occasion, vvhilst it might bee said of them as it vvas of Israel, *Then there was no King in Israel, but every man did what* Iudg. 21. 25 *seemed good in his owne eyes.*

I must confesse, wishing them wel, (as I do, and as he must needs do, that wisheth vvell to the present *Church and State of England*) I should reioyce to see, (in stead of that monstrous head too big for the body, vvwhich hath cut it selfe off, by breaking asunder the fundamentall Lawes and Liberties of the State, *those Ligaments that tie members politique together*) I should reioyce (I say) to see some prevention invented against Change and dis. Vnion, though vvith as much caution and limitation, as the *Venetians* vse in the election of their Dukes. And in the meane time, I vvish them a safe Warre vnder so stayed and advised a Chiefe, rather then an vn timer peace; which, bringing in corruption, would soone open a doore to the Conqueror. For, as the state of things now standeth, behold what profit they make by the warres, which the peace would lose them.

1. First, it increaseth their Shipping, causing them

labour to exceed their *Adversary* by Sea, as farre as Hee exceedeth them by Land: Which truly, I thinke, they have accomplished, so that whilst hee assaulls them at home, he findes them threatening worse warres to him in both the *Indies*, and blocking vp every Haven of His with their Men of warre. And this oddes they haue of him in these warres, that (besides their selfe-sufficiecie, and the priue contribution and aide of their friends and confederates, which tremble vnder the formidable growth of the *Spanish* Greatnesse, and seeke to hinder it this way) if His *Indies* furnish him with meanes to assault, the same *Indies* furnish them with meanes to defend: and I doubt not, but in time the warre that now infesteth all *Europe*, will be remooved farther off into *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*: and that Hee, who now is the common assaylant, will be driven in all those parts of the world to be the Defendant, and to write *Ne plus ultra* in Christendome.

As for the multitude of their Shippes it is such, that whilst I consider it, mee thinkes it probable, that as many of them inhabite the Sea, as the Land. Of this I am assured, that diuers families haue no houses but their Ships and Boates, in which they were borne, brought vp, and doe liue after a commodious and cleanly manner: And as they were borne, so intend to dye free-men; insomuch, as if *Spaine* should iustle them out of the Land, they are relolved to people the Sea, and rather commit themselves, with *Noah*, to the mercy of the waues, vnder Gods protection, then bee subject to men, whom they haue found lesse mercifull in their powers, and more boundlesse and vast in their desires, then the Ocean.

And

And yet this diligence of theirs, in winning much Land from the Seas vsurpation; and this providence of theirs, in making shift to live with their Families at Sea in Ships and Boates, and Samoreuses, when their *Goshen* will not afford that numerous people house-
 roome: and that generositie and nobility of their na-
 tures, in struggling for their auncient and native free-
 dome, against so potent an Adversary, (a vertue that
 hath beene hereditary, and long since observed by *Ta-*
citus in these warlike *Batavians*) are now all turned to
 vices by *Envy*; who can see nothing good in this peo-
 ple, nor any thing evill in their Adversaries. It is more
 just for *Spayne* to supplant them, then for them to sup-
 plant fishes; and that which doth commend them, that
 they can live any where, must so disgrace them, as they
 may be thought vnworthy to live any where. But let
 Envie still rayle freely, whilst these enjoy their free-
 dome; and may they still want domesticke necessaries,
 whilst this want necessitates their diligence, and occa-
 sioneth the encrease of their strength by Sea.

Tacit.
 Annal. lib.
 2. cap. 10.

As their shipping, so their *Excise* payes a great part of
 the warre, and returnes that money which they dis-
 burse to the souldier home againe. As vvee see the
 Sunne exhales vapours from the Sea; these, botteled
 vp in cloudes, fall dovne in shovvers, and refresh the
 earth, and so by rivers and draynes, as by veins, passe
 into the sea againe, from vvhence they arose.

And this is to be seene, especially in the *Excise* of
 Wine and Beere, vvhether every *Hereticke* and *Schismaticke*,
 that loves his liquor though he hates the State, and
 euery drunkard and debosht person, vvho being first a
 slaue to sottishnesse, cares not to vvhom else he becomes

a slaue, are made by this secret and insensible meanes to contribute towards the warres; yea and the carelesse and improuident souldier, who spends his intertainement idely, and selleth (as it were) his blood for drinke, and his flesh for bread, is, as if he were a voluntary, and serued at his owne charge: for euery pay-day, he payes backe his meanes to the Sutler, and he to the common purse.

Now as they pay *Excise* generally vpon all Beere, so especially great *Excise* vpon forreigne Wine and Beere.

1. First because, though they cannot altogether keepe it out, for that it should hinder their trading, yet that this may bee a meanes to restraine and limit the excesse thereof, being but for matter of pleasure, not necessitie.

2. Secondly, by this meanes their owne Beere and Barly is vented at good rates, which if ours were generally and freely admitted, would scarce be vendible; and so men are excited and incouraged to sow, mault, brew, and to seeke to supply the Common wealth within it selfe, without borrowing abroad.

And whilst I consider this, I can but sometime wonder (perhaps in my ignorance) at our restraints about the out-lading of Corne and Beere, euen when there is no dearth but plenty, if men were forced to bring out their store. Assuredly if in the time of scarcity, when God seemes to call vs to fasting and humiliation, (as at this present) fasting were enjoyned and strictly obserued, and the Alehouses daily and duly visited for auoyding of idlenes, drunkennesse and excessiue ryot, there needed no other prouision against famine. But this is the plague, these Statutes being penall are beg'd aforehand, or left to the pursuite of beggars and

and base Promoters, who compound the forfeiture and coosen the Lawe; or committed to the oversight of such as are Ingrossers themselves, who desire to haue all things deere, that they may vent their owne commodities at the best rate, and so grow rich, though the Common wealth waxe poore.

3. Thirdly from this Excise of forraine Beere and other commodities the State makes more gaine towards the maintenance of the warres and other publique workes, then all the rest that deale in them. For in Beere especially they double the price, and haue clearely as much for the Excise as the Merchant paid to the Bruer. Now in this they do the parts of prouident fathers, who seeing their prodigall children waste their portions, they vnderhand lend money, which their children know not of, and so preferue their Lands from sale, and their pawnes from forfeiture, returning them againe when they haue more wit to keepe them and vse them.

And in my conceit, this were a good *Toile* to take our frugall *Foxes*, and a sure trap for our negligent drunkards and prodigall heires; who being only niggardly in publique works where they should freely giue, will grutch to disburse six pence towards the maintenance of the Minister, and reliefe of the poore, or twelue pence towards a Subsidy for defence of the State, or for the Kings and Kingdomes honour, when they will at that very time, willingly spend ten times so much in ryot and excesse, neuer feeling or complaining of the matter, though they continued this course euery day, and cannot by perswasions of reason, or the force and authoritie of the lawes of God or man, be diuerted and

drawne from it: such a baseness there is in man, such a dull and beastly sottishness in nature, to contrary Religion and reason, especially being seconded in any euill by company, and confirmed therein by custome, pastreclaiming.

Now if the vnited Provinces had peace with *Spaine*, as other Countries haue, or were in subjection to *Spaine*, as not onely the *Spaniards*, but some of their owne infected members, and some others perhaps of Ours, inconsiderately (as I suppose) seeme to desire: then neither should they be secure of their owne lives, estates, and liberties, nor their neighbors safe by them. For assuredly, howsoeuer men flatter themselves, as the Catholike King would be King of all Catholike subjects, so most of the seeme to desire him for their head: But should they be so vnhappy as to haue their desires, what were they but slaves? since where the *Spaniard* comes, he sets himselfe downe like an absolute and tyrannicall Lord, silencing all Lawes but his owne, which are as those of the *Medes* and *Persians*; yea as those of *Draco* written in blood. Never did the *Lurdanes* more Lord it in *England*, then they where they conquer, or be let in vpon any termes: tell me *Naples*, *Milan*, *Antwerpe*, if this be not true. And though Religion be made the stalking-horse to infatuate and bewitch the mindes of men, and make them betray themselues and their Countries to slavery; yet the Larke beeing dared, and the Woodcocke in the Net, that maske is cast away, and there is a much trust to their promises, as to the *Moore*s their Kinsmen and late Countymen. So that because of this feare, as long as the contrariety of Religion lasteth, the innocent party cannot be safe with-

without armour, nor secure then. Shew mee in any part of Christendome, where any person professing the reformed Religion hath beene spared, were hee friend, neighbour, or kinsman, if That side had strength enough to reach his throat: and notwithstanding our advantages let slip in mercy, and none of them pursued bloudily, how haue they in all places, by all meanes waded in bloud vp to the chinne, for the accomplishment of their designes? And this vvill continue as long as Antichrist raignes; for the Wolfe is bloudy, and the Lambe simple; his Fleece vvarme, and his Bloud and Flesh syweet. But if the peaceable Gospel had free passage and free operation, then indeed there were not only hope, but security, that vvee should liue in peace one by another, and that the strength and riches of one King, should not be terrible to another; vvhist God would teach every one to be contented with their own, to attend vvith conscience the charge they haue in hand, the peaceable government of the *States* committed to them, and as brothers to joyne their povvers against the common enemy of the *Christian Religion*; not so much seeking his subversion as conversion; nor ambitiously thirsting after the enlargement of their ovvne Kingdomes, as piously desiring the enlargement of Christes Kingdome. For as a covetous rich man, if he seriously thought to vvhat end his goods vv ere giuen him, and what a strict account he must make for them, vvould not so greedily hunt after his ovvne hurt and others losse: so assuredly, if ambitious Princes did vvell consider their charge, and conscionably study vpon the workes and duties of their Callings, (knowing, *that as the people are giuen to be their seruants, so they interchange-*
I ably

Antigonus
Rex Ma-
ced. dixit,
Regnum
esse splen-
didam ser-
vitutem.

ably are giuen to serue the people, that all may serue God) they would not with so much hate and hazard of God and man, of soule and body, of their Kingdomes heere on earth, and the Kingdome of heauen, expose their subjects liues to certaine ruine, for the accomplishment of their inordinate and importunate desires (especially *Christian against Christian*, brother against brother) neither would they vsurpe such a tyrannicall and heathenish authority ouer their flockes, as with the *Great Turke* to make their owne wils, limits, and lawes to the wils of all other men; *Hoc est deglubere pecus, & non tondere*. But as the *Pope*, that spirituall *Tyrant*, that *Antichrist*, hath gotten Church-Courtiers to vphold his Regaltie, with impudent foreheades and artificiall falsehoods; so, these haue gotten Court Clergie-men to become their *Champions*; who, being full of winde themselves, haue blowne these bladders with flatterie and forgerie, euen to forget their owne vanitie, to which they are subject, and to which they shalbe subjected in the end: whilst they imagine all other men to be made for their pleasures; and *their Wils to be a more just law to their subjects, then Gods Law is or can be to them*. Well might they bee admonished by *our Souereigne*, who is able to be *Tutor* to them all, more dearely to prise the liues of their subjects, and not to seeke quarrels to enlarge their Dominions, and to embroile all Christendom, that they might fish for aduantages, but rather to ouersee all injuries, but such as would startle *David* himselfe, knowing well, though warres be begun for the pleasure of *Princes*, the subjects bloud must determine the controuerfie, and be powred out, as a sacrifice to appease the *Furies*.

2. Sam. 10.

To returne to my purpose ; if the *vnited Prouinces* had peace with *Spaine* , then they must trade , as others doe , at the appointment of *Spaine* ; who hauing once the East and West *Indies* in possession , would force all *Europe* to be their Retailers , and that vpon most servile and vnequall conditions , and so to take all commodities of them at the second hand , and to vent them for their profit only. Whereby , hauing before the *Indies* , those fountaines of gold and siluer in their power , they would also this way ingrosse all the wealth of Christendome into their coffers , and thereby inable and arme themselves to accomplish that vniversall Dominion they ayme at. For what should let them , whilst they had the sinewes of warre at command , and felt themselves strong enough to rush into the battel when they pleased , and so to surprise others vnprovided and vnawares ? whereas now the *vnited Prouinces* meete with much of their Marchandize at an indifferent rate , and sometime exchange *Leade and Iron for Gold* ; not admitting them to be *Masters* of the whole world by the *Popes Donation* , hauing as good a title as they had , whilst they haue a sword and power to make good their title , as they did and doe. Why should it be justice in them to take from the *Indies* and inthrall them in seruitude , and injustice in others , to take againe from them , and to redeeme their owne liberties ? Especially when all the gold they fetch from *India* , is but to make *chaines and fetters* to captivate Christendome , and all free Nations ? Let others looke on and be laughed at , whilst these share the world ; or stand by and giue ayme , whilst these win the prize ; or helpe to hold vp others , till their owne time comes for correction ; the *vnited Pro-*

vinces will not lose their parts neither in the old nor new world : for which (besides their owne gaine and glory) all Christendome is beholden to them , whilst both they oppose this *Monarch* , and hinder his monstrous and prodigious growth in the *Indies* , and also restrain him from ouerflowing all *Europe* with an vniversal Deluge , as otherwise he would do.

Againe , if the *Vnited Provinces* were all one with *Spaine* , or vassals to it , then were their conjunction much more terrible : for hauing before the greatest Land force of any Potentate in Christendome , if to this there were added their strength at sea , wherein they exceede all *Christian States* but our owne , who then could withstand him ? for , if he frighted vs , euen at Sea , in 88. when wee had these to helpe vs , to guard our Coasts , and to keepe backe , and diuert the Prince of *Parma* from his intended attempts , what then would he do hauing these to helpe him , and when he should finde not only the Hauens of *Dunkerke* , *Newport* , *Ostend* *Sluce* , but all the Coasts of *Zeeland* and *Holland* , as so many mouthes , open to assault and deuoure vs at an instant ; and oportune to land fresh forces and supplies of all kindes at pleasure ? This truth *Esconedo* , Secretary to *D. John* of *Austria* , saw long since , and at this day the *Spaniard* sees it too well ; and therefore labours more for these *Countries* then for the *Indies* ; nay , he wasteth and imployes willingly all his *Indian* treasure about the fetching in of these ; because he sees it to be more for his profit , at least more conducing to the direct end of his aymes , to haue *these* then *those*. For doubtlesse , if he were once absolute Master of this wise and diligent people , he would soone bee Master of all *Europe* besides :

sides. Since, besides the conveniencie of Situation, their industrie is able to effect any difficult worke, which others thinke invincible: so that wee see them powerfull and prosperous euen in all actions they vndertake by Sea or Land; and that they carry any enterprize through, though it bee against *Himselfe*, the most powerfull and politique Enemy in Christendome. *Most powerfull* I call him in regard of his *Indies*; *most politique*, in regard of his *Iesuites*; and an *Enemy* I call and count him in regard of *Religion*; *Wee beeing for Christ, and hee for Antichrist*.

Thus had he these Countries joyned to those *Hee* possesseth, together with those that are Clients, subjects, or vassals to the House of *Austria*, *Germany* were wholly possessed, open roades by Sea and Land made to the conquest of *Denmarke* and *Sweden*; *France* were besieged and girt about, *England* either subjected or blockt vp, and shut out of the world, and all Christendome in daunger of a violent and sodaine surprise by Sea and Land. It concernes all these therefore to looke about them, especially the petty Princes of *Germanie*, except they intend to hold their Crownes at the courtesie of *Spaine*, and become fellow vassals with the rest of *Europe*, to the Catholique Sea and Scepter at once, as they haue dishonorably suffered their neighbours to be by dis-union. Whereas the *vnited Provinces*, making good their words with actions answerable, keepe their owne, and get ground of the *Spaniard*, euen where he assaults, and do honorably extend their helpe to other Princes, euen when the warre knockes at their owne doores for entrance, and when all corners of the Land may heare the roaring of the enemies Cannon,

Concordiâ
res parvæ
crescunt.

with contempt. So that all *Europe* besides is the more secure, by reason these States and their Countries are imbroyled, and they againe enrich themselves by that which impouerish the *English* and all other Nations, (for which partly they may thanke the warres) I meane by the *East-Indian* Voyages, wherein they haue these aduan tages, which (I suppose) others want.

1. First, they goe with lesse charge then others both for men and victualls. Their ships requiring fewer persons to man them, and their men lesse victuall and courser to keepe them, then ours. Besides, many of them are venturers, and so sharers in the gaine: And therefore wilbe content to liue with little, to indure all difficulties, to worke out all hazards with patience, and bee good husbands for the generall, whilst they know the profit redounds to their particulars.

2. Secondly, they carry out no coyne from their owne *State*, but what they bring in of others; their owne being kept base (perhaps for these purposes) so that they furnish themselves elsewhere, and weaken not the wealth and common stocke which is currant in the *State*.

3. Thirdly, they vent the commodities which they bring from thence, for the most part in other places, and returne either mony, or other more necessarie supplies, in stead of the lesse necessarie, which they carry out.

4. Fourthly, they make (as I haue before noted) an easie exchange, not trading vpon so strict conditions as wee doe, but freely as the *Spaniard* doth with them and others; and so oftentimes meete their commodities halfe way, and barter powder and shot, for Pepper, Cloues, and other spices.

5. Fifthly,

5. Fifthly, They haue a large territorie and ample command in the *East-Indies*, from whence they haue expelled the *Spaniard* and *Portugall* by force, and so haue farre better oportunitie & conueniencie to trade there, then any other Nation whatsoeuer; nay, they are able to lade themselues from their owne Lands. Yea, it is incredible what strength they haue in those parts both of men, Forts, and Confederates; and what a circuit of ground they command, whereupon those rich commodities are growing: All which they haue wonne with their industrie, wisedome, and valour, from this Enemy of theirs, having crackt his credit there amongst the *Infidels*, as they hope to do heere also amongst true beleevers. Neither hath Hee hope either there or here, ever to recover what Hee hath lost both in reputation and Rent, except Hee can worke a diuision amongst themselves, or at least betwixt them and vs: which therefore to effect, He turnes every stone, and tryes all conclusions Policie can invent. But I trust, even *Those of theirs that are most interested in the quarrels of the Church at home, and those of ours who are most interested in the Easterne quarrels*, see the yssue of these differences too well, to giue scope to their affections so farre, as thereby to be made instruments to repossesse the *Spanyard* either here or there in the ground he hath lost. Since what they at home helpe to giue the *Spanyard*, they take from their owne Libertie; and what we take, or helpe to take from the *Hollander* to giue to that State, is to take from our selves, to giue to our enemies, whilst we weaken our best friends, and make the generall enemy of Christendome strong, for our owne certaine ruine amongst others.

As for the terrible growth of the *Hollander*, which some seeme to startle at, it cannot fright vs; since their principall strength is at sea, and so obnoxious to many vnavoydeable dangers in their trade, except they hold good correspondencie with vs. For our very Coast wilbe euer able to command them, and hold them in awe, and they must resolute either in stormes to ride out all hazards, & fight against winde, tide, rocks, sands, and all other casualties, or to submit themselves to the mercie of our harbours. And in calmes or fayre weather they must passe euery flie-bote, at least euery Fleet they send out and receiue home, with a guard sufficient to keepe vs vnder hatches; otherwise wee shall be sure to gaine more by their voyages, then they themselves that are the venturers. Now how impossible it is for that State to preuent these disasters of theirs, and advantages of ours, is apparent to any man that obserueth the situation of their Coast and ours, and considereth how much one *Dunkerke* standes now in their way.

Thus therefore whether they trade as Marchants or men of warre, and vvhether they labour to increase their Estate at home or abroad, or to hold their owne already acquired, our friendship is so absolutely necessarie, as they can doe nothing vwithout it, nor stir out vwithout leaue. So that God hath bound vs together by an vndissolueable band of necessitie; and it were well therefore that our hearts aswell as our Lands, and our trades in all other places, aswell as at home, were so vnited. Now if I may haue licence after so many iudicious persons that haue handled our trade in the *East-Indies* to and fro, and grounded their reasons vpon experience, to cast in my coniectures, I would say, the cause wee thrive not in that voyage, is:

I. First,

1. First, because of our great charge; for our ships require more Mariners then theirs, and the most that goe haue small or no ventures, Great men being all the sharers: and those that go meerely as seruants, besides that they are not so carefull of the maine aduenture as they should bee, and would if they were owners, wilbe well payde and full fed, notwithstanding howsoever the Voyage fals out.

2. Secondly, our ships carry out much siluer, some by permission, more by stealth; and this is sure, nothing weakens a State so much as transportation of coyne. Let other things be transported out of the Land, or bee deare or cheape within the Land, all is one; this or that man may bee the richer or poorer, the State is the same still. But where mony is exhausted, and the returne doth not countervail the out-going, there the State decays by degrees. As for example, if our Cloth, Corne, Beere, Saffron, Tinne, Hides, and the like, will pay for our Silkes, Wine, Spice, Tobacco, &c. wee may still liue, though wee liue poorely (as luxurious bodies, who haue good stomackes to supply and renue their decayed strength and wearied spirits) but if we waste more one way, then the other will countervail, whilst wee haue no other commings in of Bullion from the *Indies*, as *Spaine* hath and wee wont to haue, our Kingdome must needs decay and fall into puerie, wanting monie, which is properly the wealth and strength of a State: Euen as wee see naturall bodies, when they are libidinous, fall into consumptions, because their expences exceede their revenues and commings in.

3. Thirdly, wee may obserue our waste, and so our weakenes in this kinde, when wee spend in *England*

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more

more wine, velvets, Silks, gold and silver, in Laces, Imbroderie, Guilding; more Sugar, Tobacco, Drugs and Spices, then they do perhaps, in the places from whence wee fetch them, and where Nature hath made some of them necessarie nourishments: so that our owne ships are not sufficient to furnish vs, but others also vent much of these their vanities vpon our Coast. Thus perhaps this or that man may be the richer by this Trade, but I cannot conceiue how the publike purse is filled with Bullion, or the Commonwealth advanced, but rather much impoverished, and miserably weakned by it. As for such as say, The Kings Custome is the greater, and shipping increased by it, I can conceiue no probability in either, but conjecture, that stocke which is there wasted, and worne out with vse, would in both these respects, be more beneficiall, were it any other-where, or any otherwise employed.

4. Fourthly, we are tyed to such hard conditions, as must needs bee a venter indeed, if wee profit by the Voyage: For if we be strong, we must not touch, without *Spaine* seales the Warrant; and if we be weake, wee become a prey to them, or any other more potent. Thus we are sent out as sheepe among Wolves, and like Doves among Kites; and if we stirre any of these contrary to expresse order, that Iustice, which would moderate all commerce amongst Christians, in an even and equall Balance, makes a president of his owne, and mues vs vp at our returne.

5, Fifthly and lastly, we haue no Land, or a very little in those Parts, and so not the like meanes from our owne annuall crops to lade our owne ships, or the like liberty and oportunitie to furnish our selues by trading
with

with those severall Nations, as they have.

But now if it were possible to vnite our Trades there, and to bring both Nations into one Corporation, it would be a meanes to strengthen and assure both parts here and there, and to enrich both parts without feare of any third, or falling out amongst our selves.

For I verily beleeeve, that that disgust betwixt the two Nations in the *East-Indies*, was not sent thither without a *Romish* practise: nor can I beleeeve, that those many delays and dallyings since vsed in the composition of those grievances, and in not satisfying His Majesties just demands, proceeded altogether from free and loyall thoughts to their owne State, but had the corrupt mixture of *Spanish* Lees in the bottome. Which may teach vs to be more charitable, then to censure the whole Nation for the practise of some few: since wee may consider, this State is compounded of members diversly affected; and that the good and honest people doe suffer in our sufferings, whilst they see the others offer vs injurie, vpon purpose to make vs breake off, for the benefit of their *Grand Signior*.

Thus we have seene a glimpse of that profit, which the *vnited Provinces* make of their Land-enemy: their other Enemy is the Water both salt and fresh; of this likewise they make a profitable friend, as I will labour briefly to manifest.

The Sea lyes continually raging vpon their Coasts in such a manner, as if it would houely eate them vp, and swallow all at a mouthfull. It over-lookes them, and they seeme to lye vnder it: yet they keepe out this strong enemy at the armes end by art and industrie, having nothing but rampiers and fortifications of Sand

to oppose it. To make these strong therefore, and to vnite them that they may not be blown away with the violence of euery stormy vvinde, it is incredible vvhat paines they take, setting a kind of long grasse vpon the same barren Sands, as curiously and carefully, as vvee set flowres and hearbes in our gardens: vvwhich grasse once getting roote, bindes the earth together, that the winde cannot readily come to blow it away, and teacheth them by the like combination to turne their weakenesse into the like strength. Now this were nothing, if they had but a little banke to keepe, but considering what a large Coast they are to guard and make good in this manner, (wanting our naturall vualles of rocke) it is a miracle that they should haue so much courage as to vndertake it, and so much constancie as to pursue it, and so much cunning as to effect it. I make no question if some Nations, who beare their heades aloft, had the like worke in hand, they would either neuer attempt it, or faint and giue ouer in the midst; & rather with the *Heluetians*, seeke new Countries to inhabite, then be at such a continuall cost and care to defend their owne against two such enemies at once: vvhen these notwithstanding, do not only keepe their ground, but as they haue dealt vvith *Spaine* for his intrusion vpon their ancient Liberties, Rights, and Priviledges, so heere they haue wonne vpon the Ocean, and recovered a great part from the Seas vsurpation; part vvhereof, hauing neither sand nor other soyle to helpe them, they defend vvith stupendious heapes of stone, vvwhich, vvith incredible cost, they fetch from their neighbor Princes, euen in places farre remote, for monie; and with a continuall supply of these from time

Cæs. Com.

to time, keepe out the entrance of so furious an adversary. The assault and battery vvhich the Sea makes in this one place that I haue seene, is about an English mile long or more, which they defend and maintaine vvith huge piles of timber (brought likewise from forreigne parts) inter-lined vvith those heapes of stone fore-mentioned about the bredth of two or three acres all that vvay: otherwise the Sea would breake in ouer all, and soone determine the controuersie betwixt them and *Spaine*, taking possession of all from both of them by force.

Thus wee see how this people maintaine their owne, both against the King of *Spaine* and the Ocean, by helps vvich they fetch from forraine Nations; vvhist both ther souldiers, vvherewith they oppose the *Spaniard*, are principally strangers, and the very walles and bankes, vvhereby they hold out the Sea are likewise forraine, and far-fetcht. And this is none of the least part of the Pismires wisdom and diligence: to vvich *Salomon* sends vs for imitation, vvhist he saith, *Goe to the Pismire, O Sluggard, Consider her wayes, and be Wise.*

Now as they haue this open and able enemy, the Ocean, besieging them almost about, & assaulting them vvithout continually; so haue they vvithin the *factions fresh-waters*, that vvill keepe vvithin no bankes (like *Schismatickes*, vvithout the salt of sobriety and discretion) ouerflowing them at certaine seasons. Insomuch as their soyle seemes a sponge in Summer, and a standing Meare in Winter; for then, almost, all the face of the Continent is vnder water. But see vvhat profit they make of this Adversarie, vvhist cutting large passages

from place to place with incredible cost, these waters worke for them continually as faithfull seruants, conveying their carriages by this meanes, to and fro, in a cheape, easie, and safe manner. And such vse doubtlesse do they make of the seuerall sects and Religions, by necessitie tollerated amongst them, to helpe to carry the generall charge and burthen of the Commonwealth, with the greater ease and assurance.

Nay not only the water, but the winde also is their journeyman, and labors continually for them by Mills and other Engines; some pumping and forcing the waters out of their surrounded pastures; some pressing oyles, others bearing flaxe, hempe, copper; some grinding corne, others spice; some making paper, others sawing timber; and briefly, neither man, woman, or child, neither sea nor land, neither water nor winde suffered to be idle, but wheresoever it blowes, it blowes good to some of them. And it is remarkable & wonderfull, that though there be many of these Mills in every towne, yet none of them lacke worke, but haue as much to do as they can turne their hands to attend. But whilst wee consider the harmony of the whole, together with the necessarie dependencie of one part with and vpon another, wee readily see, that these Mills helpe to imploy their ships, and their ships them interchangeably; So that whereas one saith wittily but not well, How all the elements conspire there together to be naught, to shew their dislike of the naughty people, I may truly say, All the naughty Elements are forced there to do good, to shew the vertue and diligence of the good people, who conspire together in honest labor and artificiall industrie. And this is one of the causes

ses they can do things they vndertake, at cheaper rates then many with vs, because they make the artificiall Engine to worke for them, vvhich with the easie attendance of one or two dispatcheth the businesse, perhaps, of twenty. Thus as *Sertorius* taught his vveake souldier to pull off the horse tayle, haire after haire, which a stronger could not moue together all at once, so these make their strong wits supply the defect of weake handes, and with the helpe of *Pallas* or *Mercurie*, effect that vvhich *Briarius* would wonder at. By this meanes an infinite number of people are imployd in Shippes, Samoreuses, Hoyes, Skutes, and Botes, to carry and recarry commodities, to fish, fowle, and trade from towne to towne. So that, though it be hard (as I haue sayd) to determine whether the Land or Sea be most inhabited by this Nation; yet it is very probable, and I verily belecue, that if their Land feedes one, and inricheth one, the water feedes two, and inricheth ten for that one. And so excellently haue they contriued these channels, as they serue not only for necessarie draines to their grounds, and for highwayes in transporting their goods commodiously from place to place, but for ornaments also to beautifie aswell as inrich their Townes, where the Ships and Botes passe vp and downe through their streetes, and loade and vnloade, take in, and deliuer wares at their doores; the rivers being walled on both sides with faire houses, and the bankes set orderly and pleasantly with trees in most places as you passe the common streetes of greatest dealing and stirring.

Thus trade they within land amongst themselves, to the exceeding pleasure and profit of all, and abroad at

Sea by the East and West *Indian* Voyages, by their fishings for Whale, Cod, Sturgeon, Herring, and the like, they imploy a world of Shippes and men, and by this meanes are not only able to maintaine the vvarres, but to helpe their neighbors also vvith Men and money: and notwithstanding all this, to build and plant vvith such cost and curiositie, as if they meant not to lose the possession, or did it for the vse of other men, especially their good friends the *Spaniards*. Nay rather they seeme to build thus richly and gorgeously vpon purpose, as if they intended by that meanes to intice the couetous and ambitious *Spaniards* to assault them, and yet vvithall to assure the Assaylants of their resolution, to stand out to the last man; and that they take not such paines for the pleasure of any other, but themselves and their ovvne children, especially not for their Enemies, vvhom they rather contemne then feare, as these evidences manifest.

Now as wee passe along, it will not be amisse to speake a word of their buildings, which are faire, large, vniforme, all of brick, edged with marble or free-stone. No cost is spared either to adorne them without or within, or to adapt them to the owners vse. Many of their houses are paved with blacke and white Marble, and curiously fronted and in-layd with diuerse rich pieces. Yea the paving of their streetes is such, being much of it bricke laid edge-wise, as doth witnesse the generall willingnesse of their hearts to advance any publique worke either for necessarie vse or ornament: wherein they are a people beyond comparifon forward and liberall, so that all common workes of whatsoeuer kinde, are with great zeale and diligence performed on
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all hands, and that they may be vvell and substantially effected and maintained, no cost is thought too much at any hand.

I tell not any of these nigh and notable thinges, as wonders farre off, but to make this wonder the more notable, that being so neere and so well knowne by many, they are followed by so few, nay scarce imitated by any.

Their planting is likewise remarkeable, where not only the seuerall Cities and townes haue large, faire, and pleasant walkes, set with trees after an exact, artificiall, and beautifull manner, and so kept and preserved with great care and cost (as the private Gardens of great Persons with vs, or as *Morefields* of late, in imitation of these) but also the very hedge-rows are so fenced, and orderly disposed, and the high-ways so planted, as a man would thinke he still trauelled through private walkes, not publique roades, and thorow-fares.

One reason of this may bee, because through all these Countries there are either none or very few *Commons*. Those that are, being very small, are thus imployd for matter of ornament, where the common person is not suffered (as with vs) to spoile all at his pleasure, to cut downe what his predecessors planted: but all is preserved by generall consent. Which I know not whether to attribute to the good disposition of the people, and their care of posteritie, or to the wisedome and diligence of the Magistrates, executing good Lawes strictly and impartially which tend and respect publique vility; or to the people and Magistrates joyntly concurring

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and consenting in one for the common good.

And that I haue some reason for this doubt, consider that with vs there is more good ground wasted (to passe by Forrests, Chases and Parkes, matters of meere pleasure, or more pleasure then profit,) and not to mention Commons which lye dry Winter and Summer) in fennes and surrounded grounds, then is contained in *all the Lowe-Countries*; in all the *Low-Countries*, I say, where meanes for the maintenance of all these wars, and works, and buildings, and wonders before mentioned, and after to be mentioned is found out. And these fennes or Commons of ours (whatsoeuer other shew they make to the ignorant and vnexperienced at first sight) serue for nothing but to breed idle persons, vagabonds, thecues, and beggars: For either, being such, they resort to those places as to their harboroughs and couerts, or comming thither able and honest men, are soone made such: *First*, by the charge of the poore, which they finde there, to whom they are forced to contribute by the Law. *Secondly*, by the wasted soyle, promising fairely in the Spring, but deceiuing their expectation in Winter, the time of most need. *Thirdly*, by the conversation of their neighbors, corrupting one the other by idle example. *Fourthly*, by the oportunity of places out of the way, and so out of the eye of the Law and Magistrate, and giuing shelter to all disorders. So that in *England* generally, where you finde the largest Commons, there you may finde these miserable enormities. Neither will the people learne better either by reason or experience, soth hath superstition wedded them to the errors of their Ancestors in euery respect.

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But in these Countries either through the lacke of Commons, the diligence of the Magistrate, or the good disposition of the people, it is farre otherwise, where there are none or very few beggars, except neere the Court, and those mostly of other Nations. For indeed euery man workes, and depends vpon himselfe (with Gods blessing) for his sustenance; thinking it a shame, that two hands should not feede one mouth, and clothe one backe: None but the aged or impotent with them will aske any thing, and they very seldome; and that rather by presenting themselues as objects of compassion to the passenger, then by verball sollicitation. And this is so well knowne, as families falling into decay, haue died through penurie, rather then they would make others acquainted with their wants. Which obstinacie or pride of theirs I praise not, but set the same downe only to shew the generositie and freedom of their natures which abhorres dependencie. To preuent this inconvenience, the charitable *State* is forced, where the like suspicion is had of want, to search the houses of such, and to contribute towards their necessities, by a kind of silent and close compulsion. Yea there is often found, that diuers of these haue beene releued by mony cast into their houses, and that in large summes by liberall hands, whilst the persons haue kept themselues secret, as doubting the rejection or returne at least of their free benevolences, if the receivers had knowne where to make restitution.

And now indeed I must confesse, though their charities be not so full of ostentation, nor spent in that sort, that wee (by the example of our forefathers) bestow ours; that is, at the doore, (which course I con-

Tit. 3. 14.

demne not, but wish continued, in regard of the aged and impotent persons, and in regard of the covetous, who take an easie excuse to be vncharitable, and will neither giue priuately nor publicely; and in regard of the vain-glorious, who will giue there publicely or no where) yet it is more properly, and I thinke, more profitably bestowed by them then by vs. For with vs (as good Customes may be corrupted) this *Doore-dole* (as I may call it) rather makes rogues and vagabonds, then releues aged and impotent persons. So that, as the *Abbies*, and other like houses, hauing in their handes the liuings of many poore people, (whose superstitious forefathers gave so much to the Church, as they left nothing for their children) might well releue at their

Luc. 20. 47.

doores such, as vnder the colour of deuotion and long prayers, they had before rob'd and disinherited: so doubtlesse many with vs, hauing before fed themselues full with the sweat of other mens browes, euen to gluttonie, drunkenesse, and surfetting, may releue with their scraps, crummes, bones, and broken beere, the necessities of such, as they, or their predecessors, haue before vndone and made beggers, either by some hard Farme, or by vsurie, or some craftie bargaine, or by suites and molestations, or some other the like cruell exaction. But these on the other side giue little at the doore (except to the impotent, or to children) but their charities are more properly and profitably placed, *vz.*

1. First, in putting out poore children apprentices, which haue their trades taught them freely, and their meate and drinke they duly receiue at the houses of the better sort from day to day by turnes, during their ap-
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prentiships: Where notwithstanding they are not suffered to hang idly from their worke, and to loyter away the time, but fed, dispatched, and sent away presently. The like to this, or rather better, was that act for binding out apprentices vvith vs even to husbandmen in the Country, vvich vvas hotly pursued a vvhile by some good Patriots vvith happy successe; but this soone met discouragements, as many other good things doe, vvich are executed vvith more heate then constancie.

2. Secondly, their charities are seene in their *Almshouses* for the aged people of both sexes, seuerally by themselves; vvwhose Roomes are kept, and they tended, both in a necessary and neate manner; insomuch, as a man comming into one of those houses (as every tovvne hath one of them at the least, very large and faire, vvith gardens and all other necessaries for the delight and recreation of wearie age) he would judge them to be built only for shew and brauerie: Yea, euery seuerall chamber or Cell is so adorned and furnished, as it would not only content the dweller, but delight the beholder also: And a stranger would rather judge them the habitations of rich Marchants, then of poore decrepide and decayed persons.

I know no Nation exceeds vs in these kinds of workes, especially since the Reformation of Religion, and that the Gospel came to bee freely preached amongst vs, so that (to the honour of God and His cause be it spoken) our *thankfulnessse* hath bene more fruitfull, then our Adversaries *merit*: but these of ours are the charitable actions of particular persons, so that one place hath (perhaps) superfluitie of provisions, having

many Almes-houses, and another lackes necessarie supplies, having none: whereas in the *united Provinces* these houses are maintained at the publike charge of the State or the Cities; and so every place is alike sufficiently provided for according to an even and equall proportion.

3. Thirdly, their Wase-houses for poore Orphans are ordinarie in every Towne, where great numbers of children of both Sexes, are educated, (as in *Christs-church Hospitall in London*) and some of them taught Trades, others trayned vp in Learning, and every one employed according as they are inclined and found capable; and then sent out to serue in the Church or Commonwealth, when they are fitted for that purpose.

The women have choice to goe or stay at pleasure: but if they marry, then are they dismissed from thence, yet not empty handed, but so provided as may serue to set vp yong beginners, lest they should seeme onely to marry, as with vs they vse to doe too often, to fill the Commonwealth with idle beggars.

4. Fourthly, their Guest-houses for sicke are generall in all places, and well provided of all necessities as the other before-mentioned. There the sicke find cleane linnen, good beds and fires, attendance, meate, drinke, Physicke, Chyrurgerie, and whatsoever may helpe toward his recovery at the common charge of the State. So that be he a native or a stranger, an inhabitant or hired souldier, or any other person, if hee bee poore and sicke, hee is admitted and provided for, till God dispose of him, either to health or death. Inso-much as we shall not see in an Age, a poore man or a childe lye sicke groning in the streetes, nor a distressed woman

woman there travelling in child-bed, in the eye of merciesse passengers; as it falls out too often with vs, more I must confesse, out of foolish pitie, for lacke of executing good Lawes for their timely employment, and for prevention of idlenesse, then for lacke of charitable hearts to relieve their necessities once decayed.

5. Fiftly, their Bedlams and Dul-houses for distracted people, and their Houses of correction or Tucht-houses, for idle people that will follow no certaine nor settled course of life, nor betake themselves to any vocation, are as ordinarie and generall in every place as any of the rest afore-mentioned: and all meanes vsed to reclayme the first to their wits, the other to their honesties. Neither are any of these houses left to the corrupt and coverous abuse of any one man, but their Rents, disbursements, vsages, and orders, are duly and often visited and examined by the Magistrates & Preachers, and an open eare afforded to all complaints, with a speedy reformation of all injuries and abuses enjoined.

6. Sixtly, their Lumbards or Loane-houses, are principally for the benefit of the poore, where Brokers are not suffered to take fifty, or one hundred in the hundred, and ratably in lesse summes even to sixe pence, to the grinding of the faces of poore men, the discouragement of labourers, the maintenance, enticement, nay, enforcement and provocation of theevery; but the poore may vpon pawnes supply his owne necessity at easier rates, and haue reasonable time of redemption allowed: for the ordinarie rate for vse is five or sixe in the hundred: what the Lumbard takes I certainly know not, but in some places I heare the Lumbard it selfe is tied to those lowe rates aforesaide.

Thus first, they wisely prouide to keepe men from

want, by imployment, and then provide to supply their wants, if age, sicknes, infirmitie, or casualtie cast them into pouertie, by vnavoydable necessitie.

And all these with many other charges domesticke and forraine, may the more easily be sustained, whilst the people are naturally or customarily frugall, and bound to be so, if not by Lawes, (as wee are to no purpose) yet at least by the example of their Predecessors dead and Superiors living, as I would to God wee were. This frugality of theirs appears in three respects; in their feeding, and cloathing, and calling: or in their diet, apparell, and titles.

1. First, their *diet* is but homely, every day is not a feasting day, but they know God made a Sea aswell as a Land, fish aswel as flesh, and appointed there should be Fasts aswell as Feasts. Yea, their whole life seemes nothing but to fast from superfluity, if wee compare it with our owne, except their excesse in drinke, which is the only staine of their Nation: Neither is this so much as Rumour makes it seeme; for euen in this vice I feare wee exceede them; at least I am sure, if they spend more time in drinking then we doe, wee spend more drinke then they vse to doe in the like time.

As for their feastes, if any excesse be among them, it is there to be found, and that rather in their long sittings, then cosily surfets: for these their meetings seeme meerely to be loue-feastes, and to be made more for societic and neighbourhood, then for the delicacie of the Cates, which are neither various nor chargeable. They travell not over Sea and Land for dainties, neither need they travell farre for Cookes; their owne serue their turne, and fit their stomachs and pallates better,

better, then either the luxurious *Italian*, or ryotous *French*. Salt is their principall spice, and they trauell to the *Indies* rather for vs then for themselves: since if they spend one pound of those Drugges, wee, for that one, (I beleene) spend one hundred. And the same may be said of Sugar and other compositions for sauces, which they bring to vs, as to Gluttons, whilst, like sober and temperate persons, they abstaine themselves from the excessive vse of those vnwholesome prouocations.

2. Secondly, as their diet is moderate, where all excessse and waste is avoyded, so are they modest in their apparell, shewing themselves constant to their country fashion, and decently cloathed euery man according to his ranke and state. The Lawes neede not limit them, whilst Reason is their Law; and they are ashamed to go in such apparell, as we shame to be without: I meane, as with vs the only glory is to be gay, and the greatest shame to be vnder-clad or euen-clad to our Callings: so with them the greatest shame is to be gaudy, and the greatest glory to be decently and modestly attired, equall to their abilities, or rather vnder then aboue it: But now the light example of the *French*, seconded by our more sutable conversation, hath begun to taint them by degrees with euery excessse, especially in apparell; and if the prouident Magistrate looke not to it betimes, the vnbrideled and licencious youth will, in this respect, vndo the publique, and weaue fetters of silke for their owne feete, which their plaine and wise forefathers (in imitation of the renowned *Spartans*) broke asunder by industrie, and kept broken by frugality and contented rusticitie. Assuredly the cu-

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customary subjection to any of these vices, effeminates the heart of man, and prepares a State fit and supple for any other subjection, how base, dejected, or dishonorable soever it bee.

3. Thirdly, as their diets and clothes are meane, so are they generally contented with the estates and titles of their Ancestors, not vainely or ambitiously hunting after the badges of Gentilitie or Nobilitie, and vndoing themselves to purchase either. For they thinke it a madnesse to clip their wings, thereby to impe out their traines, to lessen their meanes for the increase of their charge, and to sell their Landes to buy titles. *Much better is it (say they) to be Earle of Holland in possession, then titular King of Ierusalem.* And by this contentment they enjoy themselves in a retired priuacie, whilst the Common-wealth enjoyes them as able to serue her in all respects publicuely, as if they had stiles answerable to their deservings. By this meanes also they are not charged with such pompe & futniture either of clothes, stufte, Plate, and attendants, as such a state would require, nor are they forced, for the suckling and satisfiing of these Calues, to draw milke from the Common-wealth till bloud follow, as they must do, should they heighten their station.

I dare say, that their moderation in these three respects, is none of the least meanes that they are so well able to goe through with all other difficulties; whereas with vs the contrarie affection in these particulars, workes the contrarie effects, being the three principall causes of our generall want.

1. First for diet, it is wonderfull, that the Belly and Backe of *England*, like *Bel* and the *Dragon*, by Luxurie and

and Pride should devoure all Gods blessings, which both by Sea, and Land it selfe abundantly brings forth; and which, if men and not beastes had the disposing of it, were able plentifully to helpe others; when as wee, not therewith contented, as if it were some barraine part of the world, and not one of the fruitfulest, doe call for supplies out of *Ireland* and *Scotland* also, (especially of Beeffe and Mutton) when no Land in Christendome is better furnished of those solid and substantiall prouisions then our owne. But those brethren of ours both in *Ireland* and *Scotland* are content with dried fish, barly-broth, milke, whay, cruds, *shamrocks*, long woorts, rootes, and the like, vvhist they furnish vs with their flesh which they finde so vendible in our Markets.

One of the causes of this may bee the idle waste of our young *store*, euen then when they are new falne frō the dam. What droves of Calues, Lambs, Rabets, and yong Fowle, with fish, fruit, and abundance of other viands, are daily deuoured in one City of *London* before they come to maturitie, and that for the satisfaction of euery prodigall youth, and luxurious Dame?

2. Secondly, for apparell, (besides that no mans memory can thinke vpon all the out-landish toyes, which are howrely brought in, and made necessarie to vs, by the change of so many new fashions that haue floated amongst vs in their seasons) the principall clothing vsed amongst vs, is both forraine and beyond the ability of the wearer, if either his estate and calling, or the Lawes of the Land were looked vpon with respect. But wee are more led in these things by the example of our present superiors, then the Lawes of our wiser predecessors,

decessors. It vvere bravery therefore indeed vvorthy of a Courtier, knowing others would imitate and follow him in the head of the fashion, to adorne himselfe vvith domestique ornaments, banishing those Dorres and Butterflies from his eares and elbowes, who durst buzze about him contrarie perswasions: and whilst hee seeth the *Italian*, *French* and *Spaniard* come in Silkes, to incounter these with skarlet cloth; those *English* braueries, as our Ancestours had wont, and our vvise neighbours vse to doe. What advantage hath an embrodered coate, of a plaine modest habite, in treaty or counsell? Onely this, that the more sober person knowes there may be a sudden sharpnesse of vvit, or a reserved formality, no solidity, where there is so much vanity. And now, I pray, vvhen Gallants know that this is the generall opinion of the world, and their outward habits is one of the principall markes whereby men guesse at the inward, vvhat haue they gotten by their affected brauerie? nay how much rather, if they bee vvise, haue they lost, to buy the opinion of folly at so deare a rate? doubtlesse, if in these kindes wee could bee so happily vvise, as to moderate our selves either by Lawes or example, wee should soone abate much of our neighbours pride, vvho for lacke of vent for their vanities, vvould bee forced to spend them vvithin themselves; and so our Broad-clothes would in short time fret out their Silkes and Velvets; and wee should learne by the frugall example of the vvise *Pismire*, to make profite of them, as they now make profit of vs.

The like may be said of that ambitious disposition or humour of ours to hunt after titles, as if the Calenture of *Spayne* had infected our more temperate climate,
and

and so intoxicated our judgements, that like persons giddy vvith high climbing, or high looking, vvee had forgot our owne standing, insomuch as the *Yeomandrie* aspires to *Gentilitie*, the *Gentilitie* to *Nobilitie*, the *Nobilitie* to *Principalitie*: Every one with *Lucifer* saying, *Ero similis altissimo*. And thus Confusion mixeth all, and marres all. Esa. 14. 14.

There are Lawes to prevent all these disorders, and to keepe every man in his ranke: But they lye dead, whilst these vices often liue in the persons that should execute them. So that the offence is lawfull, the Lawe is sinfull; vice hath gotten the vpper-hand of verue, and the Lawe now either serves to no end, or onely serues to *shew vs our transgressions*, and how apt wee are to doe whatsoever Iustice prohibites, though therein wee contradict both the will of *God and the King*. Would God that heereafter whosoever durst presume to begge the penaltie of a Statute ordayned for preuenting or remooving these and the like common annoyances, thereby to make the lawe voyd for his private benefite, (dispensing with a generall offence done to the Common-wealth) might be counted a traytour (as truly hee is no better) and so punished for his treason, *that others might heare, and feare, and do no more so*. Deut. 17. 13.

I might adde fitly in this place the severitie of the Magistrates in the *vnited Provinces*, in taking all mulcts of this kinde where the transgression is common, and imploying such forfeitures to the generall good of the State, *making with the blood of one Scorpion, an Antidote against the poyson of others*. Likewise I might speake of their Mercie in that which concernes life, insomuch as, though Fellonie be death by their Lawe, yet few die

for the first offence, but haue two or three admonitions by whipping, and branding, before they be cut off as dead members. But indeed their generall diligence so takes them vp, and prouides so well for their employment, as there are very few theeves amongst them, in comparison of other Countries vwhere idlenesse is more permitted.

I must likewise tell you, how not only *Robbery*, but euen that close kinde of theif, *vsurie*, vvhich eats vp all trading, and picks the pocket of euery profession, is no free-denizen in their Land, but a meere stranger or sojourner, and that a very poore one: And how by this meanes Land is bought and sold at good rates, and the stocke of euery man kept stirring in some kinde or other; vvhich quickens the *Common-wealth*, and keepes the backe of the Marchant from breaking. And I could wish, by the way, with all my heart, that it were banished *England* also, or at least muzled for biting so deepe: Or, if neither of these, yet that the bandes and assurances might be publicquely recorded, and a part of the interest kept backe to the vse of his Majestie and the Church, towards the redeeming of Impropriations. And great reason for this, since now, offending against God and the King, they pay nothing of their increate to either; but by this meanes might be restrained, or at least constrained to do his Majestie service, and to recover to the Church their ancient right; which to performe, I doubt not, from the tenths of the vse-money in *England*, a summe sufficient might speedily be raised.

I might likewise shew their equity, not onely in deciding controversies, and cutting off delays in Lawe with

with expedition, but also in providing for the poore Debtor, who hath not to pay his Creditor. For if it appeare, that either fire, sea, suretiship, trust, or some such crosse, or (as we say) casualty, hath impoverished him; and that his wants arise not either from prodigality, or slouth, or some personall defect in his Calling, he shalbe inabled and set vp againe; at least, if hee be cast into prison, the mercilesse man, who with vs sayth, He will make Dice of his bones, shall be forced to keepe him there at his owne charge. And so it is, if the suite sinell of vexation in the Plaintife, or if the Defendant ought and be able, but fraudulently denies, or delayes to satisfie the Plaintife, a quicke and speedy tryall manifesteth the truth, and cuts off those demurres, which with vs had wont to occasion greater losse of time and money, then the losse of the debt, or thing in question could haue beene to either party, at first without suite: though now to the honour of the Clergie, Conscience begins to finde the right end, to vnwinde that infinite bottome of controversies, which the confused variety of opinions had made in the determination of Right and Wrong. Yet whether that course of theirs, where the imprisoned lyes at the charge of the Actor, would doe well or no with vs, I doubt; though there, I am assured, it neither makes any man the lesse wary of his estate, or the lesse carefull to pay his debts; neither is dealing any thing the more dead; every man so honestly and directly aymes to doe what he is able for the generall satisfaction of all; so that few repent of any trust they have afforded others.

I might here also observe amongst them, that which *Comines* observes of the *Venetians*; that vpon every ex-

Com.lib.8.
cap.12.

Mat.24.19.
20.

1. Sam. 26.
20.

Reuel. 12.1
2. 3. 4. 6.

traordinary occasion, when they are to consult about any speciall point of State, or execute any thing consulted of, which concernes the publike safety, they begin at God, and appoint certain *Bid-dayes*, as they call them, or dayes of Fasting and prayer, to implore the direction and assistance of God in the prospering of their enterprises. And as *Comines*, vpon that occasion, both prayseth the *Venetians*, and pronounceth them blessed; so doubtlesse may I say of this people, that they prosper the better in all their vndertakings and attempts, for this their solempne, dovout, and pious proceeding. Whereas we passe by these, and the like passages without observation, and haue lost a *Prince of excellent hope*, and haue had the Daughter of our K I N G, great with childe, and in the depth of Winter, a *state and season vnfit for flight*, and by our *Saviours direction to be prayed against*; vnmercifully hunted vp and downe like a *Partridge*, or like that *Woman in the Revelation, pursued by the Dragon*, from the heaven of a *Kingdome and Principalitie*, through the *wildernesse of many woes and miseries*, with infinite other difficulties and barbarous indignities, impossible to be proffered or forced vpon Ladies by generous spirits, and impossible to be borne and overcome, but by an invincible spirit: And haue seene a *Palatinate* spoyled, the chiefe City (Sanctuary for the persecuted members of Christ; a Seminary of piety heretofore) stormed, taken, possessed, and made a Cage for vncleane birds: yea, all the rest blockt vp and besieged beyond hope of recovery: The Church also amongst the *Grisons*, and in *France* oppressed and persecuted; and yet for all this haue not fasted a meale, shed a teare, let flie a publike sigh, or generall grone, abated any of our pompe or pride,

pride, for these afflictions and humiliation; but rather, like corrupted flesh, swel'd higher for these strokes; or as senselesse limbes, haue not felt the cauterizing and cutting off our owne members. Nay, 88. and the *Powder-plot* are forgotten, or we haue forgotten to giue thanks for those deliverances; or whether we may praise God for them or no, I know not, but I am sure of this, that we doe not.

Perhaps this may bee the peoples fault, who are so farre from observing extraordinary and religious Fasts, as they will not obey the Magistrate commanding ordinary and civill Fasts for politicke respects. Perhaps it may be the Priests, who should observe when *God calleth* Joel. 1. 14. *vs to fasting*, and then admonish the Magistrate, and blow the trumpet to excite the people to mourning.

Perhaps the fault may be generall, Peace and Plenty having rockt vs asleepe with a continuall feast of sixty and foure yeeres long, so that now we haue forgot to fast, or haue bodies vnapt for that exercise. But where-soeuer the fault is, I wish it were mended.

I should conclude all with a touch of their Councel, and politique Government in point of State, but that the businesse is too deepe and private for my inquisition: Onely I obserue a generall freedome permitted and vsed, where generall actions which concerne all, and are maintained by all, are generally debated, argued, sifted and censured by all men without contradiction. And this (I thinke) to the end either that Rumour having scope enough to play in, may die without an Echo, or that so the best and worst may bee seene or heard, and all danger and advantages discovered which are subject to the common eye. But after all this, the

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resolution

resolution and conclusion is silent and sodaine, whilst they giue all men libertie to informe, they themselves only direct and dispose of the businesse: for they seeke not the satisfaction of their owne wils so much, as the generall satisfaction of all, where it may be with the good of all. And whilst men doe no hurt with their hand, they permit them freely to do all the good they can with their tongues, without feare of punishment. No man doth any thing, which he is ashamed to heare of; or if he doth euill (as all men may erre) desireth to heare of it by any meanes, that so he may the better and sooner know how to amend it. It is the insolent and obstinate which hideth his faulces, and stops the mouth of truth by violence; the penitent confesseth his error, because he intends to giue satisfaction.

And now I haue showne you but a glimpse or shadow of the true state of those Countries, what need wee seeke for *Plato his communitie*, or *Sir Thomas More his Utopia*, when the realitie of their wishes and best conceptions are brought into action; and the best of what they fancied might bee, is heere scene truly to bee, after a most exact and corrected Copie? And this is enough to make all wisemen well affectioned toward the people, which I wish with all my heart, that so our association might be firme, our imitation safe. What shall we need to trauell to such places for fashions as affoord nothing but what wise men and good men shun? Let vs rather flocke thither where all things abound, which wisemen and good men seeke: *Fidelity in bargaines and contracts, wisdom in counsell, strength in warre, brotherly loue and assurance, modesty and frugalitie*; and that I may say all in a word, *Pietie, and Religion.*

For

For that which I heare some whisper in scorne against this *Encomium* of their pietie, as if there were nothing lesse cared for then Religion amongst them, whete all Religions are tollerated, is easily cleered to an indifferent and vnderstanding ludge: considering, *First*, that they are in warre, and must for that cause hold good quarter with all, but in regard of their owne infected members, whose corruption might otherwise be wrought vpon to breake out, as also in regard the burthen of the warre requires many able supporters, who must bee wooed and bribed with private libertie, to defend the publique; and oftentimes wee see *Iudas* carries the purse, and the most able are not alwayes the best affected. *Secondly*, where the gold and riches of *Infidels* are imployd to invade the State, they thinke it lawfull to vse the gold of *Iewes*, *Turkes*, and *Heretikes* to defend themselves withall. But if any object, the Enemy takes the *Infidels* gold by compulsion without contract, and therefore his act is lawfull: these say, They doe it without compulsion, with the consent and good liking of the *Iew*, and therefore they hold their course more justifiable. *Thirdly* and lastly, they are a *Common-Wealth*, and so want that absolute power ouer their members, which *Monarchies* haue and may vse; and therefore are forced sometimes to winke at singular *Mischiefes*, for the avoyding of *univerfall Inconveniencies*. Neither are they apt or desirous to presse the conscience too strictly, since God himselfe saues no man against his will.

But as I much lament that the wine of giddie *Schisme* should dis mantle the *Christian Common-Wealth*, to the scandall of *Iewes* and *Turkes*, and derision of *Atheists*,

vvishing vvith all my heart it vv ere otherwise: so vvith-
all I vvish, since such a happinesse as vniverfall *Peace*
cannot be hoped for, till it please God to effect it by
miracle, that in the meane time there vv ere an equall
toleration of Religion thorow all Christendome; vvith
provision, that none but one *Religion* should be profes-
sed, and publicuely preached in one place, though
others might there liue safely and freely vvithout im-
peachment of their consciences, persons, or goods; so
they neither made attempt of violent mutation, nor
had publique meetings, or harboured such teachers as
vv ere contrary in opinion to the Church and State
vvherein they lived.

And (if it be lawfull for silly subjects, vvho stand a-
loofe off to prie into the sacred Arke of their Sove-
raignes intent, and so to guesse at their hidden purpo-
ses) I verily beleeeve, that this, or something like it, is
that vvich his Majestie aymes at, if he could effect it as
vvell in *Italy, France, and Spaine*, as he vvould vpon those
or better tearmes, vvillingly grant it in *England*. Other-
wise *hee* sees it vvould be prejudiciall and disadvantage-
ous to the *Truth*, to permit a tolleration only in *England*,
except he could likewise establish it vniversally. But
then it were to be hoped, that *Truth* would get ground
of falshood by familiaritie; and that civill communion
vvould prepare the mind for spirituall, and not suffer
such an aversenesse to continue amongst vs, as is novv
generally professed, vvhen *Christians* hold each other in
vvorse account then *Turkes*. Insomuch as some men say,
and it seemes not vvithout some reason, that they had
rather liue vnder the *Turke*, then vnder the King of
Spaine. For the *Turke* vvill permit them the free exer-
cise

cise of their religion, at least the libertie of conscience; but the *Inquisition* of *Spaine* tyes all men in a Tyrannicall manner to be slaues to *Rome*, and forceth them with tortures to renounce their Faith, doing violence to the will of man, which they themselves hold to be free, euen whilst they punish the person and will for being so. And assuredly therefore, as religious pretences and a strict observance of the *Romish Faith*, haue much advanced the *Spanish* Conquests one way, amongst fooles that wilbe easily mis-led with flourishes: so the pressing of the *Inquisition* vpon conquered Countries hath hindered his Conquests in other partes amongst wise and free Nations, who can looke into those double drifts of policie. And this discoverie hath saved Christendome from that Catholique subjection, at which that State hath mainely aymed, euer since it acquired the ambitious title from that *Citty and Sea, Where* *the Mart* of such royall Marchandize is kept. Apoc. 18.
12. 13.

For wee see, whilst the *Turke* holds all men shalbe saved in their severall Religions, so they be constant to them, these hold all *Christians* to be Hereticks, that adhere not in all points to their opinions though never so absurd, abhor'd, and contradictorie to the revealed will of God. And, these supposed Heretickes, they pursue with the vtmost violence, malicious hearts can expresse by cruell actions, vsing them worse *then a righteous man would vse his beast*, which he knowes is his fellow-creature: When these, forgetting all respect to Man the true image of God, as themselves are, do prefer dead Idols of their owne invention before him; Yea, and thinke there is a sufficient cause to destroy him, if he will not, with them, dishonour the Image of God

which he beares by subjecting it to one of their dead statues, the worke of their owne hand. This asperitie must be removed on both sides by lenitives; which cannot bee till the rigorous *Inquisition* be abolished, and greater freedome giuen to *Christians* to converse, and a better and more charitable conceit wrought and admitted on both sides of each other. For then there might be hope of a generall Councell, where all might freely and without perill or prejudice speake, which is the only absolute Phisicke for this Maladie.

But if this meeting might not yet bee vniverfall, in regard of that imperiousnesse which *Antichrist* challengeth, and exerciseth over the whole Church, which will be hardly layd downe without blowes and bloud; then, at least, would such an vnanimity and consent might be wrought amongst the *Reformed Churches* by a generall meeting, as leaving every Church free to their owne formes; might binde vs together against the common Enemies, in such a firme, sure, fundamentall, and brotherly vnity, for poynt of *Faith*, as a Ceremony or shadow, or a singular conceit, or an opinion about the skirt or hemme of Christ garment, should not be able to shake or separate the Communion, or to juttle vs from each other at such a distance.

But whither am I travel'd beyond the wisdom of the *Pismire*, out of her element? Zeale hath transported me, and (I hope) that zeale which is according vnto knowledge. Paul may be thought mad, *Festus* is so: Hee cannot be besides himselfe, who is not besides the truth. As for those which say, This course of connivencie would breed *Atheists*, *Libertines*, *Free guests*, and lukewarme persons, (for I count them all one in effect:) I

an-

answere, *Simon Magus* will be such, though he be *Simon Peters* disciple, heare him preach daily, and see him doe miracles. Nor can persecution so well distinguish truth and falshood, as prosperity: It is *Gamaliels* counsell Aa. 5. 38. and sentence; *Let them alone; for if their counsell be of men,* 39. *it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot over-* Mat. 13. 30. *throw it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.*

And now to returne to my purpose, and to demonstrate all that I haue sayd in praise of this people, that my Countrymen may not passe the seas, or travell farre for a prooffe, let them looke into Master *Camden* in his *Britania*, in the title of *Pembroke shire*, and also into Master *Speeds* Chronicle concerning *little England beyond Wales*, inhabited by the *Dutch-men* in the time of *Henry* the 3. and see what they say, both for the just praise of that people, for our and their consanguinity; and for a briefe, yet full confirmation of all that I haue said, more largely and loosely. Camd. Brit. in Pemp. Speed. H. 3.

Or let every *Reader* take a neerer course, and looke home to the next great *Towne* inhabited by the *Dutch* in our Land, and consider in what state such places were at their first arrivall, and how they have increased in wealth, people, beauty, order, and trading, since their admission and entertainment there, and (I beleeve) he will be of my mind.

To instance one place for all amongst many that I know, looke vpon the City of *Normiche*, which may be a mirror to all the Kingdome besides; and that partly I might say, principally by their meanes. The order and good government of the Magistrates, the diligence of the Citizens, their quicke trading, whereby they set many on worke within ten or twelue miles round a-

about the Citie, is notable and admirable. This is principally occasioned by the example of the *Dutch*, as also by a kinde of vertuous emulation, to which the *English* are excited by their diligence. And this, though it move envie in the baser and slouthfuller sort, who are loth to see others live by them, and say they are prejudiced by the cheape sale of such wares as the Strangers worke: yet others of better mind and metall, are encouraged by this, and provoked to fare hard, to be frugall, to worke early and late, that they may sell as cheape, and make as good worke as the Stranger.

Many necessarie trades they haue brought in amongst vs, whereby our owne materials, and our men are joyntly well imployed: they haue beene the Inventers of many profitable Engines both for peace and warre: Travellers by Sea and Land are beholden to their labors; and for the belly, they haue taught vs by rootes, fruite, and the Garden crop, to spare much flesh and Corne, if wee were as wise and willing to vse them as they doe. This doubtlesse is a good prevention for dearth and scarcitie, and I would it were made more generall in our Land, that so wee need not spend all our flesh within our selues, at least not borrow of others, who haue farre more need of their owne then wee. There was once a course taken by the Iudges to settle and reward such planters and Gardiners at the publique charge in euery place; but being only propounded, and never farther enquired after, it vanished, and died assoone as it was conceived, before it could conceiue and bring forth a yeeres increase.

I might heere also shew you, how, notwithstanding their numbers, and that they all, or the greatest part
 live

live vpon their handie-labour, yet they are not burthen some to the places where they are seated, but rather every way helpfull vnto them. None of them beg of vs, their owne poore they sustaine within themselves, (though they finde vs willing to helpe them) and in all respects shame the slothful, cheare vp the diligent, and satisfie the wise and well-minded. So that wee may evidently see, as *Egipt* was blessed both for *Iosephs* sake, and in hauing him an instructor, to teach them to prouide wisely in a plentiful season against a famine; so are wee happy, in hauing these men with vs as examples of imitation, and blessed also by God for their sakes. Wherefore to shut vp all in a word:

Since God hath giuen vs one originall, not only from *Adam* or *Noah*, or *Iaphet*, but in a faire neerer line to be derived from our first arrivall in *England*, and so fitted our naures and manners together, that (except some small differences which will be betwixt Nation and Nation, euen by the different temperature of the soyle and ayre, or other naturall accidents, as betwixt brother and brother in a house) wee agree well, and seeme as if wee were one people.

Since it hath pleased God so to place vs vpon earth, that one may conveniently helpe another in spite of the interposition or opposition of any third.

Since they may serue as necessarie venters of our Commodities, and wee as able Suppliers of their necessities.

Since God hath made both of vs strong in shipping, so that joyning in one as wee had wont, no Prince is able to touch either of vs, but wee remaine Masters at Sea; and that the only way to conquer vs both, is to dis-vnite and diuide vs.

Since wee have held a league inviolable for many hundred yeeres (a matter of such moment, as *France* and *Scotland* would not be disjoynd in this respect, notwithstanding the accesse, addition, and vnion of *England*) and haue interchangeably assisted and seconded each other in warres, and haue done and received more curtesies to and againe of each other, then of all Christendome besides: witnesse our *Chronicles* of old, the late sea-fight in 88. as also the acknowledgement of that gratefull *Queene* of glorious memorie, *Elizabeth*, in her Letter to the Lord of *Davenord*, *Admirall* of *Holland*, August. 14. 1598. in these words amongst many others:

The loue and diligence which my Lords the States haue vsed in this action, doth witnesse vnto vs, That the sincere affection wee haue euer borne to the vnited Provinces, and benefites bestowed vpon them, haue not beene ill imployed, &c. And a little after in the same Letter; *Moreouer your zeale and affection to vs-ward, doth increase our debt towards you, the knowledgement whereof is so deeply imprinted in our heart, as wee thought good by these Letters to make some part of satisfaction, the which wee intreate you to impart to the whole companie of our friends vnder your command; letting them vnderstand beside, that they may be well assured, that as heretofore wee haue giuen sufficient testimonie of our sincere affection towards their Countrie, we are now by their valour and merit more incited, to augment and increase our loue in euery part, as it becommeth a Princeesse, who acknowledgeth the vertue and desert of so worthy a Nation as yours; and so wee will continue your very good friend, &c.*

Thus this good *Queene* a worthy witnesse beyond all exception, &c.

Since also God hath honored our Nation to be the principall

principall instrumentes of their present libertie, and of all the happie benefits that thereby they enjoy; let vs not seeme to neglect our owne honor which depends vpon the preservation of their estate as our owne creature. And lastly, to make these motives more strong, and without which all the former and much more were nothing.

Since God hath made vs *Professors of one true and reformed Religion*, wherein they may challenge properly to be *Defenders of the Faith*, and to belong to the chiefe *Defender of the Faith* as well as wee; let vs joyne together in one as brethren, and let not the malice of *Sathan*, the Policie of *Antichrist*, the treason and quarrels of the *World*, the exorcismes and charmes of *Iesuites*, with any other *Spanish Court Holy-Water*, divide vs, distract vs, or discourage vs; but rather obseruing all these traines wisely, and viewing the end and scope of their enterprizes, let vs weave our selves more closely together, and tie our selues inseparably in a true-loues knot, that *Alexander of Rome* may neither vntie nor cut asunder.

And for such as are contrarie minded for other sinister respects, what shew soever they carrie, I feare they wish not well to the present *Church and State* in either Land: wherefore I woud they would follow *Salomons* direction in this place, since they sleight mine, and goe to the *Pismire*, and learne of her to be wiser, lest the yssue prove them to be none of the true *Honorers of God or the King*.

An Apologue for an Epilogue.

THe Lyon slept securely, whilst the Hunters were pitching Toyles round about him. A Pismire perceived the danger, and stung the Lyon to wake him, with Tandem resurges: He furiously start up, and would wreake his anger on the presumptuous Pismire, that durst be so bold and busie to disturbe his rest. To whom the Pismire cryed, My Lord, first looke about you. Hee did so, and spied the Snarcs of the Hunters; escaped, and gave the Pismire thanks, saying;

Quos perdere vult Iupiter, hos dementat;
Quos tueri vult, suscitatur.

*Incline not my heart to any evill thing, to practise wicked
Psal. 141. 5. Workes with men that worke iniquitie, and let me not eate of
6. 9. 10. their delicacies. Let the righteous smite mee, it shall be a kindness: and let him reprove me, it shall bee an excellent oyle, which shall not breake my head, &c.*

Keepe me from the snare which they have layd for me, and the grinnings of the workers of iniquitie. Let the wicked fall into their owne nets, whilst that I withall escape.

Psal. 120. 9. Save Lord; let the King heare vs when we call. Amen.

FINIS.



A

TONGVE-COMBAT,

LATELY HAPPENING BE-

twene two English Souldiers in the

Tilt-boat of Grauesend,

THE ONE GOING TO SERVE

the King of Spaine, the other to serue

the States Generall of the Vnited Provinces.

Wherein the Cause, Course, and Continuance of those
Warres, is debated, and declared.

Pro Aris & Focis.



Printed at London. 1623.

To the
H O N O R A B L E

Sir George Holles *Knight*, Sericant

Major to Generall V E R E.

H O N O R A B L E S I R:



Eeting with a little Pamphlet written by way of Dialogue, and intituled *A Tongue-combate*, professing to containe a true Discourse of these Warres in the *Netherlands* betwixt the King of *Spaine* and the *States Generall*, I could not, without injurie to Truth, permit so many falshoods (as vnder colour of sinceritie and modesty, were wrapt vp in those waste-papers, to bee vented for rich commodities vpon our Coast, greedie of nouelties) to passe without question or contradiction. The euer-living honour of my late Soueraigne deceased, vnder whose blessed Gouvernment I was borne, therein traduced: The justice and prudencie of my dread Soueraigne now rainging, therein obliquely and apertly aymed at: The truth of the Reformed Religion, wherein I was educated, therein oppugned: The loyaltie and reputation of this Nation whom I serue, and for whose just cause I fight, therein defamed; provoked me to say what I could, and what I knew, in defence of all. And I am fitted and furnished the better to say something to purpose in this point, both by the many yeeres experience I haue had in the Seruice, as also through the manifold discourses I haue often heard, wherein this businesse haue beene diuersly debated; but especially by the many bookes I haue read and translated touching this Subject, for the satisfaction of my selfe and some honorable friends, who are knowne to be too religious, to enter into courses doubtfull or questionable; at least into warres openly wicked and vnwarrantable. Now being thus fully and clearely resolved in mine owne conscience, I could

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not but indenuour to resoluē others, who might bee doubtfull, and so seeke satisfaction. It is my duty (I take it) to doe thus; for my meanes I receiue of the *States* obligeth my tongue, hand, heart, and whole man, to promote their just cause in wordes, writings, actions, prayers. He is a traytor (as I iudge) to these, to the truth, to his owne, and to himselfe, that doeth not thus thinke, speake, write, and doe, hauing the same ingagements, where occasion is presented. It concernes all Sword-men to sticke to mee, and to vindicate the honour of our deceased Queene, or present Soueraigne, Religion, the Brittish Nation in generall, and our Worthies in particular, who are made, by this blind and bold bayard, abettors of Rebels and Traytours; whereby theirs and our honours are stayned, our Armes defaced, and the memorable workes of Warre which wee haue wrought for these fiftie yeeres continuance, cast away in obscuritie and contempt; nay, condemned as ignoble crimes of ingratitude and injustice. Assuredly, he that will not exchange a word with an enimie in this case, for this *State* and the *Truth*, which they and we professe in common, is not to bee trusted in actuall disputations, where blowes and bullets are exchanged, and questions of life and death are agitated and controuerted.

If any man thinke my stile too sharpe, they must consider I am a Souldier, trayned vp from my youth, to haue my sword also as sharpe in this quarrell: besides, I am exceedingly prouoked by a craftie Aduersarie, who vsing mildnesse and modestie to *Tavvny-scarfe* his owne fained creature, his Puppet, his Propertie, ouer whom hee insults, as vpon a vaulting-horse lowe enough for his leape; is yet most bitter against the *States Generall*, and their instruments, who intertaine and employ the true *Tavvny-scarfes*, that will not be so easily baffeled. These hee cals Rebels; and for this I often oppose him with the tearmes of Tyrannie and Oppression: The successe and Gods blessing vpon these Warres, hauing giuen him the lye, and sealed mee a publique warrant to say more in this case, with authoritie and euidence of truth.

This I dedicate to you, who haue beene a noble instrument in these just Warres for many yeeres past, and will (I doubt not) deigne to protect my Pen, which doth but repeat that which
your

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

your hands hath written with blood, and carued in large characters vpon the wounded bodies of diuers braue & bold Opposites. It is now a time or neuer to declare our selues, and stand together for the truth of Religion herein oppugned: which hee that shrinks from, for any worldly or politicke respect, or any Antichristian ayme, and temporarie temptation, shall surely be denied hereafter of Christ Iesus, who will publicquely professe *to be ashamed of them before God, vvhich are ashamed of him here before men;* and to spue those luke warme persons out of his mouth, whom the sudden and vnexpected alarum of bold, daring, and desperate opposition for Falshood, will not awaken from that stupide Lethargie, or reserued Foxe-sleepe of Policie, wherein they lye bed-rid, *to be as couragious for Truth, as other men are for lyes,* in this Age of Atheisme.

The Lord by his Spirit kindle this zeale in our hearts for his Cause, and honour the militarie Profession so farre, that as *Phineas the Priest,* hath heretofore taken his Pike, and led vs by example, to execute vengeance on Gods foes that would corrupt others; so vvee may now leade *Phineas* against that *Babylonish Strumpet* and her Brood, who *commits fornication vvvith the greatest Princes of the earth,* and would impudently presse into our Tents, to doe, and cause the like villanie to be openly and vniuersally committed by vs and all men. Leade you (sir) like *Iosuah,* in the head of the Troupes against this *VVhore* and her Adherents, and *I will follow you as a faithfull*

Sernant to Truth and to you,

HENRY HEXAM.

Red-scarfes Dedication.

To the right VVorshipfull *Sir Edvard*

P A R H A M Knight, Serjeant Major of the Regiment of the right Honorable the Lord VAVX,
in the Seruice of the King of SPAIN E
in the Netherlands.

IN my late passage downe from *London* to *Grauesend* by *Tilt-boate*, there chanced among others, two Gentlemen at that present also to passe, being both of military profession, but indifferently disposed in their determinations, touching the Sides they went to serue on: for after some courle of speech that passed among the companie, the one discovered his intention to goe ouer into the *Netherlands* to serue the King of *Spaine*, and the other manifested his purpose to goe serue the *States of Holland*: but because each of them seemed fortified vvith reason for his determination, and to thinke himselfe aswell able to defend it, as hee seemed willing to follow it, all the company, out of a curiositie, were verry desirous to heare what by either side could bee sayd; but yet with a prouiso, that no inconueniencie or falling out betweene them vpon it might ensue; and therefore they desired them, that before they began seriously to argue the matter, they should passe their words to each other vpon their honours, that without injuring one another in particular, each might haue his free speech in defence of his owne determined course; and that their arguing being ended, there should no exceptions be taken either by them, or any of the companie,
for

Red-scarfes Dedication.

for ought that had beene spoken ; but that both they, and all the rest of the companie, (their discourse beeing ended) should in ciuill and courteous manner carrie themselves, and so take their leaues of each other, when their wayes lay to be separated. To this all agreed, and these twaine gaue each other their hand vpon the conditions : and thereupon began betweene them a *Tongue-combate*, wherein neither of both were slaine or maimed : and because it may be some recreation vnto you, to vnderstand how the matter passed, I thought good now at my soonest leysure, and aswell as my memorie would permit me, to pen it downe, and to present it to your view, to whom I hold my best indeuours obliged. And this kissing your hands, I take my leaue, wishing vnto you the atchieuing of all honour, answerable vnto your noble valour and courage.

The deuoted honorer of your Vertues,
D. N.

Tavvnie-scarfe to Red-scarfe.

I Lately met With that Conference Which I had With you in the Tilt-boat, printed ; wherein I found my selfe much injured, in the Answer you put out in my name ; and that Which you say much mended, and deliuered to the best advantage. I found also a Dedication fixed to the Front of your Pamphlet, as if you meant to make your best friend sharer of the honour you atchieued by the supposed victorie ouer mee. In all Which regard, I could not but take notice of your falshood ; especially

Tavvny-scarfe to Red-scarfe.

cially because I saw you did not onely Wrong mee, by concealing what I said, and affirming what I neuer sayd, but laboured also to Wrong the cause, through the Weaknesse of my person. Lest therefore any of my Countrymen should bee wonne by your cunning, to thinke better of your Cause, and worse of ours, then they would, and reason requires; and so bee easily wooed to leave us, to seeke and finde repentance with you, I have inserted what I sayd, or might have sayd to your emptie allegations; and likewise have dedicated my indenuors to a worthy Commander; who is not (as yours commonly are) a Souldier Swallow-like for a Summer onely, or a siege, but whose very name is famous thorow your Armie, and his person knowne to all of yours, that for almost these thirtie yeeres past have seene an English Enemy in the Field or Trenches: In either of which place if you dare meet me, I will make good upon your person with Sword and Pistoll, what here I subscribe with my Pen, that you have Wronged me, the truth, and your selfe, if you had any honour to lose by lying.

20 RED-SCARFE,

RED-SCARFE, *or the Author of*
the Tongue-Combat to the Reader.

BEcause the ensuing Discourse is Dialogue-wise, and that some note of distinction must of necessity be used, seeing I know not these Gentlemens names, who interchanged this Conference insuing, I haue thought good to note them by their Scarfes; as by calling him that was to goe to serue the King of Spaine by the name of Red-Scarfe, according to the colour of the Scarfe he wore; and to call the other by the name of Tawney-Scarfe, because hee wore a Scarfe of the colour of Orange-tawney.

The company after the conditions of quietnesse at parting were agreed vpon, became all silent to heare them begin. The first then (being Tawney-scarfe) began in such words, as you shall finde inserted after this following Preface.

Tawvny-Scarfe, *or the Answerer of*
the Tongue-Combat to the Reader.

IMpartiall Reader, I am to let thee vnderstand by way of Preface, that there was no other conference in the Tilt-boate, then vvhath the Authour of the *Tongue-Combate* himselfe gaue life to, by propounding Arguments, and stirring opposition, howloeuernow hee would hide himselfe behinde a third person, as if he onely were the Relater or Repeater, not the first broacher of this *Word-warre*; but I assure thee the contrarie, vpon

the faith of a Souldier. As for that which hee saith concerning the names of the Disputants, that he knew them not, and therefore was forced to call one *Red-scarfe*, the other *Tawny-scarfe*, according to the colour of their Scarfes, must thus be vnderstood; that indeed he knew not my name, and for his owne, being a man of many names, he knew not which to assume for that instant, but that some of the companie might haue knowne him by another, worne in some other place, and therefore he did wisely dye himselfe into red; which being in graine, will without blushing warrant any falshood, and outface any truth. This I let thee know also, that hee began the Combate, though he giues mee the honour to charge; and that hee retired somewhat confusedly in the end, though he saith (falsely) that I ran away. This shall be sufficient for a touch, and to giue thee warning of the rest, how warily thou art to beleue him.

Tawny-scarfe.

It seemeth strange vnto me, that any of our Countymen should rather resolue to serue the King of *Spaine*, then the *States of Holland*, considering how long their Cause and Quarrell had beene by *Englishmen* supported, and the number of our Countymen that continue to serue on that *Side*.

Red scarfe.

It seemeth as strange vnto me, that men of sense and vnderstanding should not rather regard the iustnesse of the Cause and Quarrell which they are to defend, (especially when they are not constrained, but that their resolution lyeth in their owne choyce) then to let themselves be blind-folded and led forward by sinister suggestion, to follow the vn-understanding vulgar Multitude
for

A Tongue-combate.

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for companie or custome sake, because they have continued so long a time to serue on that *Side*, without knowing or caring wherein right or wrong consisteth.

Tawny-scarfe.

What care had those, I pray you, of your Religion, to examine the iustnesse of the Cause in the warre of *Ireland*, when they assisted the King of *Spainy* against their owne Queene and Country? Or those of *France* in the holy League against their King? were those men *Without sense or vnderstanding* or no? and what care haue you all, in matters of greater moment, euen such as concerne the saluation of your soules, to informe your vnderstandings in the truth? Are ye not blindly led on by your forefathers examples, and by the multitudes of men, who vvalke your broad vway leading to perdition? How then can you blame vs, if in matters of lesse consequence, vve should by your authorities bee remisse? Of all others it sorts not you to reprocue vs. Yet you must not thinke, that the first resolution taken for the assistance of the *Hollanders*, vvas vvithout good consideration of the *iustnesse of their cause*; and the same beeing once begun and continued, what needed further doubt or scruple be made thereof by the after-followers of it?

Red-scarfe.

Because it is no Article of faith, to belecue that the first resolution taken in *England* for the assisting of the *Hollanders*, was not vvithout good consideration of the *iustnesse of their cause*, diuers haue since penetrated into it, to see vvwhether it vv ere so or not, but could not so finde it, and therefore those you speake of, that haue followed it vvithout scruple, haue beene people that were not scrupulous at all: for there is no cause be it neuer so bad, but

some will be found, without any scruple, willing to follow it.

Tawny-scarfe.

Had it beene warranted vvith a *Bull* from *Rome*, as the Irish vvarre vvas, then you durst not haue vnsealed that secret to examine the *iustnesse* of it, but vvould haue beleueed it as an article of faith, (for the articles of your faith are in your Popes bosome) and perhaps obeyed it too, before the Commandements of God. But now you pretend to haue penetrated the boitome, to censure such as are contrary minded, and to find fault with the ground of a Councell, which you vnderstand not.

Red-scarfe.

If the Cause of the *Hollanders* by any vndisprooueable reasons of yours, shall appeare vnto me to be iust, I shall not onely be sorry for mine error, in not apprehending it so to be, but resolute to goe along with your selfe into their seruice.

Tawny-scarfe.

As for your company, assure your selfe I seeke it not: vve haue too many already that vve cannot trust. And for perswading you to see and be sorrie for your error, it is in vaine for me to hope to worke such a miracle. I know right well, the bright Sunne makes Moles the more blinde; and such as you, who (I feare) haue seared and peruered consciences, wil sooner beleue lyes then truth: so that all the euidence I shall bring to cleare this point, vvill but make you the more obstinate and vvillfull, and I might hope to draw you farther with a fained Legend, then vvith lines drawne from the Booke of life itseife. Yet since you desire to trie your strength, (for I know you are armed and studied to oppose) I produce

A Tongue-combate.

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duce three reasons, inducing *Queene Elizabeth* of happy Memorie, to assist the *States Generall* in these warres against the King of *Spayne*.

1 The first, vvas the oppression and vvrong done them by the King of *Spayne*, both in violating their ancient and laudable Lawes, Priuiledges, and Liberties, (euen such as vvere fundamentall, vpon vywhich the State stood as vpon a base) as also in tyrannizing ouer their consciences by a most bloody and barbarous Inquisition.

2 The second reason was, because they vvere our old sure friends, and had bin so, before they had Earles, much more before the *Spanish* Title in those Parts; and vve desired still to keepe them our neere neighbours, rather then to change them for new friends, more remote both in affection and manners, vvhose propinquity vve desired not, beholding it dangerous to *Portugall*, *Naples*, and all other Nations, as ayming at an *universal Monarchy*. Especially *Queene Elizabeth* saw the perill, so great a neighbour might bring to Her and her State, vvhon shee and her Kingdomes onely lay as a blocke in the vway, to breake the necke of His intended Greatnesse.

3 The third motiue and the greatest, which outwent matter of State, vvas the maintenance of the Gospel, and peaceable state of the true reformed Church, which began there to inlarge it selfe; and whereof as shee vvas styled, so shee intended to prooue her selfe (and performed what she intended) *A true Desendresse of the Faith*.

Red scarf.

You haue here alledged sundry reasons to haue cau-

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sed *Queene Elizabeth* to take the *Hollanders* parts, it is reason then, that if so be I cannot allow them for sufficient reasons, I proue them not so to bee, vvhich by your patience and permission I shall be able to doe.

The first point is about their being oppressed and vvronged by the King of *Spayne*, and in danger to bee brought vnder the seueritie of a *Spanish Inquisition*.

That these people liued in obedience of King *Philip* the second of *Spayne*, as did all other the inhabitants of the seuentene *Netherland Prouinces*, acknowledging him as their true and lawfull Soueraigne Lord, as they had acknowledged his Ancestors before him, from vvhom hee successiuelly inherited those Countries, no man can make any doubt or question. The question then is, whether this King, when hee came to the possession of those Countries, did impose vpon the people any prefures, more then his former Ancestors had done; but who is able to shew that he did? the said King beeing then in as full and quiet possession of all those Countries, as euer any of his Ancestors had beene; and departing from thence into *Spaine* in the yeere 1559. hee left none of his *Netherland* subiects, for any cause of inno-uation, in any thing any whit disgusted, but in as great tranquillitie as euer they had beene. He left behind him in those Countries no *Spanish* Gouvernours nor souldiers, but gaue the particular Governments to the Nobilitie of the Country it selfe, and the generall Gouvernement of them all, vnto his naturall sister the Duchesse of *Parma*, beeing of the same Countrey borne: vvhats wrong in any respect was here done them? vvhocomplained of any wrong? why was not the good peace and reciprocall loue betwixt this King and his *Netherland*

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land subjects continued? who began the breach? what actions of innovation caused it? proceeded it from this Prince, or from the Netherland people?

When no thought or cogitation was in this Kings minde of any breach betwene him and his subjects, in the yeere of our Lord 1555. certaine of the rascalitie beeing suggested by sedicious Preachers, and those Preachers set on by some of the Nobilitie, little better then bankrupt, they began in most rebellious rage, to fall to the robbing and spoyling of Churches. The Duchesse of Parma being at *Bruxels* vwhen the newes of this outrageous and generall sacrilegious theft vvas brought vnto her, was much amazed thereat, and demanded of the Earle of *Barlamont*, (who then was present) what they vvere that had done this, vwhereunto hee answered her in French, *Ceste sont que de Geus*, vvhich as much to say, *they are but Rogues or Rascals*. The Church-robbers, and those that set them on worke, vwhereof some vvere Gentlemen, (though much vnworthy of that title) hauing gotten notice how the name of *Geus* was giuen them, did forthwith accept of the name, and wore instead of brooches on their hats, little wooden dishes, to betoken beggars dishes; and some of that sort did afterwards weare Foxe tailes in their Hats in stead of feathers; so as it seemeth they tooke a glorie in this worthy name: for they also caused a print or stampe of a Cocke to be made, at whose mouth the words *Vinc les Geus par tout le monde* were set downe, vvhich is as much to say, *Line, or flourish may the Rogues ouer all the world*: and the paper-prints or pictures taken from this stampe, were set vp in all houses, taphouses, and tauernes where they frequented: herehence it cometh, that in all the

Low.

Low-countries, this kinde of people doe vnto this day, beare the name of *Geuses*, howbeit they haue since beene taught to call themselues *the Reformed*, but Protestants they neither doe, nor euer did call themselues.

Here haue you the originall and beginning of the breach betweene the King of *Spaine*, and these his Netherland subiects; and as touching their beeing oppressed and wronged by the King of *Spayne*, and in danger to be brought vnder the seueritie of the *Spanish Inquisition*, the blame that the King of *Spaine* herein deserueth is, that he was so much ouer-shot, that when hee heard of their breaking downe of Altars and Images in Churches, of their robbing and carying thence of siluer Chalice, Paternes, Cruets, Candlestickes, Lampes, and Reliquaries, with the Tapestry, and wharsoeuer they might make money of, euen to the very Bels in the Steeples, he had not commended it to be wel done, and sent them rewards for their so doing, and so haue let them runne on euen to the taking of the Crucifixe out of the Church, and hanging it on the Gallows, as they did at *Gorcum* in *Holland*; an act, that albeit the Diuell, Iewes, and Geuses would take pleasure in, yet would very Turkes, and Mahometans bee scandalized to behold it.

Now because the King of *Spayne* had sworne at his being in the Netherlands, to defend the Church and Ecclesiasticall persons in their auncient and Christian Priuiledges, and that he apprehended Church-robberie to be theft, he so much wronged these people, as to send the Duke of *Alua* to punish this theft, which (as I take it) was as litile wrong, as to hang a Minister for stealing of a booke of Martyrs out of a Parish Church in *London*.

Tawny-

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Tawny-scarfe.

You haue here said something to no purpose : yet first to answere your falshoods , and then to adde that vvhich is true. Your speech consists of two parts : in the one you labour to cleare the King of *Spaine* from all oppression; in the other, you seeke to cast all the fault vpon the people, and especially vpon those of the *Reformed Religion*, vvhom by the vvay, as farre as your skill will serue you, you spot vvith three or foure crimes, which I dare say, you count proper to the cause.

First, I vvillingly grant the quiet possession of *Philip* the second King of *Spaine* in those Prouinces, and the generall obedience vvwhich the people yeelded to him, during the time of his stay amongst them , all vvwhich augments his obligation of loue. But whereas you lay the cause of these ensuing warres, to the rascall multitude, sedicious Preachers, and bankrupt Nobilitie (as you style them) you shall finde your owne glorious and Catholique Companie to be these Rascals, your owne Popish Clergie to be the sedicious Priests, your owne bloudie Nobilitie, to be these bankrupts of true Bloud and Nobilitie. For the reprochfull name of *Geus* cast vpon them, vvwhich you interpret *Rascall*, they wore it, and the ensignes and badges of it, as an honour, to let the world see, the King of *Spaine* and his Councell, especially the Clergie, accounted no better of them, then of Rogues or beggars, and intended vvith the vvmost speed to make them such, vvwhich also they exprest by the wooden dish.

As for the Foxe taile, vvwhich you say, they wore in their Caps, it was perhaps to put you in minde, that neither they nor their Preachers were such Votaries as your

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chaste Friar *Cornelius Adrian*son of *Bruges*; vvho being a most zealous persecuter of the *Geuses*, and very deuoute and obedient to the Church of *Rome* and the Catholike King, inuented an Order of humilitie and innocencie, and vsed to vvhip the penitent female soules, that hee confest, with a Foxe-tayle starke naked, telling them it became *Innocencie to bee seene so*. This must needes bee a sore and seuerer kinde of Penance both to them and to him; yet not so absurd and abhord, as that Sodomiticall practise of the Friars of *Gant* and *Bruges*; for which much about that time, many were burnt, and many were vvhipt, by the sentence of the Court of *Flanders*, beeing all men of their owne Religion.

For the hanging vp of a Crucifixe vpon the Gallowes at *Gorcum*, vvherewith you charge the people, I must confesse I allow not of the fact; nay rather I condemne it as an idle and scandalous action, neither can I suppose it true; yet admit it were so, then doubtlesse either it was done by some irreligious persons, who mixed theselues vvith the multitude of rash Reformers; or if by some others, out of blinde deuotion and indiscreet zeale, they might defend themselues with these reasons, which you can hardly refute.

1 First, you paint Christ hanged on a Crosse, vvho sits in glory at the right hand of God the Father: for this they hang vp your forgerie; and doe no more indced in the open ayre, then what you did before by the pen-sill, vnder the roofe of your owne houses, or in the Church.

2 Secondly, your Masse-priests euery day crucifie againe the Lord of life, at least they make such as you belecue they doe so, vvhist they offer vp his bodie to
God

God the Father for sinne, as once hee did for all on the Crosse himselfe. But these onely did execute the picture, vvhilst your Clergie, like *Caiaphas, Annas, Herod, Pilate, and Iudas*, betray, accuse, and condemne him eue-ry day in person, as they say, if *hoc est corpus meum*, with a crosse or two added, haue power to change a Cake into Christs bodie.

3 Thirdly, that Idol rob'd God of his glorie, and Christ of his worship; vvhilst, either it had all or part of that respect, vvhich was due to the person. If then a man for meere necessitie stealing a Surplice, Chalice, Image, or the like, out of your idolatrous Temples, bee vvworthy of hanging, though he bee the image of God, what, is not your Idol worthy to bee hanged, who robs God of his glorie, & your soules of true felicitie? Christ himselfe whipt theeues out of the Church, and shall that theefe be left there? It is your blinde deuotion to preferre that Idol, before the true, liuely, and liuing Image of Christ, vvhom you daily hang vp for this Idols sake: and so, whilst you thinke to doe God good seruice, doe seruice to the Diuell, making *your owne sonnes and daughters passe thorow the fire to Molech*.

As for the Minister which you bring in by way of instance, who should steale (as you say) a *Booke of Martyrs* out of a Parish Church in *London*: if there were any such man, he was worthy to be hang'd; but suppose hee had stolen your god-amighty in the siluer Boxe, (as hee vvas very like to doe it, had it stood in his way) what a pitifull case had you beene in, whilst you must haue pursued him as *Laban* did *Iacob*, saying, *Why haue you stolne* Gen. 31. 30.
away my god?

And this for answer to your naked and emptie allegations,

tions, which must bee credited vpon your bare word. But whereas you cry out, or rather crow like a Cocke on a dunghill, demanding vwhat wrong in any respect was done the people? *Who complained of any Wrong? Why Was not the good peace and reciprocall loue betweene this King and his Netherland subiects continued? Who began the breach? What actions of innouation caused it? proceeded it from this Prince, or from the Netherland people?* I will briefly as I may, satisfie all your demands, shewing first the true and naturall constitution of that mixed *Gouernement ab initio*, and then proceeding to manifest what new pressures, contrary to the fundamentall Lawes of the State, and what daily incroachments, stolne vpon the peoples Liberties by policie, prouoked this warre, and produced the dire effects following; as a mirrour to warne all Magistrates to beware of tyrannie, and to bee content with their owne in manly moderation, lest *Lucifer-like*, seeking to become gods, they prooue diuclish Tyrants, and so lose their first angelicall seates of Soueraigntie.

But because it is impossible in so narrow a Discourse as vve intend, to speake of all particulars, and to deliuer feuerally, vwhat euery Prouince, and euery City in euery Prouince, holds apart from others, as proper onely to themselves, I vwill onely shew you a few of those *Principles* (rather then *Priniledges*) of State, vvhich these Nations haue preserved intire in generall, notwithstanding the many powerfull hands they haue in that time past thorow; when, euen the most noble and generous Nations, vvho boast and glorie of *vniversal Monarchies*, haue indured in lesse time many violent changes, and a totall and finall losse of their Liberties.

The *Batavians* (for that is the most generall name proper to this people) were originally of the *Cattens*, now called *Hessens*; they first posselt the Land which they now hold, without iniurie to any other Nation or person, finding it not inhabited by reason of many wants and inconueniences, vvhich their inuincible industries haue since ouercome; and much of it also not habitable, in regard of sundry difficulties vvhich their admirable inuentions haue since remooued, or conuerted into profitable helpes and necessarie commodities. Thus originally they are free vvhithout forraine tenure for the place, or complaint of any person for elbow-roome or intrusion. Their Gouvernement also was as free as gouernement could possibly be: they chose their Gouernours themselues, vvere he one or more, King, Generall, or Earle; and euer had respect that their Liberties and welfares should not rest in the bosome or disposition of one man onely; but so wisely and warily provided, that were he wise or foolish, vertuous or vvicked, valiant or cowardly, true or false that ruled for the time, he might profit them, but should haue no power to ruine them himselfe, or betray them to be ruined by the Tyrannie of others.

For this end also they chose a certaine mixed number of the Nobles and Commons to sit in Councell, whom they called *States Generall*; and in these consisted a great part of the Soueraigntie, at least power to qualifie the ouer-swelling torrent of Tyrannie in the Superiour, and to repressse and stay the headstrong and disobedient fury of the inferiour, and to stand in the midst as a Moderator betwixt Prince and people, as our *Parliaments in England* vse to doe.

In these *States united*, together with their Prince, (whatsoever title he bore) was the Soueraigne Power included; yet so, as they had reference in all great affaires to the people also; vvho were not shut out, (like beastes by Butchers against the day of slaughter) but called to counsell, if the businesse concerned them, and the generall vvelfare. And to say truth, many of the *States* were of these Commons, who therefore would carefully looke to preferue the common libertie.

With this Councell of the *States* all great affaires past; vvithout it, nothing of moment. And, that you may apprehend this cleare truth the better, I will produce some of the Articles containing their freedoms, which their Princes vsed to confirme by oath in the presence of the *States*, before they or the people would acknowledge them for Princes, that is, Iudges and Executors of the Lawes.

The Customes and Lavyes fundamentall of the Netherland Provinces.

That no Countesse should marry vnto any man, but with consent and good liking of the State.

That the Offices, as of the Councell, and Rent-masters, and Pretorships, should be conferred vpon no other, but vpon those that were borne within the Land.

That the States shall haue libertie to assemble vpon the affaires of the State; and that as often as shall please them, without need to haue consent of the Earle for that end.

That no Tolles might be raised or imposed, neither any man freed from those that were formerly ordeined, but by consent of the States.

That

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That the Princes should vse the Dutch Language in all their Writings.

That the Coyne should be altered and appointed by the Prince, according as the States should finde it conuenient.

That the Prince might not make away any part of his Principallitie.

That the States may not bee warned to assemble vpon any Connocation out of the Prouinces.

That whenas the Prince should haue need of any Impositions, Collections, or Contributions, that hee himselfe personally, and not by mediation of his Lieutenant, shall make intercession vnto the States, without exalting any thing, otherwise then by a willing and free consent.

That he exercise and administer Law and Iustice by the hand of the ordinary Iustices.

That the ancient Lawes and Customes being sacred, should be inuiolably obserued; and if the Prince should ordaine any thing contrary thereunto, that no man is bound to obserue the same.

These Lawes hauing bin long maintained by meere Custome, were afterwards registred into Articles, and subscribed by the Princes from time to time; to this end, that the natures of the same Princes might not be infected by the euill incitations of flattering Courtiers, vnto the hope of vnlawfull domination. And at last, in regard that the States made complaint of their Griouances, that the most of the fundamentall points of the ancient Gouvernement, by innouations were ouerthrowne, euen then was there a collection made of all the aforesaid Lawes; and so by some others, but chiefly by Mary Duchesse of Burgondy, they were sealed vp, for an euerlasting memorie.

This

This was the state of these Prouinces, when they came into the hands of *Charles* the first, who beeing a mighty Prince, (too bigge for the quiet or benefite of those Countries) sought by policie and power to melt and cast them into a new forme of *Gouernement*, and to vnite the *seuenteene Prouinces* in one solide body, making thereof a Kingdome, and himselfe absolute King of that Kingdome. But, beeing hindred by strong opposition at home, and stronger ingagements abroad, he was forced to leaue that worke imperfect, to bee made vp by the art and industrie of his sonne *Philip* the second. He onely had left the rough draught, and first patterne of that Monarchie, which the times succeeding should polish and make perfect: to which end hee resigned the *Netherlands* to his sonne *Philip* the second, verry early, to giue him time, and the aduantage of actiue and fortunate youth, to enter vpon this worke, and to finish it. All which was done (the Kings secret intent onely reserued to himselfe and his Chamber-councell) with the consent of the *States Generall*, who gaue him the Oath, which they administer to all their Princes, to obserue the Customes of the *Prouinces*, and preserue their Liberties intire.

(a) Ignorance
makes despe-
rate onsets
both in peace
and warre.
And youth is
naturally ig-
norant: so
neither the

(a) The first onset of this young Prince presently vpon his Inauguration, as an ouerture and omen to that which followed, was an excessiue demand of money from the *Netherlands*, vnder pretence of paying his debts. But he could not obtaine a moitie of that which hee King by reason of his youth, nor the Spanish Councell, who altogether governed the King, could tell how to manage this people, being vnacquainted with their natures. And there is as great difference betwixt the *Gouernement* of Spaine and the *Netherlands*, as betwixt England and Scotland. Great reason they should therefore be gouerned by Natiues that knew them, not by strangers, that did not loue them, and meant onely to make their profit of them.

sought,

fought, neither would that bee granted without a conuocation of the generall *States* of the 17. *Belgicke Prouinces*. The which was wonderfully ill taken by the *Spanish Councell*, and by those that enriched themselves with the treasure of the peoples ruine: so that some Noblemen and *Gouernours* of some *Prouinces* and *Townes*, were not onely in disgrace with the King and his Councell, but were also iudged guilty of high treason; and the Noblemen which had in any sort contradicted this demand, were marked vnto death vpon the first oportunitie that should be offered, for that they would not instantly yeeld vnto the first demand, without any conuocation of the *States*. Notwithstanding, that which was granted him (being called the *Nouera'l ayde*) amounted in all, to fortie millions of *Florins* of *Brabant* mony. But this conuocation of the *States Generall*, was both to the King and his Councell (as it hath beene euer since) most odious; as we shall see by the beginning of the troubles which happened in the said *Netherlands*, whereof grew the warres, which haue continued since the yeere 1566. vnto this day.

Meetings of the Nobles, and counsell of the subjects, odious to Tyrants.

Awhile after this the King departs into *Spayne*, and by the meanes of the *Cardinall Granvile*, (a gracious Courtier; and the more like to bee so, in that hee was knowne to be a gracelesse Church-man) *Margaret* of *Austria* Duchesse of *Parma* bastard daughter to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, and so the Kings base sifter, was made *Gouernesse* of the *Netherlands*. Yet before his departure, the warres vvith *France* beeing finished, and peace concluded, the *States* hauing a ielous eye for the publike libertie, and seeing the *Spanish* soldiers garrisoned in the best *Townes* of the *Netherlands*, they vvith

The worse Clergiman, the better Courtier.

the Nobility petitioned to the King, to haue them sent away; and to vrge it to bee done with more speed, they presented to the King their fundamentall Principles, his Oath to preserue them inuiolate, and their farther ielousies and feares were not altogether denyed or dissembled, but rather plainly insinuated and auouched.

Religio made
the maske of
State, as is
euer vsed by
Tyrants and
Atheists.

This that they desired was at last done, though slowly, and much against hayre and heart: Now therefore the *Spanish* Faction wrought with such of the Nobilitie as sought Office, or vvere couetous either of fauour, vvealth, or honour, after a more bold and open maner; shewing plainly, that except the Countries were reduced to absolute obedience by forraine Garrisons, and the awe of a conquering Armie, it vvas an impossible work to punish the Heretickes, vvho vvould otherwise so increase, as the Countries would be wholly lost.

The wiser and honestest sort, of *whatsoever opinion in Religion they were*, saw this snare and shunned it, and gaue others warning also. Notwithstanding some there vvere (as all Hiues haue some Drones, and all States haue some slaues bred in them) that vvere contented to vveare fetters, so they might be made of gold, and they might helpe to make them.

No such equal
course as is v-
sed in the
Star-chamber.

But for the effecting of this, the *Inquisition* must bee introduced, vvhich had before beene reiected in the time of *Charles* the first. Accordingly a *Commission* vvas sent *May the 11, 1585.* by the vvhich, according to the vvords thereof, ample and full Commission vvas giuen to the *Inquisitors*, to make inquisitions, proceedings, corrections and punishments, degradations, deliuerances to the secular Power, to vse imprisonment, and apprehension of men, making of Processes vvithout any forme

forme of Iustice;choosing onely some one of the Kings Councell, vvho should be bound to giue sentence as they should require, according to the forme and tenor of the Apostolicke Letters vvritten touching that, without any attendance or requisition of the ordinary Iudge, or Diocesan of the place; and that against those that are suspected of Heresie, or that shall reade forbidden Bookes, or shall make Assemblies, dispute or talke of the holy Scriptures.

Item,to call before them as often as they please,all his Maiesties subiects, of vvhat authority, power, state, quality or condition vvhatsoeuer, be they Presidents, Councelours, Burgomasters, Aldermen or other Officers, to sweare them by Oath, against all those they shall name, vpon paine to be punished as suspect and fauourers of Heresie. In respect vvhereof, all Magistrates, Gouvernours, and Officers, vvere enioyned to giue all ayde, assistance and fauour vnto the said *Inquisitors*, in the execution of their charge, vvhensoever they should bee required, vpon the same paines,&c. besides many other things directly repugnant to all right, and the auncient Priuiledges and Customes of the Country.

Moreouer, the most apparent and notable persons, aswell among the Nobles, as Merchants and Artizans, and especially the richest,vvere already inrolled in these *Inquisitors* Bookes to proceed against them, as against men subiect to confiscation both of body and goods, at the least in case of repentance, to great pecuniary Fines. Thereupon vvvas heard of all sides the brags and threates of *Inquisitors*, *Priests* and *Monkes*, daring to prescribe, yea to name in their Sermons the most apparent; whereof not onely the people of *Antwerpe*, which heard it, and

the Magistrates, vvhich had beene daily informed, beate vvitnesse, but also the townes of *Lille, Tournay, Valenciennes*, and others of the Countries of *Flanders, Brabant, Holland*, and *Artoys*, where as these threatens haue beene publicquely heard from the mouthes of the Priests and Preachers.

Whereupon those of *Brabant* began first to intimate, that their Duchie was false to the King of *Spaines* Predecessors by right of Election, the vvhich depended vpon Conditions sworne of either side: all which Conditions they said were broken, if they brought the *Inquisition* of *Spayne* into that Countrey. Those of *Brabant* did also produce sixe principall Articles, among others of their Priuiledges, whereof the first was:

(a) This was broken by the introducing of the 14. new Bishops and their Canons.

1 (a) *That the Duke of Brabant might not augment the State of the Clergie, more then it had beene in old time.*

(b) This by the death of diuers of the Nobilitie, as the Earles of *Horne, Egmond* and others.

2 (b) *That the Duke might not pursue ciuilly or criminally, any of his naturall subiects or strangers dwelling there, but by the ordinarie course of the Iustice of the Countrey, whereas the accused may defend and iustifie himselfe by his Councell.*

(c) This was infringed by new formes of exaction of the hundredth and twentieth peny, and of the tenth peny vpon merchandize and handiworkes,

3 (c) *That the Duke may not rayse any tribute or other imposition, nor attempt any innouation, without the consent of the State of the Countrey.*

(d) This was infringed by making Spaniards principall Officers

4 (d) *That the Duke may not place any strangers or forrainers in any Offices of Brabant, except in certaine petty exceptions; namely, in his Court, where he may haue two strangers*

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gers of his Councell, so as they be of the same Language; as also one that is not borne in Brabant, hauing for a time enioyed some free Seignory there, may be President in the sayd Court.

in the Nether-lands, whereas no Nether-lander had Office in Spaine.

5 That Whenas the Duke would assemble all his Estates, Were it to demand money, ayde, subsidies, or any other thing of his subiects, that those of Brabant, nor the other Estates of the Countrey, should not be bound to goe out of the limits of the Country, nor to conclude any thing out of it.

6 If it should happen that the Duke would restraine and infringe their Priuiledges, were it by force or otherwise, in that case his subiects of Brabant hauing made a solempne protestation before, should be freed and discharged of their oath and homage, and as freemen may provide for themselves, as they shall thinke most conuenient. Which priuiledges, most part of the Townes and Prouinces did challenge, and doe maintaine them to be in like sort proper to them, and ratified by Maximilian king of Romanes, in the yeere 1488. the 15. of May; not as if then he gaue them any new Priuiledges which they had not before, or which lay in his power to take away at pleasure, but that he onely ratified their old Principles, as a iust Prince, who was careful to discharge his dutie for their after-safety and libertie.

Besides all these allegations and propositions, in the end they durst say openly, that by the feodall Lawes, the Lord loseth the right of his Fee, by the same occasion of felony, that the vassall forfeits his fee vnto the Lord: inferring thereby, that by reason of the Inquisition, the which did attempt manifestly against the Lands and Goods of the Kings vassals, they might iustly forget their duty of fealty to him that brought it in by force and fraude.

Notwithstanding, they proceeded by vway of Petition both to the King and Gouvernesse; and after sundry Petitions, at length obtained onely this fauourable moderation of all tyrannies and oppressions, that burning should be turned into hanging; vwhereby vve see what

*Pr. 12. 10 another m-
m- m-
each of be-
is president
of bloodie
council. p. 33* Salomon saith verified, *The mercies of the wicked are* cruell. Yet the States continued to petition to the King, but to no purpose; for contrarie resolutions were taken in *Spaine*, (where the King vvas in person, vwhere all counsels vvere forged, and from whence they hoped for redresse) that all mens Goods and Lands, together with all auncient Priuiledges, should bee forfeited and lost. And the Duke of *Alua*, a politicke Gouvernour, and great souldier, vvas sent to execute all by strong-hand, and reduce the Countries to absolute obedience, as if they had not beene places of inheritance, but Countries conquered. Now all these pressures vvere vpon purpose cast vpon the people to discontent them, and force the people to rebell, vwhereby hee might haue occasion of that generall Conquest, vvhich those high-minded *Spaniards* supposed to be easie to their daring and slaue-subduing spirits, though the yssue prooues they tooke their leuell too low, and their wisdomes were decciued and much mistaken in the maine matter.

Red-scarfe.

But shall I be so simple as to beleene you affirming, that the King of *Spaine* sought to discontent his people, that they might rebell, and so hee finde occasion to inuade their Liberties farther? Doth not any King rather seeke to rule his people in peace, then prouoke them to rebellion, vvhose suppression vwould both bee chargeable vnto him, and also dangerous being vncertaine?

Tawny-

Tawny-scarfe.

You should shew your selfe very wise if you could disprooue it, and very simple till then not to beleue it, vpon such pregnant proofes as hath or shall bee produced. The fore-mentioned practise of prouoking people to profitable offences, hath beene auncient, and is vsual with Tyrants, vvho finde no pleasure in commanding, except they may be absolute. And though perhaps they could bee content vvith obedience to their absolute commands vnder peaceable termes, yet if they see the least opposition or variation, presently they take new Councils to mixe all in combustion and confusion, like another Chaos, thereby to raise vp the worke new according to their owne fancies, (which they preferre before reason, Religion, or all lawfull delights) by the hand of power or policie.

Thus the insulting *Spaniard* thinkes it is not enough, or any thing worth, to haue the addition of Countries by accesse of mariage or any other title, except also hee comes in by a kinde of Conquest; or, being let in vpon termes of peace, proceed to fasten vpon all by force as a Conquerour; otherwise hee thinkes hee cannot lord it enough, and there is some disparagement to his inuincible arrogancie. Let *Arragon* and *Portugal* at home, and *Naples* and these parts abroad, be witnesse of this truth, as also euery other place vvhereupon he sets the print of his feet; let the first conditions of his entry be what they will, the yssue is Conquest, and the worst that Conquest can doe.

And to resolue you yet farther of this truth, first, the Letters of *Francisco d' Allana*, Ambassadour for the King of *Spayne* at the French Court, vvritten to the Duchesse of

of Parma Gouvernesse of the *Netherlands*, doe manifest this amongst many other things; vvhether hee shewes, " That the vppore happening about Images, which you mention as an haynous and capitall crime, would cause his Maiestie to reape so great a benefit, as to see them by that occasion reduced vvholly to his obedience, and to that estate and gouernement whercunto his Predecessours could neuer attaine, and the which he hath so long designed and desired; and withall, to haue the meanes (the which no good seruant will counsell his Maiestie to let slip) to subdue * *one by another* whom he pleased, that might hereafter oppose themselves to the good of his affaires in those Countries.

* Thus all men and all States are subiected one by another: but were they so wise to stand one by another, tyranny could neuer preuaile with all his politique pretences.

Againe, in the same Letter, to effect this the better, he giues the Duchesse instructions, how shee shall cunningly carry her selfe to the Nobilitie of the Countrey, who seeme to stand for the King, saying:

" And for that (Madam) the point which to mee seemes of greatest importance in this action, is to assure more and more the * *disguised seruants* whom you know. Your Highnesse I hope will not take it ill, if I doe againe aduertise you to temporize with them, and to force your selfe as much as you can, to assure them aswell by your selfe, as by others suborned, of the great good opinion and satisfaction which his Maiestie hath of their actions, and of the loue he beareth them; that he beleeueth and saith, that they haue done him so notable a seruice, as he thinks himselfe bound vnto them, that the *Netherlands* are yet vnder his obedience; and that without their presence and wisdomes, they had either beene a prey to strangers, or bathed with the bloud of his owne subiects. For although (Madam) they be cunning and

* That is, the Nobility and States, who petitioned for redresse of injuries.

and counterfeit, as we know, yet the time and occasions doe require, that for his Maiesties service they should vse these artificiall speeches. And I beleeeue, that your Highnesse shall finde by experience, that they will helpe something to entertaine them, at the least to containe them; as we haue already found, not onely by them, but also by those * *two* which are gone to his Maiestie, with whom they haue caried theselues so cunningly. giuing the such intertainment, as they do not now sweare, but by the faith they owe vnto their Master. And besides, they haue made such *practises in their Families, as they cannot doe nor say any thing, but it is presently aduertised.*

* The Mar-
quisse of Bar-
gen, and the
Baro of Mon-
tigny, who
caried the pe-
tition of the
States to
Spaine by the
Regents com-
mand, and be-
Yet the first of

ing of the Nobilitie of the Netherlands, stood notwithstanding wholly for the Ki g. these dyed of poyson secretly, as was generally suspected: the other was poysoned by a Page, as was notoriously knowne and confessed. Anno 1567.

Thus he: and by this we see the generall ayme, as I haue before laid it downe; and all men may perceiue, especially Nobles, vvhath account is made of them, euen by such as vse them to betray their Countries liberties and their owne; and what spies are set vpon them at home in their chambers: vvhich may make them carefull of *Spanish Followers*, or of any commended to them by that Faction, though aloofe off, and *comming much about.*

Besides this *Spanish* practise, of comming in by Conquest, appeares by the Articles of aduise, concluded vpon and pronounced by the *Inquisition of Spaine* the 16. of February 1568. and confirmed by the King the 26. following in this manner:

The most sacred Office of the Inquisition so often attempted in the Netherlands by his Maiestie, and hindred untill this
E time,

time, shall be instituted and advanced in this manner, which is most expedient.

(1) He was too old, and too wise, and too good, having had long experience of their euill

counsell, to be ruled longer by them.

They must perswade the (1) *Emperour*, beeing gone astray, and wickedly confederated with Heretickes, that he resigne his Kingdomes vnto his Sonne, with the whole administration of the *Netherlands*.

(2) None of these would serue their turne, growing now old, and beginning to be deuout.

(2) That the *Emperour* with his two sisters, hauing giuen ouer all affaires, leauing the *Netherlands*, shall retire into *Spaine* to Vs, being assured that they shall neuer returne more to doe any harme.

(3) To diuide the Princes loue from the people, a principall meanes to aduance Tyrannie.

(3) These being dispatcht, we must also draw the King to vs, and keepe him for euer that he part not, and not suffer any *Flemmings* to haue accessse or conference vvith him.

(4) Clergimen made euer instruments and axts to invade the liberties of others, if themselves may be free: and the greater places and immunities they enioy, the lesse they care for the publique.

(4) That the King write vnto, and commaund the *Clergie* of the *Netherlands*, that vvith the *Inquisition* they should accept of 15. new *Bishops*, the which should bee free from all *secular Iurisdiction*, yea in cases of *Treason*.

(5) They are made by force vpon purpose, to reuolt for the Kings supposed aduantage.

(5) The subiects of the *Netherlands* through their malice and waywardnesse, will reuolt and mooue seditions and tumults, pleasing to all but to our companie.

(6) Old Nobility odious to Tyrants, new Nobility not so: for they are raised vpon purpose to serue the Prince and time,

(6) The Princes and Noblemen, heads and authors of those *Factions* vvith the subiects, must be taken away, and the others reduced vnto reason.

(7) They

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(7) They shall hire at our charge, *theeves and spoylers of Churches and Images, whose offences shall be by all the World imputed to Rebels*, by some subtill meanes, and so we shall vanquish them.

(7) The Noblemen had bookes prohibited profred vnto them vnderhand by spies of the Inquisition.

who accused them as soone as they had bought.

(8) That all *Commercie, Negotiation, Liberties, and Priviledges*, shalbe rooted out, and that all be reduced to extreme pouertie, whereby the Realme shall bee permanent for Vs.

(8) The vndoing of trade and impoverishing of the people, a step towards Tyrannie. So

Natiues shall be weeded out, and strangers placed in their steads.

(9) No man of all those Countries (except hee bee of *our Faction*) shall be held worthy to liue; and finally all to be rooted out: and all Goods, Possessions, Arts and Trades, and all *Order to be taken away*, vntill there may be a new Realme, and a new people.

(9) Silence of Lawes, confusion of men, office, order, at things, a step towards Tyrannie.

(10) In this action the wise and valiant Duke of *Alva* shall be imployed in person; whereas any other, were he of the bloud royall, or a Prince, shall bee of no esteeme: so as being suspect, yea in the smallest matters, they must be dispatcht.

(10) Men of authoritie must be made the bawds and brokers for Tyrannie. Cruell natures fittest for such imployment.

(11) No Contracts, Rights, Promises, Donations, Othes, Priuiledges, and tolemne Assertions of the *Netherlands* shall be of any force for the inhabitants, as being guilty of high Treason.

(11) Where the people can not trust the Prince, how shall the Prince trust the people? Tyrants by

being false, learne their people to be so: and whilst they count and call good men Traytors, they make them such to their cost in the yssue.

Thus you see the generall purpose of a Conquest, and

E 2

that

Exod. I. 8.

that deliberately, consulted and layd downe by the *Spanish Councell*, and accordingly the Emperour remooued, (who being born in the *Netherlands*, bare the people too great and good affection, to presse them farre enough for the *Spanish purpose*, nature mitigating his ambition; though otherwise he could haue becne contented to see them easily and willingly subiugated without blood) and a new King brought in that knew not *Ioseph*, nor might be acquainted either with his seruice, or with any of his stocke, who confirmed these cursed *Articles* before recited, and the *Inquisitors* bloudie sentence thereupon, by his kingly authoritie and publike act. Anno 1568. Feb. 16.

And awhile after (to finish and perfect this plot to the full) the Duke of *Alua* was sent with an armie of strangers, to enter like a Conqueror, to lay the yoke vpon them by force, and to humble them so faire, as they should not onely afterward indure the Kings owne absolute commands, but his seruants also; yea the meanest command of the basest vassall that should be borne *Spanish*, and be there sent to domineere. Yet after the pouring forth of so much blood, when *d'Alua* boasted, that he had caused 18000. persons to passe vnder the hands of the common Executioners, besides those banisht and slaine in the warres, or murdered by the *Spanish* souldiers in peace, he left these Countries more imbroyled, and farther from the subiection desired, then he found them: hauing onely wasted his Masters men and money, giuing the people a iust cause to disclaime his tyrannous authoritie, and to brand his beastly and sauage domination with these exceptions, and foule aspersions:

First, they charge him, that hee had counselled the
King

King to vse all extremities in all causes concerning the *Netherlands*, and was alwaies the head of such as were worst affected vnto those *Prouinces*.

That he was the onely meanes of nourishing the dislike and contention betweene *Dom Charles* Prince of *Spaine*, and *Dom Iohn de Austria*, and betweene others and him, by his bad reports. And that hauing gotten the gouernement and charge of the *Netherlands*, that he had procured his instructions and commission to bee made according to his owne will and desire, conformable to that auncient hatred that he had conceiued against that Countrey; adding thereunto, that hee had beene receiued more * peaceably, and more friendly into the *Netherlands*, then he hoped or desired; which was onely in regard of the honour and dutie they owe vnto their naturall Prince, and vpon the promise made by the Regent, the Duchesse of *Parma*, that shee would haue scene all things past forgiuen & forgotten, for that euery one had done his best indeuour, to the vtmost of his power for his Maiesties seruice, and the peace of the land. But the Duke being come, he presently declared, that the Priuiledges and Freedomes of the Countrey, the institution of the Order of the *Golden Fleece*, and the Priuiledges of the Vniuersitie of *Lovaine*, (which the King had personally sworne to obserue) were all forfeited and lost; thereby to hold and account the Land as a strange Countrey, newly wonne and conquered by the sword, and therein to rule and raigne according to his will and pleasure.

* He hoped
and fought
resistance, that
he might con-
quer: which
opposition
because hee
found not at
his entrie, he
forced after
wards.

They say further, that his cruelties were so vnnatural and vngodly, that neither *Nero*, *Pharaoh*, *Herod*, nor any heathen Tyrant could euer haue deuised or inuen-

ted greater; that hee had brought the King into contempt and great dislike of the *Netherlands*, although they vvere his patrimoniall inheritance, contrary to the admonition and counsell of *Aristotle* giuen to *Alexander* the Great, That to the *Grecians* he should shew himselfe a father, and as vnto a free Nation; but to the conquered *Barbarians* and strangers, as a Lord and Commander.

That he had caused iudgement to be giuen, and execution to be done vpon Noblemen and great personages, by strangers, defamed persons, and men of base condition and qualitie, and not without great and particular desire of reuenge; being such personages, without the vvhich the King, nor the Emperour his father, should euer haue attained to so great estate and glorie. And that in *Bruxels* vnder pretence of hatred of Religion, he had tyed one *Anthony Vtenhow* a Gentleman, to a stake with a chaine, compassing him about with a great fire, but not touching him, for the *Spaniards* to passe the time withall, turning him round about like a poore beast; who was forced to lye in that great paine and extremitie, roasting before the fire so long, vntill that the *Hollanders* themselves hauing compassion of him, thrust him thorow, contrary to the vvill and intent both of the Duke and *Spanish* Priests.

Marke well
these wayes
of Conquest
and Tyranny.

That he had mooued the King to helpe himselfe by foure tyrannicall meanes; first, to *disarme the Countrey*, not suffering the inhabitants to exercise Armes, but imploy strangers in his warres: Secondly, to *make and keepe them poore by oppressions, and laying great taxes vpon them*: Thirdly, by *making of Castles and Cittadels* (vvhich some call the dennes and nests of Tyrants) to bridle them:
and

and further, by feeding and nourishing of Division among his subjects for Religion.

They object, that he had with-holden the King for so many yeeres (notwithstanding those great dangers the Country stood in, and the need of his presence) from comming personally into the *Netherlands*, as the Emperour his father did, onely for the troubles of the towne of *Gand*.

That hee had incensed the King so much against the *Netherlanders*, as he would not vouchsafe to heare them, but rather to heare flatterers, their enemies; as it appeared by a packet of Letters sent into *Spaine*, where they were kept vnopened nine moneths together, vntill the comming of Cardinall *Granville* into *Spaine*.

If a Prince begin once to hate a people, then his eares stand euer open to all sinister informations. And there can be no better flatterie, and so no better Court-seruice then to bring him a false tale to incense him farther.

That he had contemned the generall *Estates* of the *Netherlands*; persecuting, iudging, condemning, and executing the Nobilitie and Gentlemen thereof, as traytors to their Countrey, because they onely presented an humble Petition to the Dutchesse of *Parma* being Regent, to craue an Assembly of the Generall *Estates*.

his might be done without p. 14. leg

That he was not contented to haue destroyed and brought so many Noblemen, Gentlemen, rich and poore people vnto their ends, and to haue banished and driuen so many out of their Countrey, but had so hardly and badly vsed those that remained in the Countrey, as they were falne into despaire, and were pitied and lamented in all Kings and Princes Courts: vwhereby those that were in the Land, had beene compelled to ioyne with the banished persons, when as they perceived, that the Pardon made by the Pope and the King, by his onely meanes and procurement, tended onely to
(a) deceit, as being full of double interpretations, excep-

(a) Gracious Pardons, holy Dispensations

tions,

(A) This was
the case be-
twixt Catho-
like and Ca-
tholike.
Marke it, O
all ye English
Catholikes, it
is not suffici-
ent to be Ro-
mish Catho-
lickes, except
ye be Spanis-
Catholikes
also.

tions, and restrictions, whereon they might not trust; the (a) *Netherlands* for the most part, that are a people that commonly are good, old, and Catholike Christians, being esteemed for Heretickes by the new Spanish *Mauritane Christians*, for which cause many spirituall persons fearing the rigour and crueltie vsed, by punishing and banishing of the people, procured attestations, certificates, and testimonials from their Bishops and Pastors, to testifie them to be cleere, and not to haue offended, whose names he caused to bee written and sent into *Spaine*, thereby to bring the Spiritualtie into suspicion of Heresie, and so to bereaue them of all honour and credit, seeking to bring the spirituall goods and liuings of the Countries of the *Netherlands* into the Kings hands, after the *Spanish* manner, thereby to bestow them vpon the *Spaniards*.

That his crueltie appeared by his ransacking, spoiling, ruining, expelling, destroying, imprisoning, chaying, banishing, and confiscating of mens goods; burning, hanging, beheading, breaking vpon wheeles, hanging men alieue by the feete, and vvith most horrible and incredible tormenting, racking, and murthering of so many noble and vnnoble, rich and poore, young and old, widowes and orphans, men, women, and young maides, of all estates and conditions: so as hee bragged sitting at meate, that he, hauing done the best he could doe to root out all Heresies, had caused eighteene thousand men to be executed and put to death by the ordinarie minister of Iustice, within the space of fixe yeres that he gouerned the *Netherlands*, not accounting those that his soldiers in the *Netherlands* by the warres, by their cruelties, and other tyrannous meanes had murthered
and

and miserably consumed and brought vnto their ends; which without all doubt could not chuse but bee an innumerable number: and yet *Vergas* the President of his bloudie Councell, that went with him into *Spaine*, complained and said, that *nimia misericordia*, too much mercie, spoyled the *Netherlands*: which too much mercie of his was such, that a man could hardly keepe and preserue his owne goods from spoile, because of his and his souldiers couetousnes; nor his vvife and daughter from abuse, because of their lecherie, nor his life from violence, because of their bloud-thirstinesse: neither could Nobilitie, riches, honestie, nor yet any fore-past merit or seruice, helpe or auaille any man, if he were once fallen into hatred and dislike of him.

That he vsed to helpe himselfe to effect his will by suborning of false witnesses, at it appeared at *Dornicke* at the death of *Martin Hutten*, who was the Kings Officer, executed for the same.

That without respect of any iurisdiccions and ordinarie Customes of the Countrey, hee tooke all authority from the Iudges, both of criminall and ciuill causes, which in any wise might concerne the Confiscations vsed and executed by his bloudie Councels; whereby neither spirituall nor temporall persons, widowes nor orphans, poore Hospitals, Lazer-houses, Orphans houses, nor spirituall Hospitals, that had iust and due pensions, and yeerely Rents comming, proceeding, and to bee yeerely payed vnto them out of the reuenues of the banished and executed persons goods, could be payed; but he to the contrarie, drew it all into his owne hands, without giuing any charge to see the said Rents payed out of the confiscated goods and lands once registred,

millions
ann.

the list whereof he sent vnto the King, amounting (as he set it downe) to about eight millions of Guldernes yeerely, that so he might couer his cruelty with the profit thereof, and thereby winne great commendation in *Spaine*.

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That the vnreasonable and vnspeakable exactions and taxes the one following the other, (besides the confiscations aforesaid) exacted and laid vpon the poore people were exceeding great, as the hundreth peny granted vnto him for sixe yeeres, which amounted vnto many millions of Guldernes; the twentieth peny, and also he asked the tenth penie of all goods moouable and vnmoouable, yea and of all wares bought and sold, and sought by all the meanes he could, to raise the same (against the aduice of all the Estates and Councils of the Countrey) not onely proceeding of the cleare gaines of the things sold, but the tenth and twentieth peny of the capitall and principall value of all things sold: so as they should haue driuen all Trade of Merchandize, handicrafts, and dealings (whereby the Inhabitants for the most part get their liuings) out of the *Netherlands*; which exaction hee thought with all rigour and extremitie to haue raised and put in practise, if he had not beene impeached and hindred from the same by the warres; whereas before that, the Countrey gaue him twenty hundred thousand Guldernes yeerely, besides certaine extraordinarie millions continually payed. To conclude, he caused the King and the *Netherlands* in sixe yeeres gouernement to spend at the least fiftie two millions of Guldernes, which came for the most part out of the *Netherlands* purses

mill.
2 400000

That he caused the English Merchants goods that did traffique

traffique in *Antwerpe*, (vpon hatred of Religion, and thinking thereby to driue them from thence) amounting to seuen hundred thousand Guldernes, to be arrested vnder pretence of money that should bee arrested and withholden from him in *England*, (which neuertheless appeared to be none of his) writing to the King of *Spaine* to doe the like, without any consideration, that the *Netherlands* had more to lose in *England*; who thereby lost in *England* twelue hundred thousand Guldernes, wherewith the most worthy and famous Queene of *England* recompenced her subiects for their losses: But the Duke of *Alua*, neither yet the King of *Spaine*, vwould not offer, promise, or pay the *Netherlands* one peny, notwithstanding afterwards, that by the reckoning made by the Merchants on both sides, he (hauing receiued in the Merchants names, about two hundred thousand Guldernes of ouerplus found to be in the English Merchants hands) would not giue it vnto those persons that had lost it, as the Queene of *England* did; but rather caused many men (by reason of stopping the Trade) to become Bankrupts, to the generall hurt and preiudice of the whole Countrey. Besides, for want of paying his souldiers, hee suffered them, without all militarie discipline, to vse all ryotous, disordered, and forcible actions; as threatning of the people, striking, robbing, ransacking, forcing of women, and such like actions, and to burne and spoile diuers faire Villages, as *Catwicke* vpon the Sea, *Santfort*, *Alfen*, and many others; and ransacking diuers Townes, to murder the people, thinking to haue entred forcibly into *Vtrecht* and other townes, and to haue spoyled and ransackt the same: what they did to *Dornicke*, *Valencia*, *Ypre*, *Mastricht*, *Deuenter*, *Meriden*,

This money belonged to the Merchants of *Genoa*, as is afterward shewed.

Oudenard, Dermonde, Naerden, and elsewhere, is yet in most fearefull remembrance.

In his time in *Bruxels*, there was about one hundred and thirty Burgers murthered, and cruelly brought vnto their ends by the *Spaniards*. In *Gand* in a certaine vprore made by the *Spaniards*, there was sixtie or seuentie Burgers at one time, and after that an innumerable number of men and women slaine and murthered. In *Ypre* likewise at the execution of a Preacher, there was two and twenty Burgers shot thorow and killed, besides those that were hurt.

In *Dornicke* at a certaine vprore betweene them of the Castle, and the townes Garrison, two *Spaniards* beeing slaine, they cryed *Spania, Spania*, and therewith wilfully killed fiftene Burgers: and there likewise they forcibly entred into the widow *Pottiers* house in the day time, and killed her daughter and her cousin, thinking to haue found great store of money in her house; for the which there was no other execution done vpon the offenders, but onely they that had done the deed, were sent away from thence, and put into another Garrison.

In *Flessingue* was there not a Bill found about *Pacieco*, (that was kept prisoner by them) wherein was the names of an innumerable number of men both Gentlemen and others of the chiefeft Bourgers, which by the Dukes commandement should haue beene murthered in the yeere 1572. in diuers townes, thereby to compell them to yeeld to the tenth penie? What horrible murthers were done and committed in *Naerden* and *Harlem*, contrarie to the faithfull promises made in *Dom Frederickes* name, is manifestly knowne to euery man: where he caused all the soldiers (not sparing their young boyes and

and Pages) to be executed, suffering their dead bodies starke naked to lie a whole day and a night vpon the scaffolds, and in the market place, to the great shame and feare of the women and maids; and some of them that had deliuered the Towne vnto him, he determined to send them into *Spaine* to be Galley-flaues, and those that lay in the * *Fuyck* by *Harlem*, he suffered them to die for hunger, saying, *That he promised them their liues, but not to giue them meate.* The good Bourgers he compelled to be Pioners before the towne of *Alcmar*, that so hee might bring them vnto their ends.

* A Sconce for
called neste.
Haerlem.

There is no honest nor godly Christian, but abhorreth and is ashamed to doe any iniuries vnto the bodies of the dead; and the buriall of the dead is thought a fit and an honourable thing amongst the Heathens and Barbarians: but the Duke of *Alua* caused diuers dead bodies (to spite both God and man) after they had beene buried and lien certaine dayes in the ground, to be digged yp againe, and to bee drawne vnder the Gallowses, and there to be hanged or burnt; alledging, that they died without receiuing the Sacrament, or being confest: but in truth it was done onely, that according to his Proclamation, he might confiscate their goods.

The state of marriage (the onely foundation of all societie in euery place and Towne, and the bond of loue and peace, the right ground of all good life and conuersation amongst men, which most consisteth in true and right consent) was by the Duke of *Alua* broken and disannulled; for that the parties that were married in the *reformed Assemblies*, were held as Heretickes vnlesse they married againe, (which many did) intending thereby to bestow the rich women vpon his souldiers for a prise.

To conclude, he did openly breake and disannull all honest amitie and loue, that one man is bound to shew vnto another, murdering and executing vvomen that holpe their husbands, and children that comforted their parents in their vitermost and greatest extremities, and such as did but comfort them with a Letter, as was to be seene in the towne of *Mastricht*, vvhere the father was cruelly put to death because he lodged his sonne (that he had not seene in a long time before) one night; and another, because he gaue a poore widow (vvhole husband had beene put to death for Religion) certaine corne for almes; another, for that he sent certaine money vnto his friend which was then in *England*, and confiscated the goods of many honest and rich vvomen, because they had lodged their husbands in their houses, whereby they were compelled to begge their bread.

Hee likewise prophaned the holy Sacrament of Baptisme, causing the children that had beene openly and publiely baptized *in the Name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost*, to be baptized againe, because they had beene baptized (as hee said) by Heretickes, vvwhich vvvas against the Decrees of Councils, and all the Lawes both of God and man.

To shew his extreme pride and high minde, in the Castle of *Antwerpe* he caused his image to bee made and erected of brasie, (like *Nebuchadnezzar*) placing vnder his feet the *Nobilitie and States of the Countries of the Netherlands*: and at *Antwerpe* in the market-place, where he published a Pardon, he caused a princely Throne to be erected, which is vsed to be set vp, onely therewith to honour Princes and Kings, which he of himselfe caused to be set vp and late thereon, to the diminishing of
the

the Kings honour, vvhich no Lieutenant to the King before him durst attempt.

This is part of that vvhherewith the Countries of the *Netherlands*, both of the one and the other Religion doe charge your great and glorious Duke of *Alua*, who yvent out of his command like a snuffe in the nostrils of all the *Netherlanders*, that loued their Countries liberties, howsoever they varied in points and opinions of Religion.

After his departure the King sent the great Commander of *Castile*, not to moderate any thing of his Predecessors tyrannie, but to pursue it more couertly and cunningly. In his time, vnder colour of a mutinie, *Amwerpe*, *Bruxels*, *Mastricht*, *Alost*, with diuers other places, (beeing then vnder the peaceable gouernement of the King) were surpris'd by the Spanish Souldiers, ransackt and burnt, as if they had beene townes of enemies, and at last forced to redeeme their owne liberty, by satisfying the Souldier their vnreasonable demands; so vnderhand paying the Kings Army. The Captaine of these counterfeited Mutineers was one *Ieronymo de Rhoda* a Priest; who (as it plainely appeares) had secret instructions to mutine, or pretend Rebellion, or doe, or counterfeited any other falshood, which might impouerish the people, make them vnable to resist any violence, and so facilitate the Kings maine end of Conquest, and absolute subiection of those Countries to Tyrannie. Accordingly (the great Commander being dead) hee tooke vpon him, by some priuate instruction from *Spaine*, to rule all: whilst notwithstanding by publike Decree the King had established the *Generall Estates* in the Gouernment. But it plainely appeared, the face and heart of these designs

Rhoda

*Supra in
for the States
I. Genaplan
for Rhoda.*

*1200ft in
Hon of Austria*

signes and actions was not all one. For howsoever the publike countenance stood for the *States*, the secret intent was that *Rhoda* should gouerne; which he knowing, vsurped the Kings name, authoritie, and Seale, and returning into *Spain* afterward, in stead of punishment, vvas vvell rewarded for it: because, though he crost the publike Act of the King, yet he performed the secret intent, and priuate instruction giuen him. And this vvas manifestly discouered at the coming of *Dom Iohn* of *Austria* to gouerne, vvhose was forbidden to speake, or see *Rhoda*, or giue him any countenance, but to demeane himselfe towards him, as if he had beene an enemy and Rebelle, yet vnderhand to carry himselfe in the Government of those Countries, onely as he should be directed by the instructions of *Rhoda*.

Thus *Dom Iohn* seemed to hold altogether with the Nobles and with the Countrey, to pitie their pressures, to promise a speedy redresse of all grieuances; notwithstanding all this was but fained to betray them; for hee sought and aymed at the same end that all the rest had done before, though after a new manner; labouring to winne and conquer one part by another, and to diuide the Countries, that he might rule as hee list. All this plot vvas disclosed by the prouidence of God, who (being no Tyrant, but a father himselfe) is an enemy to all oppression and tyranny; and beeing *Truth it selfe*, hates all dissimulation and falshood; for a Letter of the Kings to *Dom Iohn* was intercepted, wherein all these snares, traines, and plots, vvere amply layd downe and delineated to life, for the better execution of them when time serued. Vpon which, the whole State beholding nothing that might mooue them to hope for
reformation.

reformation, but vvhat might cause them rather to despaire of faire dealing, they altogether agreed and resolved to renounce their allegiance to the King of *Spayne*, and finally to declare him false by Tyrannie from the Seignorie, Principalitie, Iurisdiction, and Inheritance of those Countries; vvwhich accordingly they did, *Anno* 1581. by publike act.

And here you see some of the true causes of their finall breaking off from their obedience, and many of the new pressures you so earnestly enquire after; all which you must needes iustifie for reasonable, if you be a reasonable creature, and haue not the eyes of your vnderstanding, as well as of your faith, seeled vp with a fether from one of those *Romish Geese* that kept the Capitoll; or put cleane out by the application of *Spanish Catholicon* tempered vvith golden Drugges of the East and West *Indies*.

For is it not reasonable, that hee who disclaimes his owne interest, vvwhich is right and iust, though not so large as he desires, and flies to another vvwhich is answerable to his desire in the extent, though vniust and violent, should lose the iust title which he disclaymes, and receiue no manner of benefit from it? In case of tenures (I haue heard) that our Common Law (which is for the most part grounded vpon Reason) sayth; That if a Tenant for life seekes to the prejudice of another person, to challenge a state of Inheritance, and to pleade it; being euicted therein, he loseth his first title, and cannot fall backe to assume that Right vvwhich before he disauowed. But you will say, The King of *Spaine* did not disauow his title of Inheritance by birth. I answere, by wordes (perhaps) he did not; but it is plaine, that by ouert acts hee

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did,

did, vvhhen he fought to conquer his owne Inheritance ; and so taught the people to resist him as a common and publike enemy, who sought the subuersion of their fundamentall Lawes and Liberties, and the bondage of their Countrey. Thus forgetting his owne duty first, hee taught them to forget theirs afterwards; and seeking to intrall them vniustly, he gaue them a iust cause and ground of farther liberty.

Red-scarfe.

The Duke of *Alua* had neuer charge from *Spaine*, nor neuer intention of his owne to bring an *Inquisition* into the *Netherlands*; this is but a meere calumnie which hath beene spread abroad, and giuen out by the seditious, to foster the obstinacie of the people : but had the *Inquisition* beene brought into the *Netherlands*, it had but returned from whence in long fore-going yeres it came: for you must note, that the *Inquisition* was neuer inuented or brought vp in *Spaine*, or there euer intended for Protestants, seeing it vvas in the world many ages before euer the world was acquainted with the name of the Protestants, or with any such kinde of people as Protestants are : for the Emperour *Charles* the Great, who liued about eight hundred yeeres past, did first promulgate and put it in practise; and the cause was, that after the *Saxons* in their Countrey of *Saxonie*, (*Holland*, and those annexed Prouinces beeing at that time part of the nether *Saxonie*) had beene brought from Paganisme to Christianity; this pious Emperour having greatly furthered it, he had no sooner turned his backe by reason of his being impeached with warres in other parts, but these *Saxons* turned from Christianity backe againe to Paganisme; and for such Apostata's and forsakers of the Faith, he ordayned an *Inquisition*, the memory whereof

gaue

gaue example, that some ages after it was renewed and put in practise in *Spaine*, for such *Moores* and *Iewes*, as hauing receiued the character of Christ, fell back againe to Mahometisme and Iudaisme; and albeit this *Inquisition* was neuer intended (as before is said) to haue beene renewed in the *Netherlands*, yet peradventure it might haue prooued as necessarie, vwhen signes appeared of the good disposition of some there aswell to Mahometisme as to Iudaisme. For diuers that are yet liuing haue seene written vpon the Targets or Roundasses vvhich some of these *Geus-gallants* did beare, their resolution thereunto, in these words, *Rather Turkish then Popish*; vvhich is in effect, *Rather Mahomet then Christ*: and *Hollanders* report themselues, that some of their Countrymen haue beene so edified in the present Synagogue at *Amsterdam*, that they haue relinquished their Christianitie, and are become *Iewes*; and for defect of an *Inquisition*, had not any thing said vnto them for it; nor must they, where profession is made of such conscience-libertie, that euery man may chuse what he will beleue, or whether he will beleue any thing or nothing.

But this may seeme the lesse wonder, when there haue beene found among these *Geuses*, a companie that marched vnder the *Ensigne of the Deuill*; for so was the Ensigne called, because there were depicted therein the Deuils clawes, vvhich many that are yet liuing, haue seene displayed in the towne of *Leire* in *Brabant*, at such time as it stood out in rebellion against the King: and so may you now see how rebellion against the King, and rebellion against God doe concurre together, for whereas ancient good Christians hauing beene taught by the example of the most glorious Christian Emperour Con-

stantinus Magnus to fight vnder the signe of the Crosse, these new contrary Christians abhorring that signe, haue more deuotion to the *clawes of the deuill*, a wel-deuised and besitting ensigne for such as fought vnder it.

Tawny-scarfe.

Whereas you say that the Duke of *Alua* had neuer any charge from *Spaine*, or intention of his owne to bring an *Inquisition* into the *Netherlands*, affirming this report to be a meere calumnie; I must tell you, he had not onely instructions to bring in the *Inquisition*, as hath been formerly manifested; but, as if that had not bin sufficient to vexe and exasperate the people, by violating their priuiledges or principles of State, he creates a *bloudy Councell*, or *Councell of troubles*, whereof hee made some *Netherlandish* Lords, (*who had giuen ayme* whilst their Country was brought into bondage, or were *used as instruments* to captiuate it the sooner and safer by their ayde) the shadow of this *Tyranny*, whilst *Spaniards* onely (vvhio vvere ioyned in the same Commission) swayed the whole businessse; and all other Councells, whether Prouinciall, or that of the Councell of Estate it selfe, were subiected to this; and by this means all things reduced to the sole arbitrement and absolute will of the Duke himselfe, vvho had full and soueraigne authoritie from the King; * *not tyed nor limited* to any instructions, but was *inuested with libertie, freely to giue sentence in any thing at pleasure*.

* The King gaue the duke more authoritie then he himselfe had, because by that means he hoped to haue it the better himself afterward. So he gaue what he sought, to receiue backe with aduan-

And vvhereas concerning the originall of the *Inquisition*, you say (like a learned Antiquary) it vvvas begotten by *Charlemain* the Emperor, vvho liued 800. yeres since, and brought vp in *Germany* not in *Spaine*, but thither carried onely for the vse of *Moore*s and *Iewes*, and might be profitably (as you say) returned into the *Netherlands* againe,

again, to keepe them from turning *Turkes* and *Iewes*, to
 vvhich you finde them very prone: I answer in a vvord,
 that the tyrannies of the *Spaniard*, and their impure and
 beastly conuersation, with their abominable Idolatries,
 doth more scandalize the *Moores* and *Iewes*, and keepe
 backe, and driue more of them from the Faith, then can
 be reuoked by the *Inquisition*, or any other such bloody
 course. And me thinkes, it is better, amongst euils, to
 bee a profest *Turke* or *Iew*, then a counterfeit, cruell,
 proud, couetous, bloody and barbarous Christian; *though*
 (as one saith) *it were better to be no man, then either of both.*
 Wherefore I would haue a generall *Inquisition* in all coun-
 tries of Christendome, onely to finde out such as vvere
hispaniolized in the Dominions of other Princes; and
 such would I haue worthily put to the same torments
 vvhich they inflict vpon others for their consciences.
 Those *Turks* and *Iewes* you speake of, vvould I haue con-
 uerted by prayers, disputations, and good examples of
 vertue and iustice: for no man hath sure hold vpon
 that conscience, which is retained by force from its own
 choyce and liberty; and therefore you finde fault very
 wisely, for that euery man may beleue what hee list in
 the *Netherlands*, as if your holy *Inquisition* had power to
 make a man beleue what it list in *Spaine*; you may force
 men to confesse, perhaps, but you cannot force them to
 beleue; which is an action of the will subiect to no vio-
 lence, but the force of perswasion, or the holy Spirits
 motion. And therefore considering what a heauy iudg-
 ment lyes vpon them, and how their eyes, eares, and
 hearts are feeded and sealed vp, that *they cannot see, heare,*
and vnderstand, Rom. 11. 9, 10, 11, 12. it were rather fit for
 Christians to pitie them, and pray for their conuersion,

rage. An old
 point of Law.
 cunning, to
 gaine a title
 by forged
 presidents.
 Euery wran-
 gling Attur-
 ney knowes
 this trickes.

then by cruelties to persecute them, and so to cause them to hate and abhorre the Name of Christ, and the profession of Christianity yet more then they do. *David* in the 59. Psalme, vers. 11. doth learne vs to make better vse of their neighbourhood, then to become their butchers.

Col. 2. 15.

As for that which you charge diuers of the *Geuses* withall, that they marched vnder an Ensigne whereupon was depicted the *deuils clawes*, which you oppose against that banner vvith the signe of the Crosse vpon it, borne by *Constantinus Magnus*; I answer, they rather thus correspond; Christs crosse is caried in token that he hath triumphed vpon the Crosse, ouer the Crosse it selfe, the Law, Death, and Hell; and now as an Ensigne of our spirituall liberty, that signe is spread and displaid abroad; so those perhaps caried the *deuils clawes* as it were in triumph, to shew how they were escaped from the *deuils clawes*; (your deuillish *Inquisition* and bloody seruitude) and might now serue God vvith the liberty of conscience, according to that song of *Zacharias*, *Luk. 1. 7. That being deliuered from the hands of their enemies, they might serue him without feare.*

Red-scarfe.

Where free liberty of Conscience is allowed, why may not euery one beleene as him list? vvhat shall restraine him? if you doubt of the *Hollanders* making difficulty of turning *Turkes*, doe but enquire what they haue done at *Tunis*, where they haue falne to *Mahometisme* by vvhole shipfuls at once; and afterward to mend the matter, haue taught the *Mahometans* of those parts the laudable science of Piracie, for the more affliction of Christians; and

and as for *Judaisme*, such as like thereof, and like no swines flesh, or can be content to forbear the eating thereof, may be circumcised when they will, and then speake as much blasphemy against Christ, as the Deuill will direct them to doe.

Thus haue I here shewed you what great wrong the King of *Spaine* hath done this people, and what great cause they haue to complaine of his breach of their Priuiledges, vvhich is alwayes in their mouthes, albeit they would neuer vouchsafe to produce any old Priuiledge for the robbing of Churches. I haue also shewed you where the *Inquisition* began, and the cause vvhy it vvas first put in practise in *Saxony*, and afterwards in *Spaine*; the name whereof is now as much put in practise in *Holland* in continuall Pamphlets and Preachings, as is the name of a *Bulbegger* to make little children afraid.

Tawny-scarfe.

Still you harpe vpon beleeuing, till you make me beleue, and all this good company vvho heare vs this day, that you know not what it is to beleue. All the Lawes of the Land against *Romish Recusants*, though they were as ducly executed as they haue beene, could hardly perswade you to beleue aright as you should doe. And all the euidence vvvhich your eares haue heard before the Iudges on the Bench, and eyes haue scene vpon the Bridge, and top of the Parliament-house, can hardly perswade you to beleue, that those *Romane-catholike* crownes vvvhich now pearch aboue, did once plot and practise below, to blow vp the State. An *Inquisition* were fit for you therefore, lest you proue worse to vs through
your

your vnbeleefe, then the *Turkes of Tunis*, or the *Mahometists of Amsterdam* that you mention, can doe.

You need not in the sterne of your Discourse recapitulate the notable pieces which you haue proued: for all that you say, doth but prooue how little you are able to say for your selfe and how you are led rather by your affection then reason. You haue had euidence enough, that the King of *Spaine* sought to plant a tyranny in the *Netherlands*; and yet lest these should seeme in your eyes, or the like, not to be sufficient, I produce an honorable Ambassage sent from the Archduke *Mathias* and the *Generall Estates*, to a solempne Assembly of the Princes of the Empire, holden at *Wormes* in *Germany*, anno 1578. vvhether the Seignior of *S. Aldegond* declared at large, the miserable estate of the *Netherlands*, the designs and intent of *Spaine*, the tyranny of the Duke of *Alua*, *Dom Iohn* and others; and vvithall, what danger the Empire vvas to expect thereby, whilst those Countries should be made the seate of the vvarre, a place of retreit and garrison, and a ready and able Magazine, by reason of their trading by Sea and the nauigable Riuers, to reduce all *Germany*, and so consequently all Christendome, vnder their obedience; if yet their ambitious aymes looked no farther.

This then vvas thought sufficient to put all Christendome vpon their guard; and yet all this is not sufficient to make you beleue any thing, but the golden Legend of *Spaine*.

Then haue you the resolution of the Queene of *England* to helpe them, after mature deliberation and consideration of this their cause, and the question betwixt them and the King; and after she had long and in vaine inter-

interceded for them to the King, and presented both the iustice of their cause, and the danger of his iniustice by diuers demonstrations of loue to him. Now this her resolution must needs bee grounded vpon the manifest and apparent iustice of the cause, otherwise Monarches, and a rimerous woman especially, vvould haue beene wary, euen for consequence sake, if not for conscience, how they fauoured or supported the subiects of another Prince, at least if they iudged them *Rebels*. But it is cleere both by the act it selfe whereby shee vndertooke their protection, as also by the reasons whereupon shee grounded that resolution, that shee tooke them for no *Rebels*, but for distressed people tyrannized ouer by a cruell, mercilesse, and bloudy enemy, who by strange dealing, had made himselfe a stranger to his owne.

This Iustus
Lipius notes
well in his
Letter of ad-
uice, 1595.

This also might appeare by the Duke of *Anjous* acceptance of the title of the Duke of *Brabant* and *Flanders*; and by the King of *France* his declaration made for approbation of the cause, and conditioning for the title after the death of his brother the Duke of *Anjou*; vvhich he would not haue done, being of the *Romish Religion* also, if hee and his wise Councell had not by pregnant proofes scene, that the King of *Spaine* by his tyranny and intrusion, was false from his Right, and had manumifed them from all necessary obedience.

This lastly is confirmed beyond question, by the last accord made betwixt the King of *Spaine* and these *States*, vvherein the title he had is wholly relinquished; and he treates and concludes peace with them, as with free *States*, to whom he pretends no title; and so entertained their Ambassadors, as the Ambassadors of a Confederacie. Besides, the King of great *Brittaine*, *France*, *Den-*

H

marke,

marke, Sweden, the State of Venice, the Germane Princes, with other Nations in Christendom & without, haue treated vvith them vpon the same termes, and haue concluded peace, and made leagues and alliances vvith them as vvith free *States*, acknowledging them to bee inuested with soueraigne power in the *vnited Body*. Now therefore it is iniustice for the King of *Spaine* to fall backe from his former conclusion, made so aduisedly, and to reuiue his title, as an *immortall cause* of vvarre and bloudshed, yea it is iniustice in you, or any other person; to defend that title by tongue, pen, or hand. For it cals both the vvisedome and honour of our owne King, and of all other Kings, Princes, and States, vvho haue made peace vvith that *State*, into question; yea it censures and condemnes them all; it dissolues all those Leagues and Confederacies of trade and commerce, of warres offensive and defensive, concluded with them for the generall good; and sets all Christendome in combustion, with a *Romish squib* of *reseruation*, and *Catholike equiuocation*. And surely, howsoeuer you, and such as you, may inconsiderately thinke meanely, and speake basely of the wisest and worthiest persons employed in that *State*, because you finde them without traine, or pompe, or titular vanities; and many of them raised for their experience, fidelity and vvisedome, from meane stations, to treade in those high steps of authority and superioritie, (as the *Romane* Consuls had vvont, of whom one sayd, *they were all Kings*) yet whatsoeuer is vnfit to bee spoken of other Princes, is vnfit to bee spoken of them in their places; and the iust attributes you giue other high Commanders, ought to be giuen them in their *vnited Body*: And that they exact it not, proceedes from their lenity and

and humility; that you giue it not, proceeds from your ignorance, arrogance, malice, and pride. Therefore to conclude this poynt, the scrupulous souldier, vvho before either vvould not see the truth, or could not iudge it, may now be resolved of the iustice of the warres, euen from the King of *Spaines* owne confession and concession, and from the publike acts of his owne Prince and State vvhere he liues. Besides, the miraculous blessing and prosperity which God hath giuen to their warres, shewes *it is of him*; and the policie and power of Princes doth enuie it, and oppose it in vaine. God blesteth them with peace, and plenty, and riches in the midst of warre, and impouerisheth and embroyleth their opposers, in the midst of peace: as *Tantalus* is thirstie with water at the lip, so these beggar and breake at the fountaine head of Gold and Siluer: God by all these meanes confirming their cause, and shewing himselfe to be their God, if they will be his people. And this (I thinke) shall serue to satisfie you, at least to silence your further clamour; shewing, that the *Queene of England* was moued to take the *Netherlands* parts out of meere commiseration of their iust cause, and the detestation of those *Spanish* cruelties and tyrannies vnder which they groined.

Now if you be not weary of your taske, let vs come to speake of the second reason, inducing that good *Queene* to succour them; which was, partly domesticke respects, mixed with other important reasons of State; namely, Because of our auncient leagues with that people, our daily commerce and intercouise, the dependancie of one State vpon another, the assurance of their good and approoued neighbourhood, the feare of *Spanish* propinquitie, especially as the case stood with the

Queene, being sole, of a contrary Religion, and obnoxious to the pretences and claimes of the next Successor, vvho might be colourably assisted by the inuincible Arme of *Spayne*, to dismount the true Owner; and then the pretender by the same Arme hoysted ouer the saddle, and so himselfe easily settled in the seate of Soueraignty, by the *Popes* donation, as hath beene accustomed in other places.

Red scarfe.

Before I come to discourse about *Queene Elizabeths* reasons for taking the *Hollanders* parts, giue mee leaue, I pray you, to speake a little of the vulgar multitude here in *England*, to the end you may consider of the reasons, why they hate the *Spaniard*, and loue the *Hollander*, to see how vvell and vvisely this loue and hatred is founded.

That *England* and *Spaine* haue anciently remained in great amity together, Histories and Chronicles wil witness, and the diuers alliances and marriages often made betweene these two Countries, can also giue testimony thereof.

True then it is, that the great breach and hostility betweene *England* and *Spaine* began but in these our dayes: let vs now see and consider, vvhy and how it began; to wit, whether by *Spaine* or by *England*.

King *Philip* the second of *Spaine*, as all the vvorld knoweth, did vpon the death of *Queene Mary* his wife, giue place and quiet entrance vnto *Queene Elizabeth*; and for further prooffe of his desire of continuance of peace and amitie with her, hee freely gaue vnto her all *Queene Marias* lewels, they iustly belonging vnto himselfe: he also kept his Ambassadour Lidger in *England*, as the said *Queene* kept hers also in *Spaine*, professing
out-

outwardly vnto him all loue and amitie; and yet this notwithstanding shee permitted secretly and vnderhand, the transport of Artillery and Munition of warre to the *Moores* of *Granado*, to enable them to rebell, iust about the very same time, that the *Netherland*-rebellion was determined to be begun, that thereby the King of *Spaine* might haue his hands full, by beeing thrust into two vvarres at once; both which shee vnderhand furnished, but more the warre of the *Netherlands*, then that of *Granado*, because of the readier commoditie. Soone vpon the contrining of this plot, when the King of *Spaine*, to appease the *Netherland* broyles in the beginning, had sent the Duke of *Alua* with Forces into those parts; and after his arriual there, sent him a supply of 600000. crownes; some affirme it to haue beene 800000, Shee ceized vpon his money in the vvest part of *England*; and hauing gotten it vnder her hands, did therewith assist his *Netherland Rebels*, vvhereby this money ordained to haue serued himselfe against his Rebels, came to serue his Rebels against him, and bred besides this a farre greater inconuenience: for it was the cause why the Duke of *Alua* demaunded the tenth penie of the country peoples goods, whereby they became the more alienated and apt to Rebellion.

Some yeeres after this, Captaine *Drake* was employed from *England* to the vvest-*Indies*, vvhere hee robbed the King of *Spaine* of about a million and an halfe of his treasure. These and sundry other wrongs and detriments were done by the said Queene vnto the King of *Spaine*, at such time as either had their Ambassadours, the ministers of peace, in each others countrey, they professing to each other loue and amitie: the King of

Spaine doing against the Queene of *England* no act whatsoeuer to the contrarie, whereas shee contrariwise continued to doe against him vnderhand as many wrongs as shee could, besides those great notorious wrongs here mentioned. But when these grew so frequent, that the smart vnto the King of *Spayne* became intolerable; and so manifested vnto the world, that all other Princes and people tooke notice thereof, how was it possible that it could stand with the honor of a King, and of such a potent King as is a King of *Spayne*, still to continue to put vp wrongs, as fast as shee continued to doe them? hee was therefore at the last mooued with the preparation of his great *Armada nauall* of the yeere of our Lord 1588. the memory whereof, by the incessant clamors of *puritanicall enemies of peace*, hath possessed more place in the heades of the inconsiderate vulgar multitude, then the many great wrongs that inforced it.

But thanks bee to God, our peacefull King *Iames* comming to the Crowne, and well knowing how matters had passed, did (to the great happines of the Realm) salue vp this sore from further festring, vwhereunto hee found *Spaine* most ready and willing, and well content to let passe and forget all English iniuries. For to giue the *Spaniards* their due, certaine it is, they are men that are not of vntreconciliable and reuengefull natures, nor such long entertainers of desire of reuenge, as some other Nations are said to be: And this appeareth manifestly in this Nation more then in others; for notwithstanding all fore-going hostilitie betweene *Englishmen* and *Spaniards* both by sea and land, and inuasions euen in *Portugal* and *Spaine* it selfe, vwhereof people may remaine more sensible, then of an vneffectuall *Armada*; yet

yet hath not any *English* Ambassadour, nor any other of the *English* Nation bene by *Spaniards* in *Spaine* barbarously abused; but I am ashamed (euen for the honor of our Nation) to repeate, how *Spanish* Ambassadors and other *Spaniards* haue bene vsed in *England*.

As for the sundry benefits which the commerce and traffique betweene *England* and *Spaine* hath brought vnto our Nation, I doubt not but many of our Merchants, sea-faring men and others will confesse, and farre more profit and benefite will no doubt ensue the most honorable and great alliance now expected.

But let vs come to our good neighbours and friends the *Hollanders*, and consider of the gratefull goodnesse and benefits which we reape by them, that thereby wee may know how well and wisely wee are aduised to esteeme them for our good neighbours and friends, and so friendly sticking vnto them.

That we haue for aboue these fifty yeeres taken their parts is sufficiently knowne; that the people of *England* haue oftentimes generally smarted by the great pressures and parliamentall payments imposed vpon them by *Queene Elizabeth*, to vphold these friends and neighbours withall, is likewise well enough knowne; as also that great aboundance of *English* bloud hath bene shed in their quarrell, and an infinit number of Englishmens liues lost, vvhose courage and valour was worthy of more honour, then in their base and dishonourable service could be deserued; and now when all comes to all, they are so farre from honest ciuilitie, that they will not acknowledge any friendship done them, and therefore can they not entertaine any thoughts of obligation or gratitude; nay, they dare plainly tell vs, that wee are behol-

beholding vnto them, vvhich is as much to say, that they expect gratitude at our hands.

Tawny-scarfe.

You long to breake your malice vpon *Queene Elizabeth*, and will goe farre about, and much out of the way to doe it, you should not otherwise shew your selfe a right *Romane Catholike*, or a right *Spanish Papiſt*.

For our ancient Leagues with the *Spaniard* which you mention, we confesse it; but you must consider, then both States were vassals to the *Pope*, and *England* was then accounted by that *Strumpet* the elder brother. Now *Spaine* hath got priority, and vve haue so much vvit as to know the iniury offered vs, and to acknowledge our heavenly progeny, renouncing that earthly bastardie; and therefore must looke for opposition from the Prince of this world, and all that take part with him. Besides, then *Spaine* was not so potent, and so not so formidable; the accesſe of so many Kingdomes hath since posselt him with a more imperious spirit, and made him terrible to his neighbours and confederates, rather then (as he had vvont to be) helpfull vnto them.

The quarrell betwixt *England* and *Spaine* you cast wholly vpon *Queene Elizabeth*; and by the vvay, blame her for suffering Artillerie and Munition to bee caried out of her Land to the *Moores of Granado*, and for ceizing vpon a great summe of money belonging to the King of *Spayne*, vvhich fell vpon her coast. Then you huddle vp that vvhich *Sir Francis Drake* did against the King of *Spaine* in the *Indies*, making the King of *Spaine* like another *Melchisedec*, or king of *peace and iustice*, to stand still all the vvile in a maiden-like posture, and neuer lift vp his hand to defend himselfe and annoy her, till in 88. he
vvvas

A Tongue-combate.

57

was constrained to send that invincible *Armado*, with a hope and full purpose wholly to subvert the State of the Kingdome, and possesse himselfe of all.

Now because you finde a sort of people; vvhio thankfully and religiously keepe this deliuerance in memorie, and praise God for it, those you brand with the name of *Puritans*, and are wonderfully angry, that they will not giue the Catholike King and the *Romane* Catholikes his assistants, thanks for his courteous inuasion, and his royall, religious, and gracious purpose to rule ouer them as mildly, as ouer the *Netherlands*. For answer to all this, take a view of vvhath the Councell of *England* presented to her Maiestie, vvhilst shee stood in doubt whether or no shee should ayde the *vnited Prouinces* against the King of *Spaine*, where they alledge:

The great (a) hatred conceined against her by the King of *Spaine*, for the altering of his Religion in *England*, which he not long before had planted therein: which appeared by the treatie of peace made at *Chasteau in Cambresis*, holden in anno 1559. Wkerein hee was very slacke and carelesse for procuring the deliuerie of the towne of (b) *Calis* vnto the *English* againe, the which was lost by meanes of his warres; and on the other side, he caused the *French* to deliuer many townes ouer vnto the *Duke of Sauoy*, and left her in warre both against *France* and *Scotland* without any resistance.

match: this killed *Queene Marie* to behold, when she considered how contrary to the aduice of her best Councelors, shee would proceede with this marriage, though they had warned her of these euils aforehand, and told her that the *Spaniards* had no respect but to themselves, which shee would not beleene, till it was too late to remedie.

(c) They shewed likewise the unkinde refusall by him made, of passage thorow the *Netherland Countries* with Munition,

(a) The Councel of *England* say, the King of *Spaine* hated the *Queen* & shew their reasons for it: you say vpon your bare word, the *Queene* hated the King of *Spaine*, but you shew no reason for it.
(b) The losse of *Calis*, was a fruite of the *Spanish*

(c) You charge her for furnishing

the Moores
of Granado
vnderhand
with muniti-
on, which
she is forced
to buy (as we see) in Germany, for her owne vse.

munition, Armes, and Powder, which shee as then had caused to be prouided and bought by her Factor Sir Thomas Gres-
ham, vnto whom it was denied.

She seekes to
make leagues,
and you say
shee desires
to breake
them.

Further, that when her Maiestie by her Ambassadour, the
Lord Viscount Montague, desired the King of Spaine to re-
uiue and confirme the ancient contracts made betweene his
father the Emperor Charles the first, and her Predecessors, hee
would by no meanes be drawne to yeeld thereunto.

You complain
of vs for the
Spaniards and
Spanish Am-
bassadors, but
will not heare
nor see this
iniurie offered
by them to vs and ours.

That he had suffered the Inquisitors in Spaine, to prosecute
her poore subiects with all cruelty and extremitie, and com-
manded her Ambassador out of Spaine, because of his Reli-
gion.

You say, the
detaining of
the Kings mo-
ney was the
cause of this:
but could he
haue proued
it his, it had
not bene detained.

That his Gouvernour, the Duke of Alua, in the Netherlands
had vsed all manner of hostilitie and violence against her
subiects, arresting both their bodies and goods, contrary to the
ancient contracts betweene England and the Netherlands.
Certaine Merchants of Genoa layed claime to the money.

All this is no-
thing in the
eyes of the
Romane Ca-
tholikes, who
were them-
selues parties
in the busines,
and therefore
we will beare
with your
wilfull blind-
nesse: it con-
cernes your
credits to
seeke and de-
ny all this,

That he had sent an Army into her Maiesties Kingdom
of Ireland, and with colours flying inuaded the sayd Kingdome,
vpon a supposed gift thereof, made vnto him by the
Pope of Rome, which he thereby excused, intending also to
enterprise the like against the Realme of England, as it
manifestly appeared by the Iesuit Sanders letters to that end
dispersed abroad, and by the Iesuit Chreyghton, who was then
a prisoner: and many other such like practises also were discou-
ered by the dealings of his Ambassador Dom Bernardino de
Mendoza in England.

Besides

Besides these many forepassed iniuries, the Councell laid before her Maiestie the danger that shee was to expect, if the *Spaniard* once obtained *merum imperium*, that is, full and absolute authoritie in the Prouinces of the *Netherlands*; how hee would alter their Religion, breake their auncient Priuiledges, and subiect them wholly to his will and pleasure: vvhich done, out of his malicious heart and intent, hee would easily inuade *England*, vvith the ayde of the multitude of shipping and Saylers of those Countries, together vvith his *Indian* treasure: First, * *deprining England of all trade of merchandize vvith the Netherlands, and vvithin the Land procuring domesticall dissention*: and that therefore shee was not then to let slip the present occasion, nor yet to attend untill the *Netherlands* were fully planted vvith *Spaniards* and *Italians*; for that the vvarre was not vnderaken against the *Netherlands*, but vvith a further intent and meaning to make a greater conquest.

* Beware and looke about you, all true-hearted Englishmen, when you see these practises reuiued: for they are to the whole Kingdome as Beacons fired, to rouse you vp to watching and prayer, and all other meanes to prevent these mischiefs.

Concerning that vvich you say of the good vse our Ambassadors haue receiued in *Spaine*, and the iniuries the *Spanish* Ambassadors haue receiued in *England*: I answer, first you see the *English* Ambassadour was commanded out of *Spayne* for his Religion sake; vvhillst all the *Spanish* Ambassadors haue had free exercise of their superstitions in *England*, and liberty to corrupt others; so as none are barred from hearing of their Masses, but all things done as publikely as in *Spaine*. Besides, we neuer had an Ambassadour that plotted treason in *Spaine*, but the King of *Spayne* hath had such in *England*; as namely, *Dom Bernardin of Mendoza*, vvho thereupon was chased out of the Land like a spie, and tooke not leaue like an Ambassador. The Chronicles of *Spaine* cannot

accuse any of our Ambassadors to haue medled farther, then in the protection of Merchants, or discharge of duties and commands proper to their places : but how farre the Ambassadors of *Spaine* haue intruded themselves in the affaires of *England*, for the aduancement of the *Romish Religion*, and disposing Offices for that purpose, is so notorious to the people, as it is no maruell, if they haue suffered some indignities ; nay, it is a wonder they haue runne no farther hazard. I make no question had the like actions beene vndertaken in *Spaine* against the *Romish Religion*, by an English Ambassadour, the very Clergie of *Spaine* would haue stoned him out, and the people would scarce haue suffered him to passe unpunished, perhaps though the King himselfe would haue beene his protector.

The benefits of our commerce, especially by this expected *alliance* you speake of, the successe will manifest ; and we haue great cause to hope it may be good, at least better then it is, in regard wiser heads haue the handling of it, then either yours or mine : and yet I must tell you, we begin with no good *omen* hitherto, since by way of preuention, our Clothes, Stuffles, and English commodities of Wooll are excluded, vvhereby the gaines wee get by the *alliance*, vwill soone be drawne home againe ; Princes delighting to out-reach one another in these respects of State. Had wee once beene as wise to keepe our *sheepe* from thence ; or were we now as warie to banish their *Sikes, Veluets, Tobacco*, and other needlesse commodities from hence, then wee might hap indeed to gaine by the Trading, otherwise we may put the gaine in our eyes. But the Customes would so bee lessened ; nay rather let the *Commonwealth* sinke,

For the *Netherlands* ingratitude, I cannot accuse them, neither will I excuse them: I know many old and worthy Commanders, who haue lost their blond and bones in their quarrell, complaine of neglect, contempt, and forgetfulnesse of former good turnes; and perhaps there is too much cause of their complaint: but for my particular, as I fight for them, so I haue my meanes from them, and should be taxed of ingratitude my selfe, if I should taxe them of vvhhat I know not, or feele not. Souldiers haue neuer the happinesse to bee well rewarded, or vvorthily regarded as they ought in any place; the reason perhaps is, because their employment is burthensome euen to those that employ them: and therefore though necessitie procure their entertainment, yet that compulsion, together with the person, is alike vngatefull. Looke into *Greece* and *Rome*, and all great States, how they haue vsed their owne, and then you vvill not so much vvonder, that the idle, vnexperienced, and most inconsiderate sort of people in these Countries, vse strangers no better. Men are apt to bury many benefits vnder the ruines of one iniurie: and the West-winde from our Coast, blowes not so fauourable a gale vpon this as it had wont; neither doe the Starres from our Firmament, cast vpon them so happy an aspect and fruitfull influence, as heretofore: they therefore cannot dissemble the alteration, but shew it also in the alteration of their lookes towards vs.

Another reason vvhy we receiue no better vse, may be the buying and selling of *Places*; of which, vvhen the *States* haue taken notice, as of Offices valuable at high rates, they haue inquired into the secret vvayes of that gaine, and haue abridged it vvhat they could. Whereas,

if preferment might haue proceeded the right way in any reasonable manner, according to the law of Armes and Armies, that is, *freely* to the next successor as *heire* to his predecessor, or to the *best deseruer*, as purchaser by personall *woorth* and *valour*, then neither should the Souldier complaine of his Officer, or the Officer of the *State*: whereas now the price is euer in the eye of the Commander, that he may gather vp his money speedily by exaction, vvhich he hath disbursed, lest it proue too deare a bargain; and it is also in the eye of the *State*, causing them to imagine the Commanders profit to be farre more then it is, for vvhich he ventures so much money, and his life to boot, as if hee intended to buy danger.

Another reason may be, that the *State* takes the Officer and the Souldier to be incorporated into their Body; now vvhhen naturally (of all people in the world) they loue frugalitie, (euen so farre, as often it turnes into a vice in many) they beholding the contrarie prodigalitie of our people, especially in apparel and diet, aboue their rankes and abilities, doe dis-affect them as vnnaturall ouergrowne members to that spare Body; not considering, that brauery is tolerable in Souldiers, if it be so in any profession. I doe not meane that courtly and effeminate brauerie of perfuming and powdring; (as they vse to doe, who would keepe corrupt flesh from tainting) a Souldier neuer smells sweeter, and lookes better, no not in the eye of a Lady, then when he is perfumed vvith sweat, and powdred with dust, and painted or be-smeared with bloud: nor yet doe I meane that beastly brauery, wherein the golden-spangled Asse struts, and thinkes himselfe better then the man that rules him and
rides

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* This is recorded for their glory, and others imitation, by the renowned Souldier Sir Roger Williams, who was one of those that brought this kind of brauerie into fashion.

Besides, that brauerie in clothes, as it is euer borrowed of beasts, birds, fishes, and wormes, so it is often borrowed, or taken vp in trust of poore men, and this must needes moue hate and enuie, when the Souldier passeth by with the Merchants wealth on his backe, and he in the meane time, his wife & children must fare hard, goe thrid-bare, and at last breake for lacke of payment, except by complaint he get redresse; which nips the prodigall debtor also, and causeth him to fret, rage, and repine, as if the iniury were done him, because hee is not suffered

suffered to doe what iniurie hee would, and by his idle excesse to vndoe the industrious Merchant and Artizan, of which this Common-wealth principally consisteth. Now this his profuse prodigallitie makes others (though sober) thought the worse of, and so to receiue the harder measure and censure at all hands, as if it were not a personall and speciall fault, but a generall disposition of the Nation, vvvhich is a great mistake in this matter.

Lastly, the censorious *Cato's* of that Commonwealth, seeing not onely themselves by trust, but also their youth spoiled by the example and conuersation of these ouer-reaching Gallants; and that now their sonnes and daughters begin to reuell away their estates; to shackle and manacle, to bridle and saddle themselves in silkes and veluets, in gold and siluer, and to waxe wearie of that ancient and commendable frugality, which maintaines their liberty, must needs hate those that they be- hold to be the cause of this vanitie, vvvhich threatneth and introduceth flauerie: especially when they see it proceedes from the imitation of the *French, English, and Scottish* Nations, who were first called in by their vertue and valour, to be the bulwards and walles of their Commonwealth; but now pull downe with the left hand, what they built with the right, laying open by their Lucifrian pride, a breach wide enough for the wrath of God, and politike power of ambitious man, to enter in front for their destruction,

These or some of these may be the causes, vvhy the modest and better sort (whereof there are many) receiue no better vse, being mixt with bad deseruers; and vvhy (perhaps) they seeme to bee hated, or at least dis- resped, euen of those for whom they fight, and vvho

ought

ought to prosecute them vvith all honorable attributes, reuerent respects, and ample rewards.

But howsoever, if we compare their vse of vs, vvith the vse you haue and doe finde vnder the King of *Spaine*, they will appeare most gratefull and respectfull people. How basely doe all the *English* vvaite vpon the *Spanish* *Dons*, as if all Nations vv ere bound to fight for the *Spaniard* by a duty of nature? You are promised mountaines at the first entertainment, but are payed with a bit and a knocke as Apes deserue. We haue lesse promised, but that is surely payed, though sometime something slowly. When the King of *Spaine* is runne farre in debt to any troupes, the Generals know how (like good husbands for their Masters profit) to put such troupes vpon some desperate seruice, where few may come off: nay, they vse to force them on vpon such vnassailable and impregnable vvorkes, as appeared in the siege of *Bergen*. So the great *Turke* vseth to take townes, by filling vp ditches vvith his owne men. And this is generally obserued as a difference betwixt our Generals and yours; your Generals care not how many men they lose to saue money; our Generall cares not what mony he spends in making vvorkes for the sauing of his souldiers liues vpon approaches. The difference of our accommodation is such, as we neuer vvant victuall, and you almost euer want it: so that euery souldier vvith vs, is, or may be (if his owne idlenes or ryot be not in the fault) better prouided, then the Commanders vvith you. This appeared before *Bergen*, where 1500. of your side came running to vs, driuen by meere necessity, for lacke of meat or pay; of vvich number, though most vv ere *English*, yet there vv ere many of all Nations; as *Walloon*s, *Dutch*, *Italians*, and *Spaniards*.

Yea I my selfe saw at *Rees*, a seruant of the Earle of *Gondomare*, the late *Spanish* Ambassadour, running away in his Liueiie, to the English Beefe and Brewesse: and if such as he, so commended, fared so hardly, vvhat shall vve thinke of other friendlesse people?

And if the *Netherlanders* should say (as you report) that vve tooke their parts partly for our owne sakes, they should say nothing but truth, and it concernes vs so to doe; yet this diminisheth not the cause of their gratitude; for as in tennis the ball must be tost to and fro; so amongst friends, benefits and gratitudes must be interchanged, or else amitie ceaseth, or perhaps dieth or turneth to enmitie. It concernes vs both equally therefore to keepe this ball vp, if we intend to continue gamesters long; for assuredly vvhere these Countries reduced to such termes as the *Spaniard* desires, vve could not be safe, but might certainly expect a present inuasion; and so might they expect suddenly to be swallowed vp, if ours were enemie. This the vvisedome of their *State* sawe, vvhen they sought protection rather from the *Queene of England*, as beeing more *fit*, then from the *King of France*, as being more *potent*. And this the vvisedome of our *State* then confessed also, vvhen they ioyned vvith them for the aptnes and oportunitie, each *State* had to helpe or annoy one the other, aswell in commerce and trade, as also in warres offensive and defensive: and I vvonder thorow vvhat new Spectacles your vvisedome, (the vvisedome of the present times) sees the contrarie to the vvisedome of the auncient, vvhich our experience hath proued & approued prosperous to both *States*.

Red-scarfe.

You say *England* might feare an inuasion from *Spaine*; but

but what reason was there, why wee should haue any feare of such an inuasion, but only for our taking their parts against their true and lawfull Soueraigne the King of *Spaine*?

Tawny-scarfe.

Great reason; for *England* stood onely full in the vway to hinder his imaginary and intended Greatnesse: and this appeares in the Letters of *Don Iohn*, and *Escouedo* his Secretarie, to the King of *Spain*, discoursing of that point; vvhich vvere happily intercepted in their passage thorow *Gascoigney*, to discover that plot and practise, and to warne both the Queene and the *States*, and these times also, if they will bee warned, to beware of that Snap-hance. Whereupon the Queene sent an Ambassadour to the King of *Spaine* to iustifie her proceeding, to accuse *Don Iohn*, to desire his remoouall from that Gouvernement, and withall, shut vp that message with this conclusion, That if the King should not bee induced to like of her proceedings, (wherewith shee plainly made him acquainted) her Majesty should thereby discover, that his intention was, by force of armes to alter and dissolue the ancient forme of Gouvernement in the *Netherlands*, and by taking away their ancient Lawes and Liberties, to make it a Land of Conquest, and to people it vvith Garrisons of men of warre; and that the end and scope of his deseignes should tend to that which was discovered by *Escouedo's* Letter, wherein he writeth, that *the enterprise of England is of more facilitie, then that of the Islands*: whereby her Majestie should finde the disposition of so bad a neighbour to her and her royall estate. And then her Majesties resolution would be, to imploy all the power shee was able to make, for the defence of her

neighbors, and preservation of her owne estate.

Red-scarfe.

But I must tell you further concerning the *Hollanders*, that they doe not only deny all gratitude where it is due, and vniustly claime it vvhether they owe it; but passing further beyond the limits of reason and humanity, they discouer themselves to be such monsters, as to beare a very deuillish hatred both vnto our Nation, and to our most gracious Soueraigne himself: Against our Nation, their actions declare it; against our Soueraigne, their villanous tongues. Of their most vile and contemptible vsage of our Nation in the *East-Indies*, I shall not here need to speake, the Letters written by our Merchants and others from thence, doe declare it; their vsage of vs in *Groonland*, and the vndoing of our long-continued Trade in *Moscouie*, I will also omit; but we find that they are the very caterpillars and destroyers of our Commonwealth, by all the vvayes and meanes they can deuise; for they haue not onely by meanes of their correspondent countrimen, conueyed and drawne by stealth our Gold and Siluer out of the Realme, but they haue brought the whole Realme in a generall decay of trafique, to the impouerishing and vndoing of thousands of the inhabitants, as all that deale in Clothing in all parts of the Realme will confesse.

As for their villanous speeches against our Soueraigne, I could name vnto you that Englishman, vvho passing not long since betweene *Rotterdam* and the *Haghe*, and hearing some of those varlets speake ill of his Maiestie, vvhich he (being an Englishman) could not endure, but as became him, did in good manner reprehend them for it; vvhen straightwayes a couple of them drew their

kniues.

knives vpon him to haue stabbed him ; and so had they done, had they not bin held and kept backe by others there present. We haue a Prouerbe, that *it is better for some to steale a horse, then some to looke on.* What detriments indure vve by *Spaniards* ? vvhether doe they binde vs hand and foot, and cast vs ouer *Indian* rockes like dogs ? where vndo they our Trade ? how impouerish they our Countrie ? vvhether rayle they vpon our Soueraigne ? are wee in our right vvits I wonder ? vvhether vve resolute to goe to shed our bloud for those that sucke our bloud ? when vve fight for those at home, that kill vs abroad ? mee thinkes purging with *Helleborus* vvere fitter nowadayes to be taken in vse of our Countrimen, then the smoake-drinke of driueling *Tobacco*.

Tawny-scarfe.

The iniuries and abuses offered to our Nation in *Moscow*, *Groonland*, and the east-*Indies*, vvere not the acts of the State, but of some wicked persons, who wearie of their owne welfare, would as gladly haue the King of *Spain* their Master againe as you, or any other *Spanish* Pensioner could wish. I know that the baser and ignobler sort of these, being mungrell *Spaniards* in affection, and perhaps in bloud, vvhether they get the vpper hand, are as mercilesse as *Moors* or *Spaniards*, and like them (being overcome) are as humble, seruile, and dejected.

But vvhether meane you to mention this ? vvhether all the iniuries they haue done vs, though they be great, incredible, intolerable, vnworthy that they should inflict them, or vve suffer them, yet they are nothing to that vvhich the Kings children haue suffered by a *Spanish* Armie. Here private Merchants, or a Societie, or Company receiued iniurie by them, There the Kings chil-

dren, Religion, the Reformed Church, suffered shipwrecke, by the insulting, cruell, and bloudy *Spaniard*; and many thousands of Christians were martyred after a barbarous and butcherly manner; yea vpon all aduantages, euen vnder tearmes of Treatie and Peace. And this vvhilst *Spaine* had league vwith our State, yea whilst the Townes were vnder our Kings protection; vvhilst the Army was payed by our King, and the Generals hands bound for attempting against them, yea almost from defending himselfe; and vvhilst an Ambassadour lay vpon purpose to make their entrance more easie, and to grant what their ambitious humours could desire, in hope vwith kinde vsage to glut their vnfillable gorges, and to force them reciprocally to returne some solide and reall (besides complementall and verball) courtesies: yea vvhilst they were kissing the one cheeke of our King, they were smiting the other; kissing the Prince, as if they meant to defie him, and giue him all theirs; smiting his royall, louing, and onely Sister, and by force taking away all that was Hers.

For that vvhich you say concerning the *Netherland* caterpillers drawing away our Gold, and destroying our Trafficke, I acknowledge it to be partly true; yet I doubt the *Romish locusts*, those *Babylonish Merchants* spoken of *Reuel. 9.* and *18.* are more in fault in those respects, then the *Netherlandish* caterpillers. If we consider the pensions, the vnder-hand gatherings, the maintenance giuen towards Schooles and Seminaries in all Popish Countries, euen out of *England*; the building of Nunneries, Monasteries, and other irreligious Houses; the *bee* and *shee* Votaries, that of late dayes (especially since the Proclamation commanded the contrarie) haue carried out

out their plentifull portions thither, you will easily iudge, that the caterpillar hath not cropt our blooming fruit of *Hesperides*, so much as the *locust*; and so by consequence, spirituall merchandizing in Idolatrie, hath more hindred our Trade, then the vnder-hand pettie thefts (in comparison of the other) committed by a few pedling and pilfering Merchants. And all men know, decay of Trade necessarily and naturally followes the decay of Coyne: so the spirituall traffique of *Rome* hath more decayed our Trade in all Countries, then the temporall trading of *Amsterdam*. For I haue credibly heard related from the mouth of a worthy witnesse, that at one time there hath beene payed 200000. pounds in *English* gold into one of those spirituall Bankes, for and toward the building and repairing of certaine Monasteries, and payment of portions, and other allowances for such of the *English*, as haue entred into religious Orders; for they will take none empty-handed; and vwhat they take is with a *mort-main*, whereas the Merchant yet trades, and returnes something againe that hath saueur. I produce this one payment, not as if it were all, but that by this one notable transportation of *English* treasure, we may guesse at many others vnknowne. Besides, with what disaduantage our Merchants trade by reason of *Religion*, and how this also deads their dealings, making them obnoxious to the couetous *Spaniards*, and so a prey to their pleasures, all the world knowes.

I am glad to heare you so angry with those varlets that betwixt *Rotterdam* and the *Haghe* spake ill of his Maiestie: The case is either alterd with you since father *Parsons* died, or else perhaps you thinke it becomes none to rayle but men of your Religion; you forget the
bookes

bookes printed at *Louaine*, and those published in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Spaine*, for repressing of which, Ambassadors haue beene sent from *England*, and pensions giuen to some for bastinadoing the Authors, vwhen no other satisfaction could be gotten of the *State*. You forget also those infinit songs, libels, and obscene discourses made against his Maiestie heretofore; for writing, or venting, and dispersing whereof, such as you haue gotten *Romish* pensions. All these are forgotten, or by you past by, though their sweet remembrance remains still with many, as the snuffe of a candle new put out.

As for the Bores you speake of, they are as wide mouthed as you; their throats open sepulchres, their tongues stretcht out vpon the largest Last, and in the midst of their cups and Tobacco, will forget the honour of God and man, caring no more to raile at a Prince being out of his reach, then you do to blaspheme God himselfe, when a Priest stands at your elbow ready to absolve you; nor to draw their knives vpon you beeing intraged with drinke, then you vpon Kings, made drunke before vvith the cup of the *Whores abomination*. But this must not be made a fault of a whole Nation, no more then your personall follies shall be imputed to all *Romane Catholics*; nor must wee for a drunken Skippers tongue, leaue the protection of our more modest friends and neighbours, vvith whom these are mixed, as base earth amongst gold-Ore; such a resolution were madness, and vvould require a purge of *Hellebore* indeed, as you learnedly aduise; though your aduice, if it were vvise-ly followed, vvould be to the great hinderance of the *Spanish Trade*, that we in *England* should giue ouer Tobacco,

bacco, beeing a principall Commoditie wee fetch from thence, to the vndoing of our selues, and the enriching of him and his State, vvhich I am sure is agreeable to your Catholike wish.

Lastly, where you demand *what detriment we endure by the Spaniard, and where they binde vs hand and foote, and cast vs ouer Indian rockes like dogs &c.* I am forced for answer to touch vpon two or three strange and stupendious stories, amongst infinite others left behinde as ill or worse, thereby to giue your blinde and wilfull partialitie some satisfaction.

I passe by all that incredible crueltie which the Spaniards haue and do exercise towards the Indians; the Lyon, the Wolfe, Dogge, Vulture, Kite, or if there bee any other bird or beast more rauenous and rapacious, are not so cruell to their owne kinde nor to others, (perhappes as not knowing the vvayes to doe it) as these men, (if vve may call them so) who seeme to haue reason to no other end, but to exceed these bruits and beasts, in all sauage, brutish, or (beyond that) deuillish cruelties. Eyes, eares, nose, lippes, hands, feet, body, soule, nothing is spared, but all spoyled for their pleasure: as if it were not this or that man, but mankinde, that they intended to destroy; and vvith cursed Cain, would haue the possession of the whole earth alone; and with Ismael, *hauiug their hands against euery man, would stirre euery mans hand against them* in their owne needfull defences. Neither vvill I once mention vvhat they doe by Sea or Land to the *Netherlandish* people, vvho commonly pay them againe in their owne coyne, hauing learnt of them to deface Gods images, and to stampe the deuils there in

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bloud and reuenge, especially in the *East-Indies*. Neither yet will I mention what the *French* haue felt in *Florida*, vvhether *Pedro de Melendes* hung vp all the *Frenchmen* vnder the command of *Landouice*, with this inscription ouer their heads, *I doe not this as vnto Frenchmen, but to Lutherans and Heretiques*. A vvatch-word and a mirrour to ours abroad in *Virginia* and the *Bermudas*, as also to vs at home, to teach vs to beware, and behold what courtesie we are to expect from them where they are masters; and how they can hang vp some for being *Heretiques*, others for being of *this or that Nation*, and others for being *men*, and so spare none, but in fine hang vp *all for their profit*. But they will not deale thus by the *English*; no doubtlesse, they loue their heart blouds too well; looke vpon these examples that follow for your learning, and then tell me vvhat you thinke: for these are knowne for truths to euery Sayler in *Radcliffe*.

About twelue or fourteene yeeres since, there was a ship sent from *London* called the *Vlysses*, to *Trinidado* to trade for Tobacco; vvhich our Merchants had wont to doe, in the time that *Berea* gouerned there: but at this time the gouernement vvvas changed, *Berea* beeing sent vnto *Mexico*, and those parts gouerned by the King of *Spaines* Officers. The Merchants and Owners of this ship thinking they might trade peaceably as they vvvere wont, shoo off a piece of Ordinance according to the custome, to signifie their arriual, and desire to trade as they vsed to doe; vpon vvhich the *Spaniards* came to the shores side, shewing out their vvwhite Flagges in token of peace: and our Merchants so assured, after the manner of all Nations that belecue a God, or loue men like them-

themselves, came ashore; where presently the *Spaniards* seized vpon all that landed, to the number of 27. persons, and kept them, as they pretended, for hostages, but would neuer deliuer them, till they had for their ransom drawne the ship so dry of Amunition; clothes, victuals, and all other necessities, as shee could spare no more, hauing left her selfe scarce enough to bring her home: vvhich when the *Spaniards* perceiued, and sawe withall, that they could not by falshood possesse the ship, they tooke the 27. prisoners; and in stead of setting them free, and sending them home as they promised and conditioned, bound each of them to a seuerall tree, and in the sight of the Sunne, and in the eye of their lamenting friends on shipboord, vvho could not helpe them, cut their throates, and left them there and went their vvayes: so that when their companions came on shore, they beheld the vvofull spectacle, but could doe no farther courtesie to them, then couer their bodies vvith earth, burying them with a peale of cryes and imprecations sent to heauen, for iust vengeance to bee powred vpon that perfidious place and people.

About two yeeres after, a ship of *South hampton* came thither, the Merchant of which named *Chamberlaine*, had beene there the yere before, and there was owing to him an hundred pounds of Tobacco: hee, making no question but all had beene well, leaped ashore to trade with the *Spaniards*, and was presently taken, and his throat cut in the sight of them that were in the Boate, vvho hardly scaped.

In that Apologie written by Sir *Walter Raleigh* a little before his death, he shewed, how the *Spaniards* in Ame-

rica did tye the *English* (out of a ship wherein M. Hall of London and himselfe were partners) backe to backe, and cut their throats after they had traded with them a whole moneth, and trayned them ashore in trust of their fidelities, vvithout so much as a sword or any other weapon amongst them all to defend themselues. And if (saith he) the *Spaniards* to our complaint made answer, that there was nothing in the Treatie against our Trading in the *Indies*, but that we might trade at our perills, I trust to God (saith he) the word *perill* shall euer be construed indifferently to both Nations, otherwise wee must for euer abandon the *Indies*, and close all our knowledge and pilotage in that part of the world. Thus hee: And how vnreasonable this is, euen such as looke into the Map of *America*, may judge at first sight. *America* is more then the fourth part of the knowne world, the hundreth part whereof is neither possesse nor knowne by the *Spaniard*, who wants men to people what hee hath gasped already. Why then should not our King employ his numerous Nations that way, for the strengthening and enriching of his owne State; enlarging the bounds of Christendome, and spreading of the Gospel with freedome? especially considering, as the *Spaniard* lackes men for his land, so the King lackes land for his men, vvho therfore are forced to people *Poland*, *Sweden*, *Denmarke*, *Germanie*, *France*, and to range in those and other parts, as if they had no native habitation: for in all these places there are swarmes of our people, vvho are meerely lost and scattered out of his Majesties Dominions, to the strengthening of other parts, and weakning our owne State. Surely God intended not the *Indies* to be ingroft by the

Spanish

Spanish Nation alone, vvhich cannot people the least part of it; but rather for all Nations that can plant it, and vvithall plant and spread the *Gospel of saluation through Iesus Christ our Lord*, vvvhich belongs to all Nations as well as to the *Spanish*; though they, to blinde the eyes of ignorant and superstitious Christians, haue styled themselves the onely *Catholike Christians*. Thus much by the vvay, though I hope I be not out of the vvay in saying so much: for this engrossing of the earth is a note of their cruelty. I now with your patience, will returne to the matter in hand more directly. *I hope* (saith the same Sir *Walter Raleigh* a little after) *the Ambassadour doth not esteeme vs for so wretched and miserable a people, as to offer our throats to their swords without any manner of resistance*. The law of the Land, nor any powerfull Proclamation, did euer intend to binde our hands and feete, and deliuer vs like calues to *spanish* butcheries, & neuer before heard-of cruelties; amongst which, take this one for conclusion, because it is a prettie one taken out of the Schoole where all kinde of extracted tyrannie is taught, and performed in imitation of the *spanish Inquisition*, which you and so many *Romish Catholiques* so much like and allow of, and desire to haue transported into these parts, for the profit of the *Netherlands*, and perhaps of *England* also. The storie is this; a short one, and a sweet one, if honie could make it so: One *M. Burch* a Factor, beeing in the west *Indies* to trade peaceably, vvvas taken by the *Spaniards*, stript starke naked, bound to a tree, anoynted all ouer vvith wilde honie, in a fennie place subiect to *Musketoos*, and so suffered either to perish by famine, or stung to death by that new-inuented torture of Flies. Was not

this a most exact peece of cruelie, vvhich none but the great-witted *Spaniards*, who daily trade in bloud vp to the eares, could possible haue found out? These were their crafts-masters in the art of Murther; *Phalaris* himselfe might here haue beene bound prentise. To conclude this poynt, it is present death for any Nation but the *Spanish*, to bee found vpon that Westerne Continent, though they commit no other fault; nay, though they bee driuen by stormes vpon that Coast; but they leaue the manner of the death to the arbitrarie sentence of that person, vvho gouernes the place vvhere such are taken; because they know them to bee very mercifull men, and such as studie the easiest vvay of vndoing that great Worke of humanitie vvvhich God hath made, and of breaking that knot of ciuill Commerce and Societie, vvvhich man vvith man hath found out by Gods direction to *Noah*.

And now I hope you will take heede how you aske any more such childish Questions as this, lest you giue mee occasion to lay more of your *Spanish* courtesies open to the eare and eye of euery hearer and beholder, much against your gorge. Howsoeuer, all that you can say is not auaileable to draw vs from this people to a vvoorise, as you vvould; or to mooue vs to leaue that seruice vvherein vvee haue beene trayned vp in all militarie perfection. This change might shew our leuitie, vvhen Souldiers should doe actions that onely fauour of settled soliditie, a vertue proper for the best men.

Red scarfe.

Red-scarfe.

Nay Sir, you should by leauing the seruice of that vngratefull Nation, giue a good example to the rest of the *English* to follow.

Tawny-scarfe.

I haue serued some yeeres alreadie in *Holland*, and intend to returne thither againe vvith more heart then euer before; in regard I haue heard the vvorst you can say, and that vvorst is little or nothing to the purpose, to alter any mans resolution, that is not before a Tray-tour or Turne coate, but rather may serue to confirme them in the iustice of those Warres.

Red-scarfe.

I could then wish, if you bee obstinately bent, to returne and serue them, that both you and the rest of your *English* friends vvould resolve to serue them as they ought to bee serued; such trickes I meane, as might reuenge some of the villanies and vvongs they haue offered vs.

Tawny scarfe.

I guesse at your meaning; for now you discouer your selfe, and appeare in your right colours: but such courses become not the Religion of Christians, but Anti-christians,

christians; such as were *Stakenbroek*, *Berwoets*, *Merchant*, *Stanly*, *Yorke*, *Patron*, and *Symple*, vvith many others, vvho may haue Dispensations for their Oathes, and *Vmbrelloes* for their humours, as *Philip* the second had for his Oath taken to maintaine the *Netherland* Liberties; vvee that know there is a *God* who will not bee mockt, know, that Honour cannot bee vvithout Honesty. Therefore in answer to this poynt, I may vse the vvordes of the olde Prince of *Orange* in his Apologie, vvhere hee sayth:

If the Spaniards esteeme such traytours for Gentlemen, and that men by such meanes bee aduanced to honour in Castile, it is no maruell if all the vvorld belueued, that the most parts of the Spaniards (especially those that held themselves Nobles and Gentlemen) descended from the Moores and Iewes, and obserue that good qualitie, as ingrafted in them from their Fore-fathers, that betrayed our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, and gaue Iudas money to deliuer him vnto them, that they might crucifie him.

The

The true honorable bloud of the *English* know better, except it be tainted by *Romish* corruptions, then to dishonour themselves, Countrie, and Nation, by such perfidious and treasonable Actes: yea if the *States* should deserue as ill (as *Standly*, *Torke*, and the rest pretended for their owne excuses) yet wee know, that there is a precept that willeth vs, *to doe good for euill.*

Red-scarfe.

That is well done where euill is thereby amended, but your doing good where you doe, makes euill become worse. But let me now returne to speake somewhat of Queene *Elizabeths* reasons to take the *Hollanders* partes. And first I must tell you, that Queene *Elizabeth* did neuer take their partes vpon compassion of their cause, in regard of any wrong which she knew the King of *Spaine* did them; for she could not but know them to be as very notorious rebels as euer were any in the world, and therefore was her assistance not giuen, because she loued them, but because she hated the King of *Spaine*, and so made vse of them as the instrumentes of her hate.

Tawny-scarfe.

All this is answered before, yet you must repeate old matter, where you want new. Wee must heere take your word, and beleue you by an implicite faith, without reason or prooffe, before the manifest reasons of *Religion* and *State*, and before the honorable and publique protestations of that *worthie* among women, Queene *Elizabeth*, who never brake her word. She tooke their part, partly for compassion; she neither knew them Rebels, nor counted them so; but if she hated the King of *Spaine*, then must there be cause why she hated him; and hating him, she had reason to fauour and foster those that hated him aswell as her selfe, or rather that were hated by him as she herselfe was.

M

Red-scarfe.

Reds-scarfe.

I pray, Sir, for the instruction of my ignorance, tell me the cause why she hated him.

Tawny-scarfe.

You should tell the cause, since you produce the effect, and it were enough for me to say there was no cause, *ergo*, there could not be such an effect; yet because this will not answer men of your humor, I say farther, that I doe not thinke she hated his person, but rather prosecuted it with all honorable offices of loue; yet I may imagine (and wee see it euident) that she feared his *encroaching power*; and whom wee feare in any kinde, wee are said to hate in some sort.

Red-scarfe.

You know no iust cause nor any man els, why she should hate him; but you say, you must imagine there was a cause; but this *must* is not forceable, vnlesse it were a cleere case, that neuer any man were causelessly hated. But to tell you the true cause why indeed she hated him, it was no other then for doing her good.

Tawny-scarfe.

That me thinkes is impossible.

Red-scarfe.

Impossible only to good & gratefull minds. The King of *Spaine* in her sisters Queene *Maries* time, did her no lesse good then the sauing of her life; and experience hath often shewed, that there are some kinde of people, that can neuer abide those that they are very deeply beholding vnto; because they thinke the obligation of gratitude to be a bondage; whereas want of gratitude, when it consisteth in the will, and not in the power, is monstrous and not humane.

Tawny-scarfe.

In laying ingratitude to that blessed Queenes charge, you shew your malice, you vomit your poison, and say all that a diuelish aduersarie can invent against an innocent Lady. Neuer could any of her owne obliged men, neuer could any priuate person accuse her of this crime; much lesse would she giue iust cause to such a potent King, such an able State, apt to take exceptions, so attended by viperous-tongued raylers of an other Religion, to publish her ingratitude in this kinde to the world. Besides, that *the King of Spaine saued her life*, can neuer be proued, albeit she was imprisoned in her Sisters time, yet she was neuer brought to any publique tryall, and so there was no sauing of her life needfull, she not being by law found guilty.

Red-scarfe.

If it had come to that it had gone hard with her, but the King of *Spaine* preuented it, and thereby not only saued her life, but also her honor.

Tawny-scarfe.

But how is this proued?

Red-scarfe.

That there were diuers conspiracies of treason in her sisters time is euident, that she was apprehended, and put in prison vpon them is euident; that she was the only hope and object of the conspirators is euident, and that some of them accused her, is also euident: for Religion her troubles were not, because she made profession of the Religion of her sister, and daily heard Masse: some cause there must be of her apprehension, which must also be some great cause: for no ** small cause* can vrge the calling in question & apprehension of the sister of a Queene Regnant, and her next and apparent heire: but I will leaue the beleefe of this to your owne leisure and pleasure, when you shall haue better thought vpon it, or bet-

* I recurre
your owne
interrogati-
on: was
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apprehen-
ded and
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cause

to be the
Queenes
sister & next
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cause e-
nough to
worke iea-
lousie and
suspicion a-
mongst
Princes,
who will
take an easy
occasion to
imprison
their Expec-
tant.

ter enformed your selfe about the matter,

Tawny scarfe.

Now you come to supposition, collection, and presumption, where you want prooffe, and so colour or couer the hatred of your *Popish Clergie* and their cursed cruelties against *Queene Elizabeth*, with a supposed crime in the cloudes. But this is sufficient to cleere her innocency, that neither those who then sought the ruine of her body, nor you who now seeke the ruine of her fame and honor, could or can produce any thing against her, but imaginarie concealements; for if they could, she had not liued to be the object of your envie, & if you could, the whole world had bin filled long before this, with your long-tongued Libels, and bellowing Bulls against her.

Therefore I shall not neede to thinke vpon this point long, as if what you sayd were vnanswerable: *Queene Elizabeth* herselfe hath saued me a labour, where in answer to an infamous libell written against her in *Italian*, which chargeth her with vnthankfulnes to the King of *Spaine*, who (as the authour reporteth, being a man of your minde) in her sisters *Queene Maries* time, had saued her life, she saith, *That her faith and fidelity was neuer in any such question in her sisters time, and much lesse that euer any sentence of death was pronounced against her, and that therefore he had no cause why to seeke to saue her life: Confessing and ingeniously acknowledging neuerthelesse, that she was as then somewhat beholden vnto him, and that in all princely and honorable manner she had been thankfull vnto him for the same.*

Now therefore if you haue any more to say in this matter, produce it; if not, let vs come to the third reason of greatest importance mouing *Queene Elizabeth* to take the *Hollanders* part, which was, the cause of Religion: they

they professing with vs one same Gospel.

Red-scarfe.

I doubt whether they professe with vs one same Epistle, but one same Gospell I am sure they professe not.

Tawny-scarfe.

You are wonderfully witty and merry in distinguishing betwixt the *Epistle* and *Gospel*, when I am afraide you scarce vnderstand what you say: Perhaps you take nothing for *Gospel*, but what is contained in those partes or portions of *Scripture* which are appointed to bee read in the *Masse*, (though in a strange tongue vnkowne to the vulgar.) For the better vnderstanding of the solemnitie of certaine Feastes celebrated to the Memory of Saintes, or perhaps, though you be not so neere of kinne to one of Saint *Paules* Ideots, yet you may thinke nothing *Gospel*, ^{1. Cor. 14.} but what is expresly contained in the writings of the *four* ^{16.} *Euangelists*: so that whilest Saint *Paule*, and Saint *Peter*, Saint *Iames*, Saint *Iude*, and Saint *Iohn* write Epistles conteyning the doctrine of the Gospel or glad-tidings of Christ crucified, this shall not be *Gospel* but *Epistle*; nor they Preachers and writers of the *Gospel*, but *Epistlers* with you, and your grave vnderstanding: So whilst *S. Paule* saith, Ro. 2. 16. *In the day when God shall iudge the secrets of men by Iesus Christ according to my Gospel*, you will alter and correct the Apostles phrasis, and for according to my Gospel, put in by your *Index expurgatorius*, according to my Epistle: leaue your wittie cenceites if you loue your owne credit, they doe very vilely, and come off against the haire, according to that prouerbe, *inuita Minerva*.

And here I waxe wearie with following your wandring Discourse, (as he that playes with a childe all day, and is tyed to treade in his steps) wherefore I intend for that

which remaines , not altogether to take it vp , as you lay it downe , and giue occasion of answere , nor yet to inferre *verbatim* what I then sayd when we discoursed in the *Tilt-boate* , (though then I made no such idle and ayrie answers , as you forge for me , but forced you to greater streights then you wil acknowledge) but I purpose directly to gather the strength of your Arguments , and lay them downe truly , with such answers as I did , or might make to such of them , as seeme worthy of any reply.

You first pretend , our Gospel , and that Gospel which is preached and professed in the *Netherlands* differ , because there is difference betweene Protestants and Puritans in *England* ; for so you are pleased to style such true Christians as protest against your falshoods , and would reforme your impurities in life and doctrine , *Protestants* and *Puritans*. How well this hangs together , the premisses and conclusion ; you cannot but see , and smile to behold , being a man so merily disposed by nature as you seeme. But you demand , how contention should otherwise arise amongst vs ? why else should some bee silenced or banished ? Doe the difference betwixt Iesuites and secular Priests in *England* proue their Gospels differ ? Doubtlesse their *Portuces* are the very same : why doe the *Thomists* and *Scotists* differ ? Is their Gospel diuerse ? why doe the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* pursue each other with deadly quarrels , is it because their Gospel differs ? Doubtlesse many of these know not the Gospel ; most of them care not for it ; nay , let me say boldly , few of them prize it , as they doe that which they call their *unwritten verities* , or *traditionall Gospel* , whereabout yet they fall out with eagernesse. And had not the Councell of *Trent* cunningly trust vp all their trinkets , and taught them what they must hold , none could haue known what it had beene to be

to be a Papist: But Antichrist then vnsealed the secrets of his Myserie; for then it was a time for him to discover himselfe, that such as tooke *his marke on their foreheads,* Apoc. 13. 16 *or in their hands,* might be knowne for counterfeit Christians.

You demand, if our differences be small, why then are some silenced, some banished, some put to death? Iniurie may be done sometime vnder the colour of iustice; and *Mephibosheth* may be forced euen by *David* himselfe, 2 Sam. 16. 3. to diuide his lawfull inheritance with *Ziba* the tel-tale, the traducer, the traytour. 2 Sam. 19. 24. Sometime also many iust occasions may prouoke such seuerer punishments to be inflicted vpon persons for circumstantiall poynts, though they differ not in fundamentall verities containd in the Gospel. But tell me in good earnest, why were the Iesuites banished *France*, and a pillar set vp to eternize the memorie of their banishment, was it for that their Gospel differed from the *French Church*? Or why were the Iesuites banished out of *Venice*? or why are the Cardinals iealous to make a Iesuite Pope? Is it for that their Gospel differs from the rest, whilst they hold all one Epistle? I trow not.

You pursue this discourse (I suppose) to the same end to proue the difference of our Gospel from the *Hollanders*; for that is the proposition. And such as you tearme Puritans in *England*, you call * *Gomarists* in *Holland*, because that learned and vigilant Minister *Gomarus* opposed such as would haue brought in the innouations of that subtrill D. *Arminius*, and prepared the *tenets* of such as impeded and enlarged his doctrine, fit for the Synods inspection, censure, and decision. Now such as these you will haue by no meanes defended; for then we defend (as you would say) another Gospel. But you see euen the Doctors and Bishops who were sent out of *England*, ioy-

* We might with as much, or more reason call the Papists, Bellarmists, Parsonists, Garnetists, &c. as you call vs Lutherans, Calvinists, Gomarists, or the like. 1. Cor. 3. 24

ned with *Gomar*us and the rest in that memorable Synod of *Dort*: so that by that vnitie, they declared a consent in doctrine, howsoever they might differ in some poynts of lesse consequence about ceremonies; so they had all one Gospell. All agree, that the *Bishop of Rome* is Antichrist, and that we should separate from him; the difference is, how farre we should doe it; some desiring it farther then others iudge fit: yet those that iudge it not fit to separate so farre as others desire, doe it not in any other respect, then because they would winne the Papists to reformation, by letting them see, how they depart from them in nothing, but where they are forced to doe it, by the cleare euidence of Scripture, being willing otherwise in things indifferent to descend to their weaknesse, & rather to giue their brethren offence, with whom they joyne in all fundamentall Verities, then these of *Rome* who haue *strong*

delusions to cause them to beleue lies, and therefore must be won by all strong and gentle inducements to beleue the truth. You see also in that Synod, how the *Gomarists* (as you call them) can endure the societie of Bishops, though not the superioritie; & judge not the gouernement of Bishops simply vnlawfull, but neither fit for them, nor to be *iure diuino*. For as they condemne not, but commend Monarchies, though they doe not finde that Gouernment the best for their dispositions, nor to be imposed vpon all Nations *iure diuino*: so they censure not, at least condemne not, Episcopall Gouernment, but preferre a brotherly communion, where superioritie is rather giuen then exacted; rather shunned, then sought;

And all in giuing honour, goe one before another: where with you they take, beg, and buy honour, and plot and poyson for place and preferment, that they may goe one before another.

* Al gouernment from God, this or that forme from man,

2. Cor. 12. 10.

2. In the second place you labour to proue, that such as defend the cause of the *Netherlanders*, defend al the Religions, Sects or Schismes there tolerated. But this is drawne out by a conſtrayned conſequence; and by the ſame conſequence, he that fights for the Pope of *Rome* fights for the *Iewes* there maintayned, nay worſe, for the maintenance of the male and female ſtewes, and ſo by your conſequence, for the defence of Sodomitrie, practiſed in *Rome* and all *Italy*. So he that fights for the *Emperour* or *Venetian*, fights for the *Iewes*, vnder whom they find toleration: So by conſequence, he that fights againſt the Catholike King, fights againſt *Antichriſt*, whom the Catholike King defends and ſupports, and he that ioynes with the Catholike King ioynes with *Antichriſt*, by your artificiall wire-drawne Argument of euill conſequence.

You produce by the way, a ſect of the *Perſectiſts* there (as you ſay) profeſſt. Perhaps there may be ſome ſuch mad-men; for *Bedlam* containes not all the crackt-braynd creatures in *England*: you, and many ſuch as you are out: ſo though there be Dull-houſes in the *Netherlands*, all that deſerue to be put there, are not. Yet why ſhould you finde fault? This Sect doth ſuprabound with you, euery Order pretends a perfection by it ſelfe, onely proper to them and their Founder. Here onely is the difference betwixt your mad-men and theſe; Theſe place perfection in knowledge, yours in practice, whilſt both erre. Theſe whilſt they know ſomething, being ignorant of themſelues, ſuppoſe they know all things, the firſt chapter of a foole. Yours, whilſt they faſt from fleſh, pray they know not to whom, and whip themſelues they know not why, ſuppoſe by theſe parts of wil-worſhip vnrequired, to deſerue heauen for themſelues and others too: for from hence is the treaſurie of the Church, that pooremans

Boxe of *Merit* and *Supererrogation*, wherewithall *Peters* supposed successor is trusted, filled full drop after drop, and emptied againe by *Pardons* and *Indulgences* more then a good many. Thus yours also not knowing themselves, their owne basenesse, vilenesse and vnworthinesse, seeke perfection in themselves, and through spirituall pride ship-wracke their owne soules, and the soules of such as depend vpon their rotten principles. Amongst the *Ethnikes* there were diuers Sects of Philosophers, which were their wise men, & supposed themselves more perfect then the rest. The *Academickes*, such are your Iesuites: the *Stoickes*, such are your preaching Friars: the *Peripatetickes*, such are your begging Friars: the *Epicures*, such are your Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, and rich Abbots. You haue *Cynicks* too amongst you, who raile at all they vnderstand not; *Septickes* onely are forbidden, an implicate faith is sufficient by which ye belecue the perfection of *Romish dogmatizing*. Therefore speake not you of these *Perfectionists*, they are of your owne breed, we disclaime them. They erre in science, whilst they profess it; you in practise, whilst you laugh at their fooleries, and commit worse your selues.

A third Argument you bring to proue our Gospel and theirs differ, and that wee seeke to defend a wrong Gospel, seeking to defend theirs. The reason, for their Gospel allowes of theft.

If it be so, we disclaime their Gospel and the cause also; make the solide prooffe therefore.

The *Netherlands* steale whole Prouinces from the King of *Spaine*, whilst they hang theeues for trifles, and that by their Gospels warrant, for so it must be, or you say nothing. Surely I thinke if they had you, they would scarce hang you, they are so mercifull: many that deserue it perhaps as well as you haue done, doe yet scape, and enjoy

joy their libertie in hope of amendment, as you doe, if you haue grace to make good vse of it.

But if they be thecues and scale Prouinces from *Spaine*; How hath *Spaine* gotten superioritie ouer his neighbour-Nations? how hath he made many intrusions vpon *Savoy*, *Nauarre*, *France*, *Italy*? How vpon the East and West *Indies*? How vpon *Ireland*, and how vpon *England* also, whose purse he would haue taken, whilst you and yours were setters and plotters for the purchase? Is he a thiefe for this? Is this Catholike doctrine? I feare you must passe vnder the rod of penance for this ouer-sight. Remember what the Pirate said to *Alexander* the Great: I am a Pirate and a thiefe robbing with one ship, and taking away a little; and because thou robst the whole world with a Nauie and an Armie, thou art styled an Emperour. *Indian* gold is able to purchase many more able flatterers and supporters, then you are. And what power did euer want praise, though neuer so wicked, tyrannons, or vniust? He cannot but be defended and commended, who hath Antichrist and the whole *Romane Conclawe* at his command.

That which remaines is matter of controuersie in Religion, which you haue propounded at pleasure, making me a very simple fellow fit to be cooped with you for company in the answers annexed by you: Yet that which you propound is such stufte, and so followed, as you need not protest your selfe to be no Diuine; you bewray it sufficiently in your Discourse, though otherwise I might haue doubted a Priest or Iesuite (as they had wont) might haue lurked vnder a buffe Ierkin, a red scarfe and feather. And indeed though I acknowledge there are many learned men on your side, yet me thinkes such kind of knowledge is a matter superfluous, and leading towards here-

he, for since that infallible spirit of decision, direction, and exposition is in your Popes brest, what need other Doctors, then such simple and illiterate persons as Christ first chose to be his Apostles, and to plant his Church, since there remaines in your Church still extraordinarie and primarie power to dispose of the spirit miraculously, and so to bestow the gifts of tongues and miracles, as it was with Christ himselfe, and his Apostles after? For which cause your Sea of *Rome* is called the Apostolique Sea, from whence all that supernaturall power is deriued, as from an ordinarie Minister or Vicar appointed by Christ to that end. But to leaue this still in doubt, come to your Diuinitie: Two points you insist vpon: The *Eucharist*, & *auricular Confession*: In speaking of these, you labor to iustifie your owne doctrine & practise, and disproue ours.

You first labour to free your selfe from Idolatrie, and say, If Christs body be not truly in the Masse, that is, as you vnderstand it, if the bread be not truly transubstantiated into the bodie of Christ, then you doe not intend any worship to it, and so you commit no Idolatrie.

But as an oth (which is a special part of Gods worship) is not vnderstood according to the secret intent of the swearer (for then your *equiuocation* and *mentall reservation* might be iustified, and there were no vse of an oth at all, the oth being only to bewray and assure the certaine inward intent of him that makes it) but according to the plaine, open, and direct intent of him to whom the oth is made, and of all others that see the end wherefore it was made, and so can iudge of the truth or falsehood: So outward worship of the bread in the Sacrament, is not to be vnderstood according to your inward intent, which hath *ifs* and *ands* in it, (*if* it be Christs body you worship it, *and* if it be not, then you do not intend to worship it)

Lingua iuro, mentem iniuratum gero.
Non enim quando iuras, tibi iuras, aut lapidat iuras, sed proximo iuras, Aug: de verbis S. Jacobi. cap. 5. 30.

A Tongue-combate.

23

it) but according to the vnderstanding of all that behold you (the eye being the iudge of bodily worship) and they beholding you giue to the bread the same outward worship which they see you giue vnto God, iudge presently and plainely, that you commit grosse idolatry: for the same eye that beholdes your bodily and exterior worship, beholds withall, that the obiect of that bodily worship is bread which they see, and not the body of Christ which they see not, to which you say, your intent hath reference.

Againe, your worship which wee now speake of being the exterior reuerence of the body, must be for the Ideots satisfaction aswell as for the greatest Clerkes: for it is S. *Pauls* Argument against publique vse of an *vnknowne tongue* in the Church, especially in preaching, or prayer: *If when the the whole Church is come together in one, and* 1. Cor. 14. 23
all speake strange tongues, there come in they that are vnlearned, or they which beleene not, will they not say that ye are out of your wits? and a little after, *Let all things be* 1. Cor. 14. 26
done to edification. Thus wee see the Apostle had a care euen in things *not simply vnlawfull*, to giue no scandall or offence to the vnlearned; nay, to giue such satisfaction, & to prouide, that nothing should be done in the Church, but that which tended to edification, and to the opening of the mouthes of babes and sucklings to confesse him; at least to the stopping vp of their mouthes, that would not confesse and praise him. And wee see he hath a care to giue satisfaction to the vnlearned. How then dare you do an *act* which is *directly prohibited*, & which doth not only scandalize the *Iewes*, who hate the apparance of Idolatry, but all *sober Christians*, who are not drunke with the *whores cup of fornications*, and bewitched with her enchantmentes & deuillish incantations, whilst they see you

giue worship to that which they see and taste to be bread as euidently, as they see you kneele and worship? Must they not needes count this idolatry, and iudge you to be out of your wits, practising this publicly, and defending this practise impudently and obstinately? This tends not to edification of the weake, but to the destruction of the strong, euen of the strongest *Sampson* or *Salomon* amongst you, though he be able otherwise to *carry away all the gates of his enemies*, and to *resolue all the riddles, doubtles, and enigmaticall controuersies* that haue beene, are, or may be propounded. *The care* (saith *Elihu* in *Iob*) *tryeth wordes*; thats the Apostles argument, to proue the the necessarie vse of a knowne tongue in the congregation: *The Mouth tasteth meates*, (saith *Elihu* in the same place) thats my inference vpon the Apostles words, who would haue all things done soberly, that men might not judge vs *mad*; but when your knee tels me, that Cake is God, which the Baker tels me is breade; bread that he made, part whereof hee eate himselfe, part whereof he crammed his Capons and Chickings withall, and part whereof he employd in meaner vses; when my eye tels me it is so, and my taste and feeling tels me the same, shall not I thinke you *mad* or drunken Idolaters to belecue the contray, or to perswade me, or any other person wise or simple, to belecue the contrary? This opinion and your *Latin Lyturgie* are well coopled together in communion, being direct euidences of *Antichristianisme*, and parts of that *Mysterie of Iniquity* which began to worke euen in the Apostles time, and was afterward by inches (as the *Masse* grew by time in greatnesse to a monitrous *Masse* of *superstitions* indeed) introduced vnder the dangerous colour of *good intent*, to obfuscate truth, & cause men to re-
ceiue & belecue lyes. The bold attempts, and desperate on-
sets,

sets, together with the euill euents and dangerous successe of *good intents* grounded vpon *ignorant zeale*, you may obserue in your selfe; who, like an *Italian Montbanke* or *Romish juggler*, play fast and loose with your faith, euen in the point of worship, the supreme and souereigne seruice of Christianity; *If the Cake be Christ, you worship it; if it be not Christ, you intend no worship to it.*

But thus may the Heathens argue for themselues, That they intend no worship to their Idols, except they be gods, but by them they send vp their worship to the true God; for what they doe, they intend to the true God, or to none.

You build vpon Christs words who cannot deceiue, and is sufficient to performe what he speakes: and he hath said, The bread is his bodie, and were it still bread, (say you) yet he hauing said, it was his bodie, and you beleeuing it to be so, he cannot condemne you of mis-beliefe: for if he had neuer said it, you had neuer beleued it.

We acknowledge Christs truth and power: but here we looke to what he did and said, and do not with you presume to change his words or workes: He neither said, the bread was transubstantiated into his bodie, nor did he will his Apostles, or their successors to worship it, but to take and eate it, and doe it in remembrance of him. Christ said, *This is my bodie*: we say so too with him and with you: The difference is about the manner of his presence: You say, the bread remaines not, though you see, feelee, taste bread: We say, Christs bodie is taken and eaten by the soule of the faithfull, whilst his hand takes, & mouth eates the bread. So it is his body (as he intended) though bread remaines; bread really, his body Sacramentally and Spiritually, both truly, Christ as concerning his bodily
pre-

presence is in heaven at the right hand of God the Father, so we are taught to beleue; and from thence as concerning locall decession, shall not come, till he comes in glorie to iudge the quicke and dead: this we see confirmed, *Act. 3. 21. Whom the heauens must receiue, untill the time of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of his holy Prophets, since the world began.* And *Ioh. 16. 28. I leaue the world, and go vnto the Father.* *Mat. 26. 11. Ye haue the poore alwayes with you,* that is, You shall not haue me alwayes present in bodie for I goe so vnto the Father, but in spirit and power alwayes; *for loe, I am with you, so, to the end of the world, Mat. 28. 20.* What can be more plaine and cleare? Then looke for a figuratiue vnderstanding of these words, and for a spirituall eating of Christ, or ellie you denie your Creed, and contradict *S. Peter* and Christ himselfe; *for the flesh profiteth nothing, Ioh. 6. 63. It is the Spirit that quickeneth,* not the literall, but the spirituall vnderstanding and eating nourisheth the Spirit. That which the bodie eates, cannot benefite the soule, that which the soule eates cannot nourish the bodie. The bodie eates bread; the soule, Christ; the one by the teeth, the other, by faith: both are thus nourished according to their seuerall natures and essences. If you will not grant a figure in these words, what say you to those

1. Cor. 11. 23 that follow immediatly as part of this Sacrament? *Drinke ye all of this; for this is the new Testament in my blood, &c.* You must beleue the Chalice is the new Testament in Christs blood; that is, transubstantiated into the new Testament in Christs blood; not the wine only, but the Chalice also; or else admit a figure in the speech. And if you grant a figure in this, why not in the former? the same Christ spake both, the same Christ is able alike, the same Christ wils me to doe both in remembrance of him, and

to beleue both alike. Nay rather thus I may argue, since you must needs grant a figure in this, by consequence, a figure must be vnderstood necessarily & properly in the other, our Sauour had else spoken improperly: words must agree with the workes. And this being a figuratiue or sacramentall action, must be deliuered in a figuratiue forme or phrase of speech, as being most proper and congruous to the occasion. Therefore though this errour of Transubstantiation began to be busie betimes in the Church, by reason of diuerse carnall eares who vnderstood Christ as *Nicodemus* did, *Io. 3. 5. 6.* and as the *Capernaits* did, *Iob. 6. 51. 52. 63.* Yet it was held indifferent, and not prest vpon any to beleue the manner of his presence till the Councell of *Lateran*, as Bishop *Tonstall*, though he were one of yours, confesseth; but then this errour was confirmed by *Antichrist* and his associates. Before,

*De veritate
corp. &
Saug. p. 46.*

*Christ was the Word and spake it,
He tooke the bread and brake it,
And as his Word doth make it,
So I receiue and take it,*

Was enough to be professed and confessed to make a man a worthy receiuer, without farther disquisition into the secret closet of the conscience, to know if men had reason and sence or no, and then to make that a sufficient quarrell to exclude them: For now if we will not beleue that which contradicts sence, reason, faith and Religion, from the table we must be cast, and to the fire we must be haled as Heretickes. Now therefore this is the note:

*Priests make Christs body and soule, ye need not doubt;
They eat, they drinke, they boxe him vp, and beare about.
One is too little; Bread and Wine
Holds him seuerall: so wee dine,
I with my Christ, thou with thine.*

Is thy mouth the Virgins wombe, is bread her seed?

Are thy words the holy Ghost? Is this the Creed?

O presumptuous undertaker,

Neuer Cake could make his Baker:

Yet the Priest can make his Maker.

What becomes of al those Christs that Priests haue made?

Doe these Hoasts of Hoasts abide? or do they fade?

One Christ liues, but all these die:

One Christ bides, when all these flie:

One is true, the rest a lye.

You then from the matter, fall to the manner of celebrating; debating whether to doe it vpon a table as we doe, or on an altar with you, be the truest forme.

Christ instituted it, and celebrated it at a table; this you confesse; he is the safest patterne to follow. Before I heare you say; *Hee hauing said, it was his bodie, and I beleeuing it so to be, his iustice and goodnesse is such, that he cannot condemne me of mis-beliefe, himselfe hauing beene the cause why I so belecue; for if he had neuer said it, I had neuer beleued it.* So say I, and so ought you to say, he instituted it vpon a table, not vpon an altar; he gaue bread and wine, not bread alone; he gaue common bread, and broke it, not printed wafers to be swallowed whole; he willed me to eate, not to swallow whole and vnbroken; to take it, not to adore it; to doe it in remembrance of him, not as if he were present corporally: *Till he comes, saith S. Paul,* not as if he were come; and if he had neuer said it, I had neuer beleued it; if he had neuer commanded it, I had neuer done it. But now I belecue, and obay, and will doe as he bids me, whatsoeuer an Angel, much more whatsoeuer a Shaueling can say to the contrarie.

2. Cor. 13. 23

Besides, I see S. Paule and the *Corinthians* celebrating at a table, I neither heare of the bread transubstantiated,

nor

nor of the wine withdrawne from the people, nor of invocation or adoration, but all done as we doe it, in remembrance of Christs death, by way of thankfull acknowledgement of the benefit wrought for mankind thereby. All the rest is of your owne inuention, superstitious, idolatrous, antichristian.

Looke the place and it will confirme you in all these plaine and euident truthes: for they tooke the Sacrament at their loue-feastes, so far then from superstitious adorations, as they were irreuerend and almost prophane in not discerning betwixt that, being a religious action, a spirituall meate, and other ciuill actions and corporall meates: wherefore the Apostle reduceth them to the primitive institution, far from mad Idolatry and drunken prophaness, in christian sobriety as becomes persons made worthy partakers of so great a Mystery.

That which you adde to auoide your Idolatry, as if the reuerence you doe to your Idoll in the Masse, were no more then what we in the presence shew to the Kings chaire of State, is ridiculous. Our reuerence is ciuill, yours is religious: all men, yea the simplest old wife can distinguish ours from a religious act of worship to God; it troubles your greatest Doctors to cleare your point in the Schooles by imaginarie distinctions; how then in actions they shall be distinguished, especially when they are to be performed by an old ignorant woman, it will trouble a man no lesse wise then your selfe to imagine, much more to manifest.

That which *S. Augustine* saith of *Images*, being *Laymens bookes*, is concerning their historicall vse; but we see they haue taught the people so many lies, that if *Augustine* were now alieue, he would barre them both from preaching and praying in the Church too. For if a woman

Zach. 11. 15.
27.

be forbidden to be a teacher there, I know not why a *dumbe Idoll* should be there admitted to teach. I presume, both the pretence and intent of the first introducers was good, to banish heathen Idols, to please the new conuerts with something sutable to their olde superstitions; but we see the euill successe of this, and of all other points of humane Policie, of worldly wisdom intermixt with the worship of God, either directly against, or simply without the authoritie of the word of God it self, how it brings cōfusi- on, & helps in the issue to pul down *Sio*, & build vp *Babel*.

Ioh. 10. 10.
31.

The last point you handle is *auricular confession*; for which you bring a prooffe from Scripture: The prooffe is Christs generall commission giuen to the Apostles and their Successours, *Receiue the Holy Ghost, whose sinnes you shall forgine, they are forgiven; and whose sinnes you shall retayne, they are retayned*. But here you leaue out what Christ spake to them before, namely, *As my Father sent me, so send I you*. Christ was sent to forgiue sinnes, not by hearing *auricular Confession*, but by preaching the Gospel of Repentance, from dead workes and faith in Gods promises made in him; and so sent he his Apo- stles, not to heare priuate confessions, but to publish the Gospel for remission of sinnes, and sauing poore repen- ting and beleeuing soules, who made publique confession of their sinnes, as the Apostles did publicquely preach re- pentance and confession.

You bring in also the example of *Iohn Baptist*, *Mat. 3. 6*. Where the people are said to come out to him to be bap- tized, confessing their sinnes; which makes nothing for your purpose, to prooue *auricular Confession*, but shewes how glad you would be to finde shelter to couer your nakednesse in the garden of God, when your owne figge- leaues will not serue your turne.

The

A Tongue-combate. 101

The truth is, they that came to be baptized publicly, were publicly to acknowledge that guilt & sinne which they would haue washed away, and remitted by Baptisme: for before the receipt of cure, they were to know and acknowledge themselves sicke; but all this was publicke and generall, not priuately and particularly whispered into Saint *Iohns* eare, as you vse and imagine. A Monke of your owne confesseth this; For then (saith he) was not the Sacrament of *auricular confession* instituted by Christ. Dionise.
Cart.
Mat. 3. 60

We allow confession, and our Preachers doe often inforce it, what they may, vpon the bleeding conscience, vnable to stanch her owne wounds. But herein is the difference betwixt you and vs: 1. Yours is of necessitie, ours voluntarie. 2. Yours requires an exact numeration, ours saith with *David*, *Psal. 19. 12: Who vnderstandeth his faults?* Therefore we seeke to haue those confessed, which notwithstanding our former confessing to God, we finde still to leaue a sting behind. 3. Yours is full of superstition, as if the worke wrought, that is, the confession of the sinner, & absolution of the Confessor, were sufficient to assure saluation; when with vs there is no remission, but by the free grace of God alone. 4. Lastly, yours is horribly abused, to vnlocke the secrets of Princes, to rule ouer the consciences of men, (for I am master ouer that man, whose naturall inclination I vnderstand, and know how to rule him by his vices, which are constant and importunate, better then by his vertues, which are no fauourites, and are also seldome at home.) Yea, this hath beene, and is too often vsed, to deflowre Virgins and Matrons, and to perpetrate and faciliate other darke and blacke actions, for which cause it was banished *Constantinople* by *Nectarius* the Bishop there, and is worthy to be banished all Christian Common-wealths: for by this alone, hauing

either the Prince himselfe, or any of his neere seruants, or his wife, or any of theirs, vnder your imperious fingers, you know cunningly how to open the closest cabinet of secret counsell; and to make a superstitious and trembling soule your instrument to say, sweare, reueale, conceale, whatsoeuer you command, that may be for the aduantage of your Catholike cause. And so euery Priest is an absolute priuie Councillor.

But you haue taken an oath to conceale all secrets deliuered *sub sigillo confessionis*. Indeed this must needs secure all men; I had forgotten this. Yet now I remember me, you may be absolved and dispensed withall, if you should reueale any secret deliuered in confession: Besides, you haue taken an oath first, to conceale nothing that may be prejudiciall to the Romane Catholike Religion, but to reueale all that may aduance it, or any way concernes it. Now the first oath bindes, and assoiles the latter, which is but secundarie, and with subordinate respects.

And for matter of meere conscience, howsoeuer worldly wisdom would thinke, and you say, that *auricular Confession* serues to bridle sinne by shame, it is farre otherwise; my experience knowes, that it makes men and women impudent, so that they care not at last who knowes or sees their filthinesse. I haue seene the written confessions of some before they were sent to their Confessors, and that without the least touch of modestie, or sence of shame in the impudent penitents, when I haue blushed to reade those horrible crimes, which they gloried to iterate, both in confessing and committing interchangeably.

Thus our new-converted Gallants (who neuer had a God before, till now that they haue gotten him about their neckes, and in their Tobacco-boxes) can goe to a Play, and from thence to a baudie-house, and from thence
in

in a morning to *confession* and *Masse* : and thus make themselves new men, that is, of men, monsters every day. And this is the onely reason, they so easily turne to be yours; because, though your confessing, and penance, and whipping, and haire-cloth shirts seeme strange things, and make a faire shew at first blush; yet they are nothing in comparison of leauing those sweet sinnes whereunto we haue beene accustomed, and betaking our selues to holy and reformed courses, without which our Preachers say, and shew plainly by Scripture, that there is no hope of saluation. And this is the reason our Libettines easily turne Papists; (though you cry out against vs, and call vs Libertines, because we professe the libertie of the Gospel, from your * Iewish ceremonies and superstitions) and this is the cause your honestest Professors, who are not intangled and kept backe by honours, or pleasures, or profit, or humane respects, are easily induced to be ours, without which they cannot be Christs and Gods.

The rest that remaines of yours, is such extrauagant stuffe, as shall need no other answer then silence and contempt, which I shall still vse both towards you, and all others that take your part in this subject, or shall audaciously reply on your behalfe. Assuring your selfe, that notwithstanding all you can say, many of the English who are yours in Religion, doe assist the States in their warres with body and goods, both in regard of the iustnesse of the cause which you impugne, and the necessitie they see of vpholding them, or falling our selues with them to Spanish subiection and flauerie, which they are not such traitors to permit; howsoever you, and such as you wish it. And for our owne, I meane, such as are reformed Catholikes indeed, they laugh at all that you say, as knowing the truth much better, then to be misled by iaggling. And
there-

* Our worst
soone turne
to them;
their best
soone turne
to vs. When
you be at
the best, you
are neerest
vs; and when
we be at the
worst, we
are neerest
you.

therefore you see how easily they are drawne to goe ouer with me to serue the *States General*, when you haue lien long in *London*, and spent much money, & promised large meanes, (much more then you meane euer to performe) yet goe ouer weakely prouided; and such as you carrie, you haue gotten by faining your selfe to be for vs, & now hold by force, or they would now leaue you, and come to vs. But the best is, you put the King of *Spaine* to booteles cost to carrie them ouer for vs at his charge: for within this three moneths we shall haue all that are left aliue, come to vs, for bread, or meanes, or their Passes. And for such as are with vs already, all that you haue, or can say, doth but rather cause them to binde themselues more close together, for the cunning and industrie they see vsed on all sides to diuide and seuer them.

And this (I doubt not) will moue the wisdom of the *States General*, and his *Excellencie*, seeing our people at home so well affected to their Cause and Countrey, and the Commanders and Souldiers so sure and trustie to them, (as persons interested in the same quarrell) to vse them not as meere mercenarie and salarie Souldiers, but nobly, freely, and bountifully as Natiues; who though they take pay, as their owne, for meere necessitie, (for *who goeth to warre at his owne charge?*) yet fight freely, not with respect to the money, but loue of the Cause and Countrey: for which they deserue to haue vsage as Natiues, to be payed with aduantage, to haue their meanes advanced without exaction, or grievance. And this I wish for conclusion, and would aduise if they wanted it, or I were wise enough to aduise, that the Lords would carefully foresee, that neither they, nor the Coronels preferre young men vpon letters and commends, to places of command; for so they may aduance enemies, & permit (through couetousnesse) *Indian* gold in the hand of a *Spanish* Ambassador, Agent, or Pentioner; *Hee* or *Shee* to stickle in the Camp, as it doth often in the Courts of Princes; but haue an eye to old Souldiers of merit, seruice and experience, and freely preferre them, and then (God being their helpe, and still keeping them in concord) they need feare nothing, nor care what you and your associates can say, nor what your Master and all his ministers can doe against them: *Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?* To this Emanuel, this God vrish vs, be all honour and glorie by vs ascribed, now and euer, Amen.

SYMMACHIA:

O R,

A T R V E L O V E S

KNOT.

T Y E D,

B E T V V I X T G R E A T

*Britaine and the Vnited Prouinces,
by the wisedome of King IAMES,*

*and the States Generall; the Kings of France,
Denmarke, and Sweden, the Duke of
Sauoy, with the States of Venice
being Witnesses and
Assistants.*

F O R T H E W E A L E

A N D P E A C E O F

C H R I S T E N D O M E.

force of their witt, I meane vpon the Netherlandish side where jelousie (to see vs treat with the enemye) hath caused many people in the *Vnited Provinces* to behaue themselves towards vs, as Coy Dames vse to doe, who thinke to winne their louers to more longing, by rude tricks of vnkindenes.

I intend not to repeate the particulars, least I should be thought, rather to reuiue old quarrells by reneweing there memorie, then to stop farther breaches by burying all former iniuries in obliuion. Yet I must say, that if they should thinke, wee put vp those affronts offered to our Nation in Groenlant and the east Indyces, eyther out of feare of their strength, or our owne weakenes, they should iniurie vs no lesse in the conceit, then they haue done in the act. Religion only hath bownd our hands, and wee are satisfied that the *State* doth disclame it, and cast it vpon priuate persons; otherwise wee were as well able to scourge them, as to defend them from scourging. It were an ingratefull part in them, whilst wee indanger our selues by houlding vp their chinnies, to keepe them from sincking, that they s'ould with their heeles kick vs vnder water. But because wee belceve and know, that these wronges proceede not from the State, but from such persons (for the most part on both sides) as loue Mammon better then Christ, and count gaine the only godlyness, therefore wee are not apt to heare or beleuee all that is suggested, nor to see all that is true, but to hope and promise our selues better vse for the future; since they knowe and must confess, that neyther themselves, nor the proudest or potentest Nation vpon earth, can vpon equall terms (without politick surprisall) assure themselves to beate vs and be our Masters; nor dare
with-

(without manifest advantage) prouoke vs to the triall.

But since humor hath beene soe stird vpon both sides, that Prudence and moderation hath had enough to doe to keepe vs from breaking out into blowes, it was a timely worke of wisdom in their State to seeke to stop the gap, and a grations worke of our prudent prince to giue them audience (notwithstanding the contrarie noise which buz'd about his eares) and to renue that ancient league betwixt vs, which was like to breake into enmitie. The foole hardy can charge hotly and ingage a State in warre, it must be the wise and aduised who only know how to make an honorable retreite. It is fit vpon both sides, that now this league is renued, wee should be more carefull hereafter to preserue it, then heeretofore wee haue beene. And to indeere the merrit of our State in this respect, it is fit to touch vpon some particulars whereby our Kindenes to them may be discerned, thereby to beget reciprocall kindenes in them toward vs.

1. Obserue first wee were the parties wronged, and they the wrongers: yet they stood stiffly out and sought no reconcilment, till wee vnderhand, seeing their necessitie, both inticed them to seeke, and assured them to finde what they sought. Heerein, being their superiors in force, wee shewed our selues not to be their inferiors in wisdom, which the wisest amongst them will acknowledge, though the weake will not see it, but attribute all to our duty; as if they ouer-reached vs in wit, when it is only wee that ouer-reach them in Kindenes.

2. Observe the motion of the whole body of the State in Parliament, the concurrance of *Nobles*, *Clergie*, and *Commons* in this case of theirs; their humble earnest and vnanimous sute to his Majestie for this end, their spee-

4 *A TRVE-LOVES KNOT.*

dy and carefull (that I may not say curious) penning of
the Lawe for their assistance, equally as for our owne
» Kingdomes, in these wordes. Most gracious souvereigne,
» wee your Majesties most humble, faithfull, and loueing
» subjectes, by your Royal authoritie now assembled in
» your high Court of Parliament, haueing entred into seri-
» ous and due consideration of the weightie and most im-
» portant causes, which at this tyme more then at any other
» tyme heeretofore, doe presse your Maiestie, to a much
» greater expence and charge then your owne treasure a-
» lone can at this present support and manietaine; and li-
» kewise of the iniuries aud indignities which haue beene
» lately offered to your Maiestie and your children, vnder
» coloure and dureing the tyme of the Treatyes for the
» Marriage with Spaine, and the restitution of the Palati-
» nate, which in this Parliamant haue beene cleerely dis-
» couerd and layed open vnto vs, and withalll, what hum-
» ble aduice, with one consent and voyce, wee haue giuen
» vnto your Maiestie, to dissolue those Treatyes which your
» Maiestie hath beene gratioussly pleased, to our exceeding
» joy and comfort, fully to yeeld vnto, and accordingly
» haue made your publique declaration for the reall and vt-
» ter dissolution of them, by meanes where of your Maie-
» stie may be happilie ingaged in a sudden warre: wee in all
» humbleness most ready and willing to giue vnto your
» Maiestie, and the whole world, an ample, testimonie of
» our dutifull affectons, and sincere intentions to assist yow
» therein, For the maintenance of that warre that may
» heere vpon ensue, and more particularly for the defence
» of this your *Realme of England*, the securing of your
» *Kingdome of Ireland*, the assistance of your Neighbours,
» the *States of the vniited Provinces*, and other your Maje-
» sties

ties friends and allies, And for the setting forth of your
Royal Nauie, wee haue resolved to giue for the present
 the greatest ayde which euer was granted in Parliament,
 to be leiued in so short-à tyme : And therefore wee doe
 humbly beseech your Maiestie, &c.

Thus yow see in the body of our Lawe the State of
 the vnited Provinces is specially nominated, and ranged in
 vnion with his Maiesties Kingdomes of *England* and
Ireland, and the gift limited for the defence especially of
 those three. Which, though selfconceited eyes ouersee,
 yet is argues much respect and loue; neyther doe I be-
 leeuue they haue giuen or receiued the like acknowledge-
 ment before to or from any other State; nor can wee re-
 dely finde in Historie the like interchange of loue be-
 twixt forreigne people, recorded.

2. Obserue the most excellent *Prince of Wales* his for-
 wardnes and extraordinarie diligence to accomplish this
 worke; I dare not say, whatsoeuer I thinke, that the
 whole frame was first of his composure, but I am sure he
 was a principall Agent in the happy conclusion.

3. Obserue his *Maiestie* how readely and gladly he grā-
 ted when it cam to the vpshot: soe that he seemed to
 hold off before for politique respectes;

First, to beget a feeleing in our friends of their owne
 estate, who did not, in his Maiesties judgement, seeme
 sensible enough, for a long tyme, eyther of their owne
 danger, or of this his royall fauoure and benefite.

Secondly, to make his owne subiectes the more eager
 and earnest by the delay, and so giue them tyme to debate
 the businesse, to vnderstand the charitie and vilitie of
 the worke, and to open their purses the wider.

Thirdly to secure the Enemye by this meanes, till all

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were ready, that so wee might reflect vpon them, by a thinne and slight shadow the open and grosse iniuries they had done vs before, vnder the couerture of treatyes and trust. Now for the better vnderstanding of his Maiesties minde, in all pointes proportionable to this description, I haue inserted his *privy Counsels letter* to the *Lords Lifetenants of Sheeres* in England, for the assistinge of the *Earls and Commanders* in rayseing men within their seuerall Countyes, and that by his Majesties speciall direction, for the ayde of the *Vnited Provinces*.

After our harty commendations to your good Lordshippes, whereas the States Generall of the vnited Provinces haue by theyr Ambassadors humbly solicited his Maiestie as wel to renewe the anciant defensive league betweene his Kingdomes and their Provinces, as also to permit them for the better confirmation thereof, to rayse some good number of voluntary souldiers within his Dominions, to be employed in theyr service in these hazardous times, when the Emperour, and the Romish Catholique league are preparing, and drawinge downe towards theyr Countreyes, diuers great and threatning Troopes to joyne with those Armies, that allreadie lye vpon theyr frontiers, ready to take the first opportunitie of advantage against them. And that his Maiestie in a constant pursutte of the good amitie and correspondentie with those Provinces, hath treated, and concluded a league vwith theyr Ambassadors, and giuen way and permission for the rayseing of six thousand voluntary souldiers for theyr service and assistance, for theyr better strength and defence against those forces of the Emperour, and Romishe Catholique

lique league: Which his Maiestie hath the rather assented to, in regard of his owne interest, both for the security of his owne Dominions, and the great part his sonne in Law, his onely daughter, and his grand children haue in the preservation of the Vnited Provinces, where they now remaine as refugers. And because the time of the yeare is so farre spent, as it will be requisite to vse all possible expedition in the raising and transportation of these men, We haue thought it requisite to giue your Lordshippes this intimation of his Maiesties good pleasure, and assent for the levyinge of the sayde voluntaries, to the end you may not onely permit, and further our very good Lords, the Earles of Oxford, Southampton, and Essex, and the Lord Willoughby (appointed Collonels) and for that purpose deputed by the States Ambassadors, and such other Captaines, and officers vnder them as they shall substitute, to leavy and take vp such voluntary souldiers, as shall be willing to goe over in theyr company; but that withall you affoord them your best direction, assistance, and furtherance therein, and giue notice of this his Maiesties pleasure to the deputie Lieutenantes, Iustices of peace, and other his Maiesties Ministers within the precinct of your Lieutenancy. To which we doubt not, but you will all readily and effectually apply your selues both in respect of the generall cause, and for the ease and benefit the Countrey will finde in being disburthened of many vnnecessary persons that now want imployment, and liue lewdly, or vnprofitably in the Countrey. And if any of those voluntaries shall after they haue accepted impresse money and so ingaged themselves into the service, withdrawe themselves, or runne away from theyr Captaines, or Conduktor, his Maiesties pleasure is, that vpon any such com-

1 *A TRUE-LOVES KNOT.*

plainte, you yeeld your best assistance for the apprehendinge and recoueringe of those fugitives, and them to comit to prison untill they submit themselues, or otherwise punish them, as is vsuall in such cases. And so we bid your Lordshippes hartly farewell. 20 of Iune. 1624.]

4. Obserue the Peoples willingnes generally to offer themselues to this seruice, and the expression of extraordinary ioy assoone as they heard the Drummes beate, and that the intent of their intertaniement was published, to serue the States of the Vnited Provinces against the King of Spaine and the Arch-Duchesse; soe that these wordes were forced to be altered by command, for present respects of State.

5. Obserue the Nobles, and those none of the meanest, struiuing for imployment in this warre, not for the gaines of these poore and (in comparison of them) petty places, but to honor their Nation, to shew the world amongst what people they were nobles, to defend religion and that State which ioynes with our owne to defend it, to countenance the cause, to deter the enemye, to hold the Common man vpon the right side, to assure the aduerse part what ayde he is to expect from vs, and to stop the mouth of the clamorous Marchant, who, though he had iust cause to crye, yet cries now in an vnseasonable tyme, and will therefore learne to giue ouer vaine clamoures whilst he beholds the Peeres are ingaged in the worke which he would hinder.

And heere I cannot but present this glasse to the vew of many young Nobles and Gentiles in these parts of the Vnited Provinces, who whilst their Countrie is assaulted by

ted by malicious Enemyes, and defended by honorable *strangers*, both of our and other Nations, sit still themselves and lend no hand to helpe it, but hold it rather a *greate indignitie to be a souldiar*. These must needs be ignorant of their owne honorable rooles, which first sprung from Armes and must be by that most honorable profession maintained whereof those *svordes* are witnesses, which none but *Gentlemen* weare amongst them. And I am perswaded therefore, this grosse and effeminate conceite, is bred amongst them, eyther by their *too tender Moythers*, who had rather see their Country perish, then to behold their children hazard themselves for the safeguard of it; or from their *Anabaptisticall* neighbours who suppose (erroniously) all *armes to be Antichristian*; or from the *Malignant papist*, who though he hath the libertie of his conscience amongst them, yet because he may not haue the free and publique exercise of his superstition, wisheth the *Spanish iron yoke* ouer the neck of the Belgick *lyon*, and deters his owne, and others, from their Countreyes seruice, and hates such to death, as serue to secure his libertie and life.

But to returne to our matter, and to manifest our generall willingnes and allacritie for the vndertaking of there defence; I would neither haue the Common people ignorant, nor yet think vs so stupid not to vnderstand the benefite of this defensiu ayde sent ouer to them at this present, which is greater then at first sight it appeareth to all eyes. For besides that wee helpe to defend there frontires at our owne charge, *which all see*, wee also spend the meanes, which wee receiue out of *England*, amongst them also, so they haue the vse both of our *men and monye*, which makes tradeing something quic-

that it is not in the power of *one Stanly or one Yorke*, to staine the honor of a Nation; but they may as safely trust vs, as themselves; provided they be sure of their *religion* whome they trust. If they be careles in admitting Captaynes and officers, they may well suspect such so admitted: but if they know them *faithfull to God*, they neede not doubt their *fidelity to them*. And it is not only *ours*, but *all other Nations*, yea their *owne most of all*, who are to be suspected and so kept from Command, if eyther they bee of *no religion* or *popishly affected*: If of *none*, then they are for any Deuill that will tempt them (and *Mammon* especially is then the God they worship) if *popish*, then they are for *Antichrist*, and so for the *Catholique King*, who is his best beloued sonne, and like to be the heyre of all that he can giue him. For he vseth his ecclesiasticall Keyes to no other end, but to open and shut the heart, and all other houlds, for the intertainement of the Spanish pompe and pride, and for the enlargement of that *quintessentiall Monarchie*, though the *Spirit of God* by the Mouth of *Daniell* say the contrary neuer so peremptorily and plainely.

But some obiekt the Kinges bownty in this respect proceeded from the *consideration of his owne charge*, which he should haue beene at in keepeing those places, *meerely for the proffit of the vnited Provinces*. Perhaps indeede this was the cause which made him the more willing to part with them, vpon their suite, and his Counsell's aduice: but this doth not lessen his *bownty*, nor their *obligation*. For to keepe a chargeable gage, for another mans benefit, so long as the owner pleaseth, to restore it safely and better in euery respect then it was at the first ingagement, and that when the owner desires it, and

vpon no termes of aduantage but vpon such as he himselfe prescribes, witnesseth extraordinary *honestie* in the lender and deserues extraordinary *thankfulnes* from the borrower. Indeede the first motion for reddition of these places proceeded, perhaps, from some who wished well to the Spaniard, and did not like the continuance of *this their dependancie vpon England*, who was by these cautions *really* and *perpetually* in *point of honor*, and *profit*, and *interest*, ingaged for the defense of their *State* and *title* equally with themselves: And this was seconded by a windie humor bred in a few others by prosperitie and peace, which looked not so farre as the first mouersayme, but supposing themselves able to stand vpon their owne feete, thought scorne to hold any longer of others, and began to meditate how to forget the hand that helped them vp, and to requite that curtesie with quarrells: which they could not doe safely (they saw) whilst wee had those pawnes in our custody. But for the carriage of our *Queene* of blessed memoire *deceased*, of our *present souueraigne*, of our *Counsell and State* in generall, there was no passage eyther in the first *taking of them on*, in the *holding*, or *restroeing* of them, but fauours of *religion* and *honor* in all apprehensions, and will do so to all generations heereafter.

Againe they obiekt that *our present ayde lent them is for our owne sake*; since our *Parliament* generally apprehended these Countreyes to be as the *bulwarks* or at least as the *Counterscarfe* and *outworks* of our owne land: and it was wisely sayde of a greate *Commander* in his speech made to the *Parliament*, Anno 1621. *that if wee loose the Counterscarfe though it be beyond the ditch, the whole fortification is accounted lost. For the Rampier*
serues

serues but for a defence to make composition, so that if wee wilbe content to loose the counterscarfe, then wee must presently thinke of nothing but making a faire composition, or such, at least, as the besieger will afford vs. And wee willingly acknowleg this to be a truth, wishing them to do vs good for their owne sake, as they see vs do them good as they say for our owne sake. If wee count them our out-workes (as wee doe) they ought to count vs as the marketplace, or Sanctuary, or heart of the City, which those outworkes are appointed to guard. They count themselves and the world generally and worthely counts them, to be a wise, politique, and prouident people; let them therefore shew it in this particular, loueing vs and doing vs all the good they can piouslie for religion sake, curteouslie and readely for neighbourhoods sake, faithfull for friendships sake, or at least politiquely for their owne sakes.

Againe they obiekt our people are imployde by this meanes, and so our State pruned, drayned, and disburthened of many unruly and vnnecessarie members. This is very true also; for our nation (as ranke soyles yeeld many weedes, and ranke witts many extrauagancies) bringes forth many people, and withall spirits of extraordinary temper for the warre; which might be attributed to our diet (since wee eate more solid flesh then any other Nation in Europe) but that wee likewise finde all that is bred in our Climate (as appears by our Mastines and Cocks of the game) are of a more noble and generous straine (as I may say) then many others. These fiery Spirits are often most unruly, so that their parents are weary of them, and seeing they will take no course to liue otherwise, cloth them furnish them with money, and expose

them to the warres. Many of these haue the wit and grace to come ouer well prouided, as their parents send them ont: others will not leaue England till their Mony be spent, their clothes worne out, and then ashamed, *with the prodigall*, to returne home for new supplies, they come ouer into these parts ragged (as wee see) a shame to their *parents* and *Nation*. Others leaue their trades, and runne from their Masters; and this is the true cause of these *ragged* and *naked regiments*, where you may see *good bodyes of Men*, very *ill apparrelled*. And by these offcoureings, men Gess at the pouerty of our State, forgetting they come, *though naked*, from the *land of Broad-cloth*, and that this raggednes of theirs, in so rich a Countrie, is one euident note that they are *made* and *marked out*, for the warres. Indeepe therefore wee confesse these men finde imployment heere by this meanes and withall this State findes defence. Besides the *stock is our owne*, wherewirhall they are set to worke: for wee, with our owne monye, clothe them, furnish and arme them in all points compleat for the feild, with this charge, that they should fight for these Prouinces as they would fight for Brittanie. And were it not in regard of *Religion* (which wee alwayes prize and preferre before all other respects) and in regard of the *safety of both States*, which equally concernes vs, wee could haue the same imployment *against them* which wee haue now *for them*, and that vpon farre *better termes*. Where then were they (but that these respects do tye vs to them) if our King (which God forbid) should send so much monye and so many men against them to the Enemye? The most purblind and partiall person may see the issue, and so behold this benefite, in the contrary danger.

To

To tempt vs with *iniuries* therefore, and not to see their owne *instant necessitie*, because the *necessity which we politiquely feare & would preuent stands in their light*, is an intollerable ouersight vnworthie of their wisdomes.

To presume they may do vs *hurt without danger*, because wee will *doe them none*, but *indanger* our selues to keepe them *from hurt* (as being most carefull of their wellfare with respect to our owne assurance and theirs in common) is a madness beyond all measure. As if I should *rob* my neighbour and *undoe him*, because I know him busied in *watching my house*, to *saue me* and himselfe from *robbing and undoeing*.

Since now wee haue sufficiently declared our owne kindeness, in wooing the vnited Provinces to reciprocall curtesies, and the necessitie of our standing together, except both of vs intend to fall; I proceede breefely to perswade both Nations to take better notice of the Enemys traines and deuises inuented to deuide vs, that so wee may vnite our selues to each other more closely by vndissoluable knots of loue and amitie. And because *these troopes of English newly raised* may some of them *out of ignorance* giue or take offences which might easely be auoyded; I (whose care and study it is to do good offices betwixt them, and to preuent what is possible all shadow of vnkindnes which may arise) euen in the least circumstance haue vsed that liber.y of speech in the discourse hitherto vnto which I am accustomed and naturally inclined: Which, though some may mislike who neither know me nor the matter, yet I knowe such honest and downeright freedome to be most fit and profitable for the continuing of friendship and cleereing of the case, which

liberty I desire leaue to vse in that which followes also; for besides that the *strocks of a friend are pleasant, in being profitable*, I vnderstand this busines hath need of *plaine dealing*, vnder whose seuerer conduct all affayres prosper, better then in the perpetuall Cockering of foole-making and foole-fauoring flatterie.

And first for my owne Nation, I desire they would not bee too *iealous, captious, and curious* in taking vnkindnes where none is offerd. Some persons haue the trick to pinne their interests and particular spleenes vpon the publique flecue: and so what they haue felt or do feelee in priuate, must needes bee a generall greouance: but wee must be wise and wary, not to suffer quarrells which may fall betwixt particulars, to troble or disturbe the generall peace, whilst wee see those iniuries are not backt by authoritie, and made vniuersall and nationall.

And if wee must not suffer real actions to disturbe our affections, much lesse should wee permit wordes to do it, especially euill words from such persons as haue not yet learned to speake well.

It is true that Ladyes and gentlewoemen passing the streets in strange habits, do often penance amongst the ruder sort, (as appeared by that most vnciuill and barbarous demeanoure vsed lately towards an English Lady in Amsterdam who desired to see the Cittie, and supposed all gouuernements to be as ciuill as London) but we must consider the same set of people would wonder asmuch at a Parrat or Poppiniay. It is true also that men of all rankes meete often amongst boyes words of reproch; but, besides that wee cannot altogether cleere our owne in some rude places from that barbarisme, what should such words of scorne spued from such mouthes moue vs?

Since

Since indeede it is our glory to be those English Dogs, that haue holpen the Shepheards to chase from hence the Spanish Wolues, who else would haue worried, not on-ly these silly Lambes, but the harmeles and innocent Sheepe, their Fathers. Let not this stirre the courage of a Man to fury, bnt pity and scorne; as Lyons vse to walke with contempt amongst barkeing whelpes, whose shrill notes are musick, whilst the Puppies bite not. Assuredly these boyes would, and doe too often, vse their Parents thus; they know no better; they neuer learned a lesson of obedience, much lesse of gratefullnes, to honor those in duty who defend them in loue, and often fauours them as the Pellicane doth her younge, whome in extremitie, she fosters and cherisheth with her owne blood.

It wilbe imputed a folly to me to touch this, but I haue seene some touched with it. It often falls out that men who affect honor, as it is the souldiars ayme, are more offended with reptoches and scornes then actual iniuries. And if it were not so, these spirits would not sell their flesh and blood so cheape, farre vnder the rate of beefe, or mutton, veale, or porke, nor would they indure heate and cold, and hunger and thirst, when seruants (haueing more wages) will not, but that there is an ayer of praise and hope which they (Camelion like) feede vpon, and it kills their hearts to heare this blowne away by a stinkeing breath with disgracefull language. It were easie for them by any honest trade or course of life to liue well in their owne Countreyes, for meere necessitie doth not bring them ouer hither, as if wee wanted meate and drinke in England, France or Scotland, but eyther they are brought hither to be punished for their idlenes, & because they would not at home doe a little easie worke for

great wages, are forced heere, as in a house of correction, to do great worke, yea the hardest of all (to ouercome manie wants, and difficulties, themselues, and others) for little wages: Or else, being men made and marked ont for the warres, they seeke and desire this kinde of life, and would chose it amongst all others as the most honorable, though they had nothing for their labour, but the oportunity and lawfull authority, to erchange knocks freely. For they deale for honor, as marchants for proffit; and they stampe in flesh and blood, as the other mint in gold and siluer. Now then the first sort meeteing disgracefull words meets but his desert, it is part of his punishment to be reproched and reuiled: but this latter, who is only couetous of honor, takes it ill, to haue this counterfeit coine of disgrace, put vpon him in stead of currant money. But I would not haue any of these latter sort looke so lowe to stoope to such pettie praise, nor contrarilie once cast their eye aside to these sonnes of Belial, children of Bethell, who would mock Elizeus if he came amonge them with a bald head or a strange habit, Nay rather I would haue them doe all good they can for the generall State of these Countries, with respect of those good people who are mixed amonge the wicked, and mourne for the abominations which are done in the Land. Deare Countrimen, you that be at home in peace, pay your monyes freely for the supportance and defence of these, pray for them with vnfaigned faith; and you, worthyes, that are heere, fight for them with vndaunted resolution, and, if neede bee, dye for them with comfort and cheerefulnes euen as for your owne Countrie; since, as I haue manifested, the warre is the same though a little farther remoued, and besides that it is also a religions warre,

warre, being for religion, if the warrours themselves haue any religion in them.

Againe I am to exhort my Countymen, who are comprehended vnder the name of greate Brittaines, to shew themselves as strong being now vnited, as they haue shewne themselves heeretofore being diuided. Let both the *English* and *Scottish* Nations declare by action that they haue not lost their old hearts by taking vpon them a new name; but that they are the sonnes of those Fathers whose braue blood, spilt in the warres, hath enriched and manured *these feilds*, with *France*, *Spaine*, and *Palestine*, and are ready to do it againe for the propagation of Christian Religion, and for gaineing free and assured passage to the glorious Gospell of our Lord Iesus Christ.

Lastly I desire & exhort with all earnestnes that they would be carefull to serue the vnited Provinces faithfully, and not to deceaue them in the least respect: whilst therein they *serue* or *deceiue* their owne *Prince and Countrey*, with whose monyes they are payde, and shall reape *praise* and *honor* or *shame* and *obloqui* of their friends at their returne home according as they behaue themselves in these imployments abroade.

And now haueing done with our owne, I am in most humble manner, to present these petitions following which I haue learned from the obseruation of my Countymen to the considerations of my superiors in these parts, in whose power it is to redresse the enormities thereby to declare, that they prize vs, as wee doe them.

First that they would be gratioosly pleased, to heare the *Old soldiars* sueing for better pay, and desiring to be discharged of their most chargeable and vnconscionable

Sollicitours, who eate them vp by Iewish vsurie in an vnreasonable manner, Soe as I haue heard diuers conscionable Commanders say, it is almost impossible for an Officer to liue (though neuer so meanelly and modestly) vpon his meanes, except he deceiued the State or Soldier; Since most of his owne meanes is swallowed vp by the solicitor. O that it would enter into the heart of those prudent Lordes, to take a course for better payment, that the Captaines might not haue iust occasion to complaine, nor Coloure to seeke shifts by cursed *attestations*, thereby to deceaue the *Country of bodyes*, and themselues *of soules*. Then your Companies would be fuller, and the officer would serue with better *courage*, because *with better conscience*. Yea then, if *deceite should be vsed or offered*, none would pittie the guilty delinquent, though he were made an publique example and spectacle of *fraude*, vnworthy his profession. I say *vnworthie his profession*, for I know, whatsoeuer othermen vainely thinke, that a *reall lye* is more dishonorable (though custome and companie cloudes it) then a *verball*, which is so haynous to the care and reputation of a souldier.

But I heare an obiection against this suite, which I dare not mention without craueing pardon aforehand, and this it is, as they say, God knowes the truth of it; *That if Solicitors were discharged and better payment made, then diuers of the Natiues should loose excellent offices, the Generall State let goe a faire improuement, and diuerse great persons could not put their monyes out to vsurie vpon such unreasonable conditions.* I cannot beleue this profitable sinne, can barre the doore against iust reformatiō, though the insolencie of the Solicitors would perswade me to beleue it; who presumeing, as it seemes
and

and as the successe shewes, vpon supportance, dare affront the greateſt Commanders and vse them as seruants not like Masters by whome they liue. Sometime Solicitors haue beene put vpon Captaynes by force, and they authorized to take from the Captaynes ordinance the best part of his meanes though the solicitor neuer advanced him a pence of mony aforehand, but because he contracted with his Predecessor; Soe that if a cunning Companion who hath a little spare monie can insinuate himselfe into the bosome of a needy or negligent Commander, and supplyeing his present wants, fasten a peece of mony vpon him, and procure from him an inconsiderate contract, for his life only, let it be neuer so vnreasonable, yet his successor must continue it, and make it good, nay, perhaps increase it out of his meanes; and so successiue from generation to generation, if the wars should continue it would continue like a rent-charge vpon the Captaine or companie; whereby it cometh to passe, that though a Captayne, who venters life and all for the State, hath but a terme of life in his Captaineship; Yet the solicitor, for layeing out a hundred or two hundred pownd, hath halfe the Captaynes meanes, and a perpetuitie in that halfe, though he doe nothing for the State but helpe to vndoe it. Besides though these persons be taken on, that the souldiar may haue sound pay, for which the Captayne payes soundly, as I haue partly shewed, yet their payment is soe bad, that there are few Captaynes (I might say safely, none) put haue iust cause to complaine, if their iust complaints might be heard and redressed.

But such is the vnequall condition of the persons and the odd and disrespectiue carriage of the tyme towards them, that the Captaine contracting with the solicitor,

is bownd for his part, and the solicitor is his owne iudge, and carues himselfe what amendes he listeth out of the Captaynes meanes: but the solicitor, contracting with the Captaine, is notwithstanding loose for his part, or as good as loose, since he cares not for keeping his day, but often puts the Captaine to borrow, and pawne his credit and clothes vpon interest for payment of his companie, when notwithstanding he payes vse to the solicitor for aduanceing it aforehand; Nay say the Captaine forbears it a moneth or two (as sometime it falls out) yet he payes vse for it, and the solicitor will not abate a stiuier, though the one looseth and the other gaines by this meanes, a dooble vse.

There is also a gaines made to the solicitor by payment of light money, which he knowes the Captayne must be forced to put away, cannot keepe to change; with many other grosse and intollerable abuses of which I haue heard Captaynes complaine, and which crye out (for the with-houlding of the labourers due is a cryeing sinne) eyther to the State for redresse or to God for judgement. I see what account David made of his worthies and souldiars, and how pretious their blood was in his sight, when refuseing to drinke of the water they fetched for him with perill of their lines, Hee powred it out to the Lord and sayde *My God forbid it me that I should doe this thing; Shall I drinke the blood of these men that haue put their lines in ieopardie? for with the ieopardie of their lines they brought it, therefore he would not drinke.* I wish that all solicitors and vsurers would consider this storie well, and then they would not (except they were right Nabals) make it their dayly trade to drinke vp, nay to be drunke with the blood of such men, and that whilst they

1. Chro.
11. 18.

1am. 5. 4.

they are watching that these may drinke the safer, and fighting for safeguard of that mony, whose vse eates them vp to the bare bones. But if these Iewes and bloodsuckers will not confider it, yet it concernes Dauid and the worthies of this State to looke to it better, and to their care and conscience I commend it. For if this be not reformed, as it shewes inward corruption and putrifaction, ripe for dissolution, so it may, at one tyme or other, by one meanes or other, put the State to straights and difficultyes, did not the auxiliarie Bandes take care for it, to defend it, and respect it, as their owne Countrie. Which care of theirs appeared the last yeere, at the comming out of that Placat, which gaue them, generally so much discontent, and that in the instant when they expected the Enemy. Which had beene a fit tyme and occasion to tempt them to mutinee, but that faith, honor, and religion restrayned them; yea such a tyme; as would haue occasioned some Nations then to crye for gelt and reformation, or also to lay downe their armes. Whereas then, all these troopes, both British, and French, did nobly and loyally resolue, not to dispute the point before the fight, but first to fight, and so to dispute the point against the Enemye with the edge of their anger and points of their swords, that they might by their deserts moue the States to repeale their act, and to shew they merited augmentation by way of largesse, rather then abatement or abridgement, by way of defalcation; which they would intimate by humble petition, without disputation, after the seruice was done and the Enemye gone off, and not before. And this resolution they generally followed, whereby they deserued dne consideration, and I doubt not in tyme but they shall finde it. They are Tyrants and not Fathers of the

Commonwealth, who take occasion to be euill, from the goodnes of their people; so that the better the subiect or inferior is, the worse the superior shews himselfe to bee; and the more he is content for peace, and quiet, and conscience, to suffer, the more the other puts vpon him and forceth him beyond his strength to beare and suffer. *It shall not be soe amongst you*, (saith our sauiour to his Disciples) I hope the illustrious Lords are our sauiours Disciples also, and I am sure then, *It shall not be soe amongst them*.

Secondly I beseech the State to consider whether or no it be fit to vindicate the honor of our king, State and Nation, together with the King and Queene of Bohemia, from the base aspersions cast vpon them, by rumor and lyeing multitude, in the point of their present maintenance. For I know the Common people belecue, and giue it out, for a manifest truth, as men that will belecue no better, how that royall Payer with their Princely children, lye heere at the charge of this State, and that exacti- ons are layde vpon the people to mainetayne them in that humble condition wherein they liue, which (notwith- standing it be farre too meane for the dignitie of such persons,) yet in the vulgar eye it seemes therefore to be to haughtie, because they think it comes out of their purse, and to proceed from their beggarly beneuolence.

This falsehood is bred and nourished by the Spanish faction, who would do worse then slander them if they could, and doe this to make the Countrie hate them, and thereby to prouoke the people for their sake, to mutinee and rise against the present gouernement of the illustri- ous Lords, as if they were the occasion of this causeles and needles charge, by harboring these distressed Prin- ces

ces in their Dominions.

The knowledge of this was one of the principal motives which caused me first to put penn to paper in this subiect; because I saw the honor of my King, Countie, and of these Princes traduced and tost vp and downe by lewde lyeing, and ignorant tongues. For, in stead of charging this State with their aboade heere (as these fellowes faine and giue out) they are euery way helpfull to it, spending therein many thowland pownds starling by the yeere, and causing much to be spent, all which comes out of England into these parts. And I present it to the consideration of my superiors, whether it were fit, for all their honors, and safetyes, to crye this off, or to make the truth of it some way publiquely knowne, that the malicious mouthes of men may in this respect be closed, and that the people may know they beare no burthen but their owne, yea that wee also doe helpe them, out of loue, to carry part of that, which belongs to them wholly to beare, out of duty to God and their Country.

Thirdly I humbly present this motion to the consideration of my superiors, whether they thinke it fit or no, for the consolidation of this league, and for the preservation of perpetual amitie betwixt both Nations, to equall vs, if not with their owne, at least with the cheefe of other Nations, who serue them as wee doe; since wee haue beene, are, and are like to bee, as good studds and props to this State, as they or any of them haue beene, are, or can bee. Let not the aduantage of language make a stricter band, then that of hearts and hands. If their tongues goe before ours, our hearts and hands goe in front with them, and haue euer done so, to do this State seruice. Neither speake I this to disparage them or any of
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them; It is no disparagement for the best of them, to march with vs; Neither speake I this to detract from their deseruings, but by comparison of theirs to set off our owne (which hath beene nothing inferior to theirs) and so to beget equall respect for equall meritt in all ranckes and degrees.

Fourthly I present to the wise consideration of my superiors, whether they thinke it fit or no, that in both the Indyces and all other places of trade or fishing, their people be straightly commanded carefully to mainetaine peace; that they sell not our loue for a little lucre, nor inuade our simple trust and innocent securitie, with fraude or violence, vpon base aduantages of tyme, and odds of number, or the like circumstances of trecherie and iniurie; which, as they may be shadowed with the cloake of Iustice, so they may serue our Enemyes, (who seeke to deuide vs,) as shaddowes to accuse the vnited Provinces of iniustice, and thereby to incense our State to sodaine rage and sharpe reuenge against them as against perfidious Enemyes. And I could therefore wish that if any should dare to disobay the Edicts of the State published for pacification, they may be persued as publique Enemyes, who by their practise tellifie the treason of their hearts, whilst they endeauoure to giue distaste to our State, thereby to breake the loue and league betwixt Great Brittanie and the vnited Provinces, that so their Troian Horse or Spanish lennet may come in at the breach.

Fiftly I would heere speake of honors and rewards to be propounded for the souldiar of all sorts and degrees, but that I am affraide to be laught at for my labor, or if not so, yet to be answered with that Common Error which goes currant for an axiome of State, *That Commonweales*

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monweales are incapable of this power to conferre honors.
 I see amongst the Romans, severall rewards and honors of all sorts, distributed freely and constantly to the best deserviers. Thereby to incourage all of euery ranck. high and low, the witty and valiant, in their severall kindes, to do their best, and to aduenture for the publique good. Titles, honors, lands, immunities, wreathes, chaines, ornaments, places in the theater, with diuers other pre- viledges, and lastly statues and triumphes were appointed for the well deservuing souldiar. And it is to be obserued, that whereas the Legionarie bands (which were natives) had siluer chaines, the Auxiliarie (which were strangers) had gould chaines to encourage them, and to binde them to the State by benefits, as the others were bound by naturall loue and duty. But it may be objected that these honors conferrd by the Romane Commonwealth were acknowledged by reason of the Monarchie, and did extend as vniuersally, as the Romane command and power it selfe, which tutcht almost the worlds circumference: but it is not so with petty Commonweales, whose acts seeme therefore to be priuate, and to be contained in narrow listes. And this is true, nor would I therefore desire for the wel deservueing souldiar any honor or preuiledge but a publique acknowledgment and respect within the Vnited Prouinces or wheresoeuer they haue power or command: this they haue power to confer, as wee see the State of Ireland gaue the title of King to H. 8. by act of parliament, who before was written Lord of Ireland only; and what the States could giue would sufficiently content the souldiar, desirous of honor, and binde them the rather to the place and seruice, whilst they should there haue that due reuerence and acknowled-

gement, which in other places they should not finde but vpon remouall loose. And for ought I see the Honors conferd by absolute Princes, are of force no farther then their owne forces carry them and giue them life and authority; as wee see in the Emperiall Courts, who will not be acknowledged for such in greate Brittain, and surely Sir Robert Dudley, what State or stile so euer he walkes vnder in Florence, must in England, if euer he returne, vaile bonnet, and returne to his English titles.

I say therefore, had a worthy Commander, after long and good seruice, some publique acknowledgement of his merrit; some title, or note of honor, some preuiledge or extraordinarye respect and allowance (though it went no farther then within the limits and command of the vni-
ted Prouinces) yet it would animate and stirre vp noble spirits to excellent actions and entreprizes through emulation. And had a priuate souldiar, after long and good seruice, the least acknowledgement of his worth, were it but immunitie from the excise, increase of meanes, or any other preuiledge it would incourage a poore man to serue brauely. But to sell his *flesh* and *blood*, for *bread* and *cheese*, to spend his *lustie youth* euen till he ariue at a maymed and sickly old age, for so much meanes as will only keepe soule and body together; in a miserable manner and (which is worst of all) if he liues in the wars 20 or 30 yeeres, neuer to haue hope of due and orderly preferment, but to see euery youth daunce frog-leape ouer his back, this is that which quencherh the courage of all honorable vndertakeing, and is the only cause soe little is performed vpon the politique and powerfull Enemy.

Lastly I humbly desire all Readers of *both nations high and Low*, to pardon me and to accept of my good will
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which aymed heerein to do good. Especially I seeke pardon of the illustrious Lords and Gouvernors of this State who may thinke me too peremptorie, plaine, and punctuall, in some passages of discourse, and in the propositions I haue made. But when they shall vnderstand I haue suffered for their sake from mine owne Nation, and haue bene taken and chalenged as a Man too much their owne and partiall vpon their side for what I haue done, spoken, and written; they will, perhaps the sooner intertaine my excuse, and the better beare my plainenes and bouldnes. And for those of myne owne Nation who haue thought me to vilifie our owne and to honor this people too much, I let them know that I haue done nothing but what the truth and the necessitie of the case required. For when I meete a discontented Countreiman of mine owne, who seekes to ease his priuare spleene, and to reuenge his particular quarrell, by inuectiues against the publique State of these Prouinces, then as one that vnderstands how much it concernes all our welfares (especially for point of Religion) to be well conceited of each other, and to stand together in firme friendship, iea- lous that many fractures should make the ioynt vncon- solidable, and not knowing with what heart and intent those obiections are made, nor how powerfully that scattered breath may worke, (whilst I see thin vapors, gathering and vniteing by degrees, breake out at last into boisterous stormes and blustering windes) I doe what I can to oppose these in the beginning, and that perhaps with a little too much violence, contending for the ho- nor of these parts.

But againe when I meete with an obstinate and male- volent spirit of these Conntreyes, arrogateing all to their

owne worth, slighting our King and Kingdome, and seeming to rely vpon other Princes in their opinion more potent: then indignation lets loose the reynes of my affection, and reason accompaines and seconds them as farre as she is able, to let such blind Braggadochies discern what they are able to doe for themselves, what wee haue done for them, and how (whatsoever they say and would faine make men beleue) they cannot rely with that assurance vpon any popish Nation, as they may vpon vs, for all our seeming ouersenes; Nay that there is no Nation vnder the sunne that can be so profitable and helpfull to them as that of greate Brittanie. Which they may easely see who obserue the situation and shipping of both, and consider that all France, though farre more potent at Land, could not haue afforded vs equall assistance to that which these Countries, (then weake in comparison of what they are) brought vs in 88 by Sea. Nor can all France (though they were our superiors in strength, as yet no triall by battell hath giuen them the assurance) so supply their wants and second their warres offensive and defensive by Land and Sea as wee can doe. Thus incountring with English aduersaries, I shew my selfe a plaine dealeing Dutchman; and incountring the Dutch, I shew my selfe what I am, a true hearted English man; But heere where I speake freely I declare impartially what I haue knowne, or heard vpon both parts; what grieuances ought to be remoued, what cautions ought to be obserued, what diligence ought to be vsed on both sides, to settle and make strong this old league renewed, in conseruation whereof the liberty of both States, yea of all Christendome, yea of Christianity it selfe in some sort, consisteth. The wrack of Religion is that which is ay-
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med at, is that which I feare; and were it not for Religion I would study, and should soone finde the way, to be a politician also. Now I haue sayd nothing with a purpose to ouervalue our present ayde (I haue spoken as much of theirs) or to vpbraide this State with ingratitude, or as a man that grutch'd at what wee giue and thought it too much (I wish it much more) or as one that imagined the wisemen of these Lands did not see all this, and more too, without my light; farre be this folly from me: Nay rather my intention is to let the common man see this, who will not vnderstand it, or at least acknowledge it; That when he sees the truth, he may make better account of vs then he vseth to doe. For I must tell them for conclusion, that our Commons & the State generally, for religions sake principally, is ready to drop their money and their blood freely for this Nation: only the wisdom of our State holds vs back because they see vs too forward, and know well, that what is proffered is contemned, and what is too common, cloyes. Soe all the Remoraes and rubs these men finde in their affaires with vs is from this ground. Whereas on the contrary they are the Commons of the vnited Provinces who slight our people, doe vs all the wronge at home and abroad, where they can take any aduantage against vs, and giue vs and our State all the disgusts they receiue. This I beleene proceedes principally from that irreligious or superstitious mixture, which is amongst them, who eyther corrupt the rest that are truly religious and true patriots, or at least, by their multitudes, so ouersway the good, that they cannot doe, for vs and themselves, as they would. And for this cause. Their State and Statesmen yea the illustrious Lordes themselves are forced by authoritie and

power to restraine them from euill, and on their behalves, to doe vs all the good they can. Soe you may obserue that with vs the generall currant runns strongly in fauour of these Prouinces, particulars only oppose it for polecie or perhaps some for poperie; but in the vniited Prouinces the generall currant runs strongly against vs, and therefore their State or some particular persons of it, ashamed of the common folly, indeauor to mend it. I make a question if this people were in peace as we are, and wee in warre as they are, whether or no their Common people would as willingly and readely offer themselves and their monyes for vs, and presse the States for permission, as wee offer our selues and our monyes freely for them, and presse our superiors by suites, intreaties, and humble petitions, to giue vs leaue to assist them. I am perswaded, those that grutch and repine, at the excise which is raised for their owne instant and most necessarie defense, would grutch farre more to doe it for others. But it hath not beene long so, their forefathers who with their blood bought their present libettie, were of an other minde. And those Popelings, Libertines, and Sectaries amongst them who are now all sick for change, would, if the Lord should so plague them as to giue them their heartes desire (which I constantly hope, and heartely pray for the sake of the faithfull which are amongst them, that he will not) soone finde the difference of gouernement, when in stead of Fathers, and Brethren, and Sonnes, and Kinsfolke, and a Prince of their owne election, yea such a Prince, such a Generall, as neuer Nation met with a more moderate, affable, prudent, diligent, watchfull, patient, prouident, and in all respects one more fit for them: in steade of such, I say, they should haue Strangers, Tyrants,

and Tyrants set ouer them, who haue shown heretofore, and would shew againe, if they had meanes, that (whatsoeuer we foolishly periwade our selues to the contrarie) they neither respect Law, nor Promise, nor Oath; nor make difference of Religion, or Sexe, or Person; but seeke onely satisfaction of their Libidinous, Ambitious, Cruell, and Couetous desires,

This I thought good briefly to intimate, that, if it be possible, we may receiue reciprocall kindnesse from this Nation generally; and then they need not doubt no more then we our selues doe, but that, where his Maiestie sends this yeere sixe thousand Foot for their ayd, the next yeere (if they should need, as I hope they shall not, pray they may not) a Royall Armie will, in the name of God and our King, command the insulting and incroching Enemy, to stand backe, and giue vp, what he hath vniustly swallowed, and what he shall neuer digest to doe him good, but which may proue as fatall to his entended Monarchy, as that Flesh was to the Eagle, which she snatched from the Altar, to the firing of her owne nest.

And this out of question we with them should effect, without reliance vpon other vncertaine Leagues, if we would seriously vnite our Forces by Land and by Sea, and follow that footing which God hath lately giuen this Nation in the West *Indyes*. But of this there is little hope whilst those fatall quarrells in the East *Indyes* lye festering betwixt vs in blood vnappeased, and no such reall satisfaction is giuen, as may witnesse the impartiall Iustice and necessitie of the cause if true (which with the circumstances giues great occasion of suspicion) or testifie by execution of the delinquents (if they be found to couer trecherie and murther vnder the apparance of Iustice) that they

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will not hazard the losse of his Maiesties protection, and our loues, for the liues of a few Libertines; because they loue vs for some thing else besides their owne profit, and will shew the world it is not true which their Enemies slanderously giue out, *That they know no God but Gaine, no Religion but Reason of State, no Heauen but this present World, and no Friend but themselves.* For our parts we shew our selues to be Subiects of such a Soueraigne, as loues no mans person so well to make vs loue or protect his sinne. If they haue dealt treacherously, we disclaime them for our Countreymen, and can be as well content to see them suffer worthely, as Pyrates and other offenders who are put to death as publique Enemies to all Nations. But if ours be Innocent, and this cryme be raysed by policie to supplant them from those parts as is suggested, then we hope and expect a seuerer example shall be made vpon those Diuels, who to the end they may do euill, and satisfie their cruelties (which they exercise euer where they are Masters) doe not forbear euen to accuse the Innocent, as Satan did Iust *Iob*. But sparing to censure this on either side, till we see the cause cleared by seuerer, strickt, and impartiall examination, which we hope for and expect, we pray God to blesse and prosper this League of Loue begun, and to conuert or confound all that wish the contrarie.

FINIS.

THE
HIGH-WAIES
OF GOD AND
THE KING.

WHEREIN ALL MEN OUGHT
to vvalke in holinesse here, to
happinesse hereafter.

Deliuered in tvvo Sermons preached
at *Thetford* in NORFOLKE,
Anno 1620.

By THOMAS SCOT Batchelor in Diuinity.

Qui ambulat in via una & Regia, non laborat.
Hier. Com. in Esa. cap. 57.



Printed at London. 1623.

TO THE READER.

That which I preached once with approbation of the
godly hearers, I publish now for the use of all behol-
ders: No other reason perswading me to it, then the
necessitie of the Times, which begin to bee like those, wherein
S. Augustine would haue all men write. Farewell, and the
Lord make it, as I intend it, a blessing to thee for Instruction,
Admonition, Reformation. Amen.

Tho. Scot.



THE HIGH-VVAYES

Of God and the King.

Proverb. 14. 12.

There is a way which seemeth right vnto a Man:
But the end thereof are the wayes of death.



THE Philosopher *Pythagoras*,
(whose *Ipse dixit*, was warrant and reason
enough to satisfie, or silence at least, his
whole Schoole) considering the birth of
all Mankind to be after one manner, and
their deathes a like certaine, exprest his conceit by the
Greeke letter Y; shewing thereby, that all haue alike
common entrance into the world; the *King* and the *beg-*
gar; the *foole* and the *Philosopher*; and that only the diffe-
rence betwixt Man and Man was, in the different vse of
themselves, and the choyce of their wayes heere, vwhere
there was a way of wisdom and vertue, and a way of
ignorance and vice propounded to all; and as Men
walkt in the one or in the other, so was their liues, and
the issue of their liues (their deathes) either miserable
or happy.

Our blessed *Sauour* (the true *Pythagoras*) the wisdom
of his Father (whose *Ipse dixit* must silence the most cu-
rious, and satisfie the most contentious) hath sayd, *Mat.*

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7. that there are two wayes; *A strait gate, and narrow way which leades to life, and a wide gate, and broad way, which leades to destruction.* And euery Man that is borne of a woman walkes in one of these wayes, and to one of these ends. *Iosuah 23. 14.* Now as life is the most sweet and desireable estate, and Death of all things the most hatefull and terrible to *Nature*; So the meanes to attaine life and auoyd death, should be carefully sought
 Pro. 19. 19. by euery vvise Christian. *For he that regardeth not his way (saith Salomon) shall die.*

This then concerneth euery man to looke to; and is a Doctrine fitting all persons, all places, all times. For if the way of life bee so hard to finde that few attaine it, and that those who suppose themselues to be in it may bee out of the way, vvee cannot bee too wary and sedulous in this inquisition, nor need wee feare the losse of our time in seeking, but rather the losse of our soules for lacke of seeking.

This Text containes one of those wise obseruations which *Salomon* assisted by the Spirit of God made out of his extraordinary experience in the passages of this world: and thought so needfull to bee vnderstood of all, as he repeates it againe *verbatim* in the 16. Chap. 25. verse, and in diuerse other places in a diuerse manner of words to the same purpose.

Diuision.

Wee obserue heerein two principall parts:

1. An erroneous opinion of *Prinacie*, in these words;
There is a way which seemes right to a Man.
2. An infallible iudgement of *verity*, in these words;
But the end thereof are the Issues of Death.

In the first part we note.

1. The subiect or matter propounded; *There is a way.*
2. The quality or condition of that way; *It seemes right.*
3. The

3. The Iudge of that quality: *A mans selfe*; The spirit of priuacy.

In the other part, the publike Iudgement, we obserue,

1. The *end* or purpose and scope thereof, compared with or opposed to the beginning or pretence.

2. The certaine *ill quality* opposed to the seeming good quality; It did but seeme good or right, but it is, certainly it is *the way of death*.

3. The Iudge of this *Quality*, *Salomon*, the Publique *Magistrate*, directed by the Spirit of God, opposed to the erring partiall spirit of a Mans selfe, of priuacie, to whome the way seemes good.

So the vway seemes right, but it is wrong; It seemes the right way to life, but it is the ready way to death; It seemes good in Manseyes, but it is not so in Gods eyes: *Multa videntur, quæ non sunt*.

1. The Subiect. *There is a way*.

A way literally and properly is thus defined by some; *via una pars est Locus; & alia est dispositio in loco, per quem initio est possibilis, in ea ad finem intentum*. By others thus; *Est via Locus per quem habere iter omnibus licet*. By others; *via est transitus à loco in locum*. Com. in Arist. Metaph. lib. 8.

The Latins call it *via* (as *Varro* thinketh) either *ab eundo, quasi ia*, the Impartive to *Eo*; Or else a *vehendo, quasi primum ueha, & tum deinde via*.

The Greekes call a way *ὁδός*, which some likewise deriue from *ἔω*, quasi *πορεύομαι, proficiscor*, or *iter facio*.

But none expresseth it so aptly and fully as the Originall, which is *Derech*, whose radix is *Darech*, *calcauit* or *conculcauit*, from the ordinary trampling and beating of the way with the feet of many passengers. And thus it is vsed properly for a way or place of iourning and tra-

uaile, but metaphorically translated *pro more, ratione, seu vite institutione, seu consuetudine.*

Now in this place it is vsed in a borrowed sense, and yet holds proportion or similitude with the thing that lends it.

And thus it must heere be vnderstood of the wayes of God, or the wayes of Man. The way of God is considered after a two-fold manner.

1. His counsell or secret will which is called a vvay, *Rom. 11. 33. O the depth of the riches, &c.*

2. His reuealed will in his Word, of which the Psalmist speakes, *Psalm. 18. 3. The way of the Lord is an undefiled way.*

This last is likewise two-fold. 1. Either *via legis & mandatorum.* 2. Or *via gratiae, promissionis & Euangelij.* The first of these wee walke in vvhen vve performe obediently that vvhich is commanded; the second, when we belecue faithfully that vvhich is promised. So the first respects obedience, life, action, vvoikes; the other, knowledge, faith, hope, and the affection of loue, which performeth all the Law by being accepted in Christ.

But of these vvayes as the first of all heere spoken of, vvhich is that of Gods Counsell, is too deepe for any of vs; yea or for *Salomon* himselfe to vvade in, (though the shallowest fooles vvilbe busiest in it) so the other, *his reuealed will*, is the rule of our vvayes, and neither of them heere intended by *Salomon*; because they are both good and seeme so; but this seemes good, yet it is not so.

Vrim or
light of
knowledge
Thumim,
prefection
or holinesse
Exod 28.30

Then this is spoken of the vvayes of Man; and they are likewise twofold.

Either the vvay of knowledge and vnderstanding:
Or, the vvay of Practise or Action.

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The way of knowledge, is that Faith or Religion which a man beleeveth to be the truth so farre as he vnderstands, and by vvhich he hopes to attaine life and happines hereafter. And in this sence it is taken, *Act. 14. Act. 24. 14. 16. 19. 9.* And so it sounds as if Salomon had sayd; *There is a Religion which a man supposeth to be the truth, and the right way to Heauen, but it is false and erroneous, and the next way to Hell.*

The way of *Practise* or *Action* is our conuersation, manners, and fashion of liuing and dealing betwixt man and man, in vice or in vertue, iustice or injurie, equity or iniquity: and so it is taken, *Mat. 21. 32.* And then the sence is, as if Salomon had sayd, *There is a course of life which a man thinkes very vpright and iust, and so iudgeth himselfe a holy Man whilst he liues heere in it, but it is a most deceitfull trade of life, bringing a man to death, dishonor, and destruction.*

But for our more cleere vnderstanding and discerning of this point, we will speake first of the way of *Religion*, being the *Speculative* part, whose object is *truth* and *falsehood*: And then of *Practise*, being the *active* part, whose object is *good* and *bad*.

And this the rather, because knowledge or the *Theory* better suites and answeres the *Way*, then action or the *practique*: and action more properly corresponds to our passage, trauaile, and walking in that way. So for doctrine wee will only speake of the truth or falsehood of *Religion*, and vwill reserue the *practique* part, our life, our manners, and conuersation, for the vse and application of those points of doctrine, which from hence shall naturally and properly flow. And thus much for

THE HIGHWAYS OF GOD

subiect, that we may know, what it is that *Salomon* vaile s
vnder this shadow, *The Way*.

2. The Quality.

Which seemes right] This is the Quality of the Way,
which whilst *Salomon* thus describes, he affoords vs from
hence a foure-fold diuision, according to that common
Proverbe, The *Italian* seemes wise, and is wise; the *Spa-
niard* seemes wise, and is a foole; the *French* seemes a
foole, and is wise; and the *English* seemes a foole, and is
a foole: So here, *There is a Way which seemes right and is
wrong*; and to that is opposed, *A way which seemes wrong
and is right*: and there is *A way which seemes wrong, and is
wrong*: and to that is opposed, *A way which seemes right
and is right*.

Terminus
à quo,
Terminus
ad quem.

Now these seeme foure diuerse wayes, but indeed are
but two: as two crosse or ouerthwart wayes seeme to
him that stands in the midst to bee foure, yet haue but
two beginnings and two ends: so here the difference is
not so manifold in the subiect, but in the Iudges, to
vvhose sight these vvayes appeare after a diuerse man-
ner, according to the truth or error of their apprehensi-
ons. For that the right way seemes vvrong, or the
vvrong vvay seemes right, proceedes à *deceptione visus*,
from error of judgement. For we see an euill vvay may
to one man seeme right and yet be vvrong; and the same
vvay to another may both seeme vvrong, and be vvrong:

1. Sam. 12. and a good way may to an euill sight seeme vvrong, and yet bee
23. right; and the same way to a good sight may both seeme right,
and be right. Now vvhilst I speake of a good way, and
a bad vvay, I intend a true Religion and a false Religi-
on: for as a vvay may be faire, (which vvee call a good
vvay) and yet be indirect: so a Religion may be glori-
ous

AND THE KING.

Thus to the eye, and furnished with faire pretences, & yet be false. And as a vway may be foule, (vvhich wee call a bad vway) and yet carry vs directly to the place whither we tend, so a Religion may bee naked, poore, plaine in shew, persecuted, afflicted, scorned, contemned of the greatest part of the vworld, of the mighty, noble, learned, politicke, and yet be the true Religion, and the true direct vway to happinesse hereafter, the lesse happinesse it hath here.

Having then *Religion* for our subiect, if we looke vpon it, vve shall finde three Religions in the vworld, especially justling for the truth of this way: The *Turkes*, the *Iewes*, the *Christians*: nor need any man to vvonder at this, that I should mention *Turkes* and *Iewes* vvith *Christians*: for the *Iewes* Religion, yea the *Turkes* superstition seemes in their eyes to them, as true and as right, as ours doth to vs; and vve haue nothing but the Scriptures to distinguish them and vs asunder: I meane, the consent of Scripture, Lawe and Prophets, Olde and New, Spirit and Letter: for some passages and obscure places, they pretend (though vnjustly) to be for them. But because vve know (vvhatsoever they boast) that their Religions are *ways* vvhich both seeme vvrong to all good or indifferent judgements, as they are vvrong in Gods judgement: and because our hope is to haue no hearers here but *Christians*, vvee vvill leaue them to themselves, & speake of the diuersitie of *ways* amongst vs, vvhich appeare principally to bee foure, euery one clayming truth, and holding their Religion to bee Orthodoxe, and so the onely right vway to heauen.

1. The first of these, are the *Grecians*, or the East Church.

B

2. The

2. The second, the *Abissins*, or South Church vnder *Presbiter Iohn*.

3. The West Church, or Church of *Rome* vnder the *Pope*.

4. The fourth, is the Reformed Church vnder diuers Princes: vvhich for distinction sake, and perhaps situation, (hauing respect to some of these) vvee may call the North Church.

Now if any man expect I should sub-divide the Reformed Religion, because there are some differences amongst vs, and such as in some times, and with some hot-headed persons, breed great combustions in the Church, I shal not need, neither truly ought I to do it; because all of vs (except the *Heretiques* who are generally cut off from the body of Christ by vs all, or those *Schismatickes* who separate and cut themselues off, as persons that haue no way, that haue no tract of Antiquity, or any footestep to follow directly in the Scripture) agree in the way it selfe, though perhaps some of vs may vary either in the manner of walking in that way, or in some ceremony and circumstance of deuotion or discipline, which is as the hedge, and ditch, and fence of this way, and no essentiall part of the way it selfe, but rather for the order, ease, and conveniencie of the Traueller.

And thus those whom our aduersaries miscall *Lutherans*, *Protestants*, *Puritans*, walke as *Iacobs* sonnes did out of *Egypt* to fetch their good old father thither, to whom their brother *Ioseph* knowing their stubborne, crosse, proude, and peruerse natures, gaue them this admonition aforehand, *See that you fall not out by the way*. Genes. 45. 24. *In via aut per viam, non pro via, or propter viam*: such are our hot alterations, *not for the way, but in the way*.
And

And thus such as the *Papists* call *Lutherans* and *Puritans*, walke the one vpon the one hand, and the other vpon the other, the *Protestant* in the midst, shunning both the Extreames. Wherein whilst the other walke with most violent and obstinate auersenesse, they thinke themselves only safe, and become seuerer and supercilious censurers of vs and all men who in the least circumstance dislike their Criticisms, or in the least ceremony vary from their rigide rules. But for the way it selfe, all of vs agree in one, & with vs the whole Catholike Church, both *Grecians*, and *Abissins*, as the learned know; and as it were easie to demonstrate to the vnderstanding of the simplest, if time would permit so long a discourse, in defect whereof I referre them ouer to a booke called *Catholique Traditions*, collected by a Frenchman, written in English, and dedicated to our late Prince *Henry* of blessed Memory. The only material difference vndecided, hangs betwixt vs and the Church of *Rome*, they holding themselves to be only in the way as persons that cannot possibly erre from it, and all others to be out of the way, that in all points walke not step by step, and hand in hand with them. Like a man, who vvould perswade all *England* there were no other way to *London*, but through his ground, that so he might exact a generall toll of the Passengers for his priuat benefite.

Now whilst I say, wee vvith all the *Catholique Church* agree about the way, and our only difference is vvith *Rome*: I neither intend to affirme, that either our agreement with all is so intire, nor our variance from those of *Rome* so distant, as some of ours and some of theirs would beare the world in hand.

Only whilst some Churches ioyne with vs in the Ar-

Via Regia
temperata
est: nec
plus in se
habens nec
minus.
Hier: in
Esai. cap. 57

ticles of our faith, and in all the fundamentall points of Religion (absolutely necessarie to saluation) we dare not judge them for erring in some matters of lesser moment. For what haue wee to doe to iudge another mans seruant? he stands or fals to his owne Master. Yet whilst I say, vvee vwill not iudge, I shew there is cause and feare of iudgement, which they may auoyd, vvho vvifely leauing ambiguous and vnnecessarie questions, rest and build vpon that which is generally and vndoubtedly agreed vpon. These & such like I forbear to iudge, because I heare Christ say, *Iudge not, lest you be iudged. Mat. 7. 1.* And I know well it is the presumptuous pride of *Antichrist*, and an infallible note of that man of sinne who sits in the seate of God, and exalts himselfe aboute all that is called God, to presse with *Lucifer* into Christs Office, and to iudge the quicke and dead before his comming, condemning all for Heretiques vvho vvalke not in his vvay. I know it is the only desperate error, not to see and acknowledge our error; but to proceede erring with a presumptuous opinion that we cannot erre. These brands therefore I leaue to him, vvho only by these (if there were no other) might be knowne to be out of the right vvay. And yet in the eyes of these men (led by flesh and blood, and the outward appa-
 2. Thes. 2. rance) how vvell doth their vvay seeme, how indirect and crooked seemes ours? Let vs a little behold them comparatiuely.

1. Doth it not seeme right to a man (who hath but naturall reason, flesh and blood to direct him) to follow that faith vvhich his forefathers professed time out of minde? And doth it not seeme ill to adhere to a faith vvhich they say had no being till about these hundred
 yeeres,

yeeres, and vvas neuer heard of before *Luther*?

Doth it not seeme right (vvhilst wee fancie God like our selues, or something better, like a good old King troubled vwith many imployments) that wee should goe to Saints, and Angels, and other spirituall favorites to intercede for vs and prefer our petitions? And doth it not seeme ill, that vvee (vilde sinners) dare presse euen to the Throne of grace it selfe, and refuse to vse any other meanes to obtaine our suites then the name, ayde, and mediation of the Prince himselfe Christ Iesus?

Doth it not seeme right, vvhilst vvee keepe the pictures of our earthly Parents and friends, that wee should vwith greater reuerence and care preferre the pictures of God the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, the Parent of our soules, of the Virgin *Mary*, and other Saints our celestiall friends? And doth it not seeme ill, that vve should not only neglect these, but also cast them out of our Churches and houses, breake and burne them; And the more pretious account vvee haue of the persons dignity, by so much the more to hold the picture perilous?

Doth it not seeme right to flesh and blood, that man should satisfie for his owne sinnes by suffering penance, affliction, chastisements, fastings and the like? that man should merit his owne saluation by vowes, pilgrimages workes of charity, chastity, voluntary pouerty, obedience, and other free-will offerings of supererrogation? And if heere there were any thing vnpaide, is it not according to reason, that after this life it should be taken out in *Purgatory* before wee goe to heauen? And seemes it not as ill to deny flesh and blood these sensible satisfactions, & to teach, that all proceeds out of Gods mer-

cy; that wee must doe good, but not trust to it; that man cannot satisfie, much lesse merit; that the chastisements wee suffer, or the best actions wee doe, are not worthy of heauen, either *ex condigno*, or *ex congruo*; and that as there is no third way heere, but a right way or a wrong way, so there is after this life no third place, but men presently passe either into eternall ioy, or eternall paine.

5. Doth it not seeme right, that since Christ is God, and God is Omnipotent, able to doe whatsoeuer he saith, that therefore when he saith, *This is my body*, that wee should then beleue, the bread in the Sacrament to be transubstantiated into his body, and the wine into his blood? And doth it not seeme ill, that wee who graunt this power of his, should vnderstand these words spiri-
tually, sacramentally, figuratiuely, and mystically?

All these things, and many more like these, appeare thus to the naturall Man. But apparance and seeming are no infallible notes of *veritie*, as we shall manifest, when wee come to speake of the *Opposition*, or the *publique Iudgement of verity*, and now will partly shew, coming by order to treat of the Iudge of these controversies, vvhich is heere said to bee man, guided by his owne imagination, and the giddy spirit of *Prinacie*.

3. The Iudge, A Mans selfe.

To a Man] Man iudgeth of things either by his Sense, or by his Reason (for I speake of the naturall man, that is, of Nature corrupted, not as God made man righteous, but as man hath corrupted his owne wayes.) By his Sense if he iudgeth, he finds himselfe often deceiued; for a straight sticke put into the water, seemes crooked in his eyes, an eccho beguiles his eares; his feeling, tasting, smelling,

smelling, all of them are subiect to deception. And for his Reason, the best it can doe, is to discourse probably of the least common accident of a Flea or a Flie; and then whatsoeuer he brings, may be controuerted so by another seeming reason, that the Iudge who should from this base, ground his determinations, had need do it with caution, and leaue roome to retract and reuerse his sentence. Much more is man puzzeld and lost, when he climes vp to higher contemplations, to consider the hidden things of Nature, as wee may plainly see by Gods arguments to *Iob*, *Iob. 38. 39.*

If then the spirit of a man cannot infallibly iudge of the things of a man, of his owne soule and body, or of such things as are subiect to his gouernment, how shall he be thought a competent iudge to determine the things of God, though we graunt him to be of as vp-right a heart as *David*, and as wise as *Salomon* himselfe? All that man can doe, is to iudge by apparance, and wee see heere things may seeme otherwise then they bee.

Now besides the insufficiency of *Man* this way, we shall 1. Tim. 5. 20
finde other defects in him which accompany impotencie, and are vnworthy of a Iudge: for in a Iudge two things must be principally auoyded; *preiudice*, and *partiality*: now both these we shall discover in our Iudge, *Man*.

First, *Preiudice*: Man naturally abhors all things propounded by his aduersarie, and the hate of the person wil not suffer him to intertaine the truth of his discourse, but rather seeke arguments to oppose it, his iudgement is so taken vp aforehand. Thus I haue seene the sentences of the Fathers reiected for hereticall by *Romane Catholiques*, when they haue beene found in *Luther* or *Cal-*

vin, Whitaker or Perkins.

Secondly, *Partiality*; Man naturally affects what either proceeded from himselfe immediately, or from his neere, deere, honord, and beloued Predecessors, or some that in his eyes seemes learned wise, honest, religious. In which regard God himselfe disputes this point with man, *Ezechiel 18. 2.* and in the 29. verse, concludes with an interrogation, with an expostulation, saying, *Yet saith the house of Israel, The way of the Lord is not equal: O house of Israel! are not my wayes equall? or are not your wayes rather vnequall?* And this is come into fashion againe, that Man dares argue the cause with his Maker; and if God do not as man will haue him, subiect his actions to mans reason, and aue all his creatures; but that, according to the rule of Iustice, he condemne some Reprobates, he is like to be iudged the Author of sinne. And I wonder he scapes censure, for making fishes, foules, beasts: I muse they finde no fault, because he made not all these to be men and immortall, and why he made not men Angels, whilst holy *David* wonders at his extraordinary care & loue showne towards man, saying; *O Lord, what is man that thou so regardest him? or the sonne of man that thou so visitest him?* He wonders that any man is regarded; these wonder, that all men, and all creatures are not alike regarded. Thus man that iudgeth by apparance, whose sense and reason may be deceiued and so deceiue him, as he deceiues others, who may bee *iniquus Iudex*, a Iudge full of preiudice, full of partiality, especially in his owne case) is vnfit to decide a controversie of this nature. And this therefore caused that resolute *Luther* to vtter that speech for which he hath bene so often and so vniustly taxed and chalenged,
That

That he preferd one Saint Paule, before a thousand Ambroses, Augustines, Hieroms or Chrysostoms. Because Saint Paul by the iudgement of all those was, for the first planting of the Church, guided by the infallible direction of Gods Spirit, after a wonderfull and extraordinary manner and measure: But all these men graunt themselves that they might erre; nay, that they did erre, and so retracted diuerse of their former opinions; desiring neither to be beleued nor followed farther, then their words and writings should bee found consonant to the verity of the written Word of God.

Now then all the iudgement of Man; nay, of all men contradicting the Word of God, is of a priuate spirit, such as *Adam* was directed by when he left the guidance of Gods Spirit; of which Saint *Peter* speakes, 2. *Pet.* 1. 19. 20. 21. If therefore a multitude of men (how learned, wise, or holy soeuer they bee) should ioyne against the Scripture, their authority must not carry it, for they all erre, and their interpretation is priuate, though their persons, their places, their professions be publique.

And one or a few men expounding with the Scripture, doth not expound by a priuate spirit (though his person perhaps bee priuate) but by the spirit of Truth which directed the holy Pen-men of the Scripture; and his opinion and interpretation is Catholique and orthodoxe, whatsoeuer his person bee. *Cyprian* vvas a publique teacher, yet interpreting some Scriptures to proue rebaptization, his interpretation therein vvas priuate, because against the generall sense and scope of Scripture. And *Augustine* vvas a Bishop, and so a publike person at whose mouth we are to seeke wisedome, yet when hee brought Scripture interpreted by himselfe,

contrary to the generall scope, to prooue Children should receiue the Lords Supper, his interpretation was worthliy reiected as of a priuate spirit. All the founders of Heresies haue beene publike persons, such as were *Nouatus, Arrius, Eunomius*, and with these diuerse Bishops of *Rome* haue ioyned eyther as authors of Heresies, or Sectators of such; and heerein they were all led by priuate spirits. Therefore *Bellarmino* confesseth, lib. 3. cap. 3. *De verbo. That the Spirit of interpretation* (which in *S. Peters* sense is publike) *is often given to priuate men.*

So then the Scripture must be expounded by the Scripture, the darker place by the place more cleere. Man must not seeke a fortification in Scripture for his opinion: but he must be carefull to raise his opinion and Iudgement, out of the Scripture, euidently confirmed & explained by it selfe, and by conference and coherence of the same with it selfe; and this is publike interpretation; whatsoeuer is contrary, is from the spirit of priuacy. *Veritas docendo suadet, falsitas suadendo docet.*

All this that I haue spoken then, is not totally to exclude man from determining questions and doubts in Diuinity, but to shew by what rule he ought to iudge; that is, by no other rule then by the Scriptures: for I gladly acknowledge, that whereas there is an authentick and fundamentall Iudge, Christ himselfe (the best interpreter of the Law being the Law-maker) so he hath placed a ministeriall Iudge, which is the Church, which must interpret Scripture by Scripture, and euer be wary not to contradict the vwill of the Law-maker Christ. Now the Romish Sinagogue considering the Church of Christ in a threefold manner: 1. First, as it is *Essentiall*; 2. Secondly, as it is *representatiue*: 3. And thirdly,

as it is *virtuall*. They make the *representative* part to consist in the Ministry; and this Ministry to flow from the *Pope* as from the head; and to this part that is to the *Pope*, they attribute that power which God hath giuen to the whole Church. Now the *Pope* being thus invested in absolute power with an opinion of infallibility, laying aside the Scriptures, iudgeth without them; nay, against them; nay, iudgeth them, and yet must not be challenged of error.

This wee iudge vnreasonable, that a Man should make his owne will the Churches lawe, and iudge in his owne cause without examination. And therefore wee shew, that man who iudgeth by his sense or reason, is not sufficiently qualified for such a busines; or if he were naturally so adapted, yet is he vnfit to iudge in this question which wholly concernes himselfe, in regard of partiality or prejudice, to both which he is subiect. Therefore in questions betwixt vs and the South-Church, *Presbiter Iohannes* is an vnfit Iudge; and in questions betwixt vs and the *Grecians*, the Patriarch of *Constantinople* is as vnmeet: and in controuersies betwixt vs and *Rome*, the *Pope* is not a competent Iudge. *Ecclesiasticus. 8. 14.* *Go not to Law with a Iudge, for they will iudge for him according to his honor.*

Let vs therefore seeke a Iudge who iudgeth not by the outward apparance, whose sence and reason cannot be deceiued, who is neither prejudiciall nor partiall; who searcheth the reines and the heart; for vaine is the iudgement of man, to whom this way seemes right, when the ends thereof are the Yssues of death. And this wee shall finde in the Opposition, which wee come now to handle.

Amor &
odium &
proprium
commo-
dū faciunt
sepe Iudi-
cem non
cognoscere
verum.
Aristotle:
lib. 1. Rhe.

THE HIGH-WAYES OF GOD

*The Opposition, or Publique Iudgement.*1. *The end thereof; or purpose pretended.*

Wee had the way iudged before *prima facie*, by the outward apparance, by the beginning thereof, and so it seemed right. But heere wee finde *fronti nulla fides*, no credit to bee giuen to the countenance, but the end bewrayes the truth of euery thing. The woman beheld the fruite which Sathan so farre magnified; She saw the tree was good for foode, and pleasant to the eyes. *Genes. 3. 6.* so she eate thereof and gaue part to the man. Thus they iudged by the outward apparance, by seeming, and were deceiued, euen then when their sense and reason were at the perfectest. But after they had eaten it is sayd, *Their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked, Genes. 3. 7.* And then likewise they knew, that the curse of God, *The day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt dye the death (Genes. 2. 17)* would surely light vpon them. So this way seemed the right way to them to attaine knowledge & happines, but they found the end thereof to be the way of ignorance, of darknes, and of death. And as with them, so with all their posterity since, this hath succeeded as a testimony of their hereditary sinne, still to be deceiued with the seeming of things; insomuch as that is true which the Poet long since sung.

Iuven. sat.



*Fallit enim vitium specie virtutis & umbra,
Cum sit triste habitu, vultuq, & veste seuerum.*
The face and habit of an Anchorite,
May be the couer of an Hypocrite.

Therefore all wise men iudge of things not by their shewes, but substances, and not by their beginnings, but ends. Now the end of a thing is either *propositum*, the purpose for which a thing is done; and so the end of preaching is the saluation of soules, or *Terminus*

minus

minus, the issue or determination of a thing, as death is the end of a mans life; and so it is heere properly taken. A Iudge oftentimes saues a theefe, because he hopes he may proue an honest man, and doe good in the Common-wealth: There is the first end, *The Iudges purpose*: But the Theefe proceedes in his theeuery till he brings himselfe to the gallowes, and thats the extreame end, the *ultimum vale*. Of both these we intend to speake briefly, though the last only be proper to this Text, and the first borrowed for illustration.

First, then remembring wee haue *Religion* for our subject, let vs see what it is, together with the end thereof, to what purpose it tends.

This is Christian Religion, that one God, not many, be worship- August. in
ped: because nothing makes the soule happy, but only one God. The Ioannem.
infirmes soule is not made happy in the participation of another Tract. 23.
soule that is happy, but is happy in the participation of God; nor cap. 5.
is a holy soule happy in the participation of an Angel; but if an
infirmes soule seekes to be happy, let it seeke from thence, whence
a holy soule is happy. For thou art not made happy by an Angel;
but from whence an Angel hath happinesse, thou hast it also.

Faith with a serious feare of God, is the pure and true Religi- Polan.
on; as Feare containes in it selfe a voluntary reuerence, and car- Syntag.
ries with it a right worship of God, such as is prescribed in the
Lawe.

Religio dicta est eo, quod per eam uni soli Deo religamus ani- Igidor. lib.
mas nostras, ad cultum diuinum animo seruiendi. Religion then 18. Etymi-
being the band or tyall whereby wee are fastned and log.
bound to God as to the fouereigne good, consisteth of
three twines, *vz.* of faith, of hope, of loue; and a threefold
corde is not easily broken. Now the proper or principall end
of this *Religion* is the glory of God, the subordinate end is
our saluation.

That *Religion* therefore which most directly and cleerely tends to the principall end, must needs effect the subordinate end most certainly, and so must necessarily bee the only true and direct way to life; and the other, what shew foeuer it makes, must needs be the *Way and Yssue of Death*.

Againe, the glory of God is most aduanced heere in this our *Way or Religion*, by two affections of *feare* and *loue*, and by the true fruits and effects of them. Now that *Religion* which traines a man vp to feare God, and to loue God, as God ought to be feared and loued, giues God the truest glory, and so must necessarily be the truth.

Lastly, this *feare* and this *loue* is then most rightly generated and cherished in the soule of Man, and so Gods glory most aduanced, when mans nature is truly set foorth, and he thereby humbled in himselfe, and so taught to *feare*; and when Gods power and mercy is so exprest, as he hath beene pleased to reueale it to mans comfort; That so man seeing his owne wants and misery, and Gods all-sufficient power and mercy, might feare and reuerence God as a good *Master*, might loue and delight in God as in a good *Father*, and might wholly seeke to him, and cleaue to him as to the chiefe and *souereigne good*, able to supply and satisfie all his desires abundantly.

This being thus layd downe for a rule, let vs by this comparatiuely proceed to try some points of *Religion*, controuerted, which are fundamentall, or lye next to the foundation, and iudge them right or wrong from the nature and quality of their doctrine: that is, whether they ayme at the right end, *The glory of God*, or at an oblique end, the *gaine of this world*, and the *glory of Man* that pro-

propounds them, according to that direction which our Saviour giues, Iohn. 7. 18. *He that speakes of himselfe seeketh his owne glory: but he that seeketh his glory, that sent him, the same is true, and no vnrighteousnes is in him.*

1. First, for *Faith* the foundation; Our Aduersaries teach a faith which only beleeueth the power of God to saue man: wee teach a faith which beleeueth both his power and will. Theirs teacheth feare; ours both feare and loue; Theirs cloudes his mercy; ours giues true glory both to his power and mercy.

2. Secondly for *hope*; our Aduersaries teach a hope which vncertainly expects a good to come; whether they shalbe saued or no they know not, but they hope well: whether there be a heauen prepared for them yea or no, they know not, but they hope well. Wee teach a *hope* which the Scripture teacheth: that is, an earnest out-looking, expectation, and longing, for the accomplishment of those gracious promises which God hath made to vs in his Word. So our *faith* beleeueth, that there is a heauen, and a heauen prepared for vs; our *hope* longs for the time when this shalbe perfected; and taught by patience and experience, stayes the Lords leysure, and yet cries out, *How long, Lord, how long?* They call this *hope* Presumption, but wee know they are presumptuous for calling it so.

3. Thirdly, for *charity*; They teach what Charity is truly, but in this they erre, that they make it (that is, the charity of man) to be the cause which moues God to saue vs; nay, which deserues and merits saluation of God. And this Charity they teach so to depend vpon Free-will, as thereby they exalt the nature of man, conceale his fall, and make the decree of God to be grounded vpon

Spes boni incerti.

Apo. 6. 10.

Solent Hæretici semper prospecta polliceri, & caloruna regna peccatoribus pandere: vñ dicunt parata sunt tibi

bi regna
celorum,
potes imi-
tari maie-
statem Dei,
vt absq
peccato sis.
Accepisti
enim liberi
arbitrij po-
testatem.
Hieron:
Com: in
Hier: cap.
23.

pon the mutable and vnconstant will of man. We on the other side teach, that our saluation wholly proceedes from the charity and loue of God, and that all meanes conducing to that end, rise from the same fountaine of loue; and so our charity, as an effect of that charity of God to vs, serues not as a *cause moouing* God to saue, but followes as a *cause declaring* whom God will saue. And that our Charity, as it is a fruite and effect of Gods Charity, is true charity; and the works proceeding from that charity of ours, good, but imperfect; good, as done by a person accepted, imperfect as done by a sinner, as done by a babe which growes and labors towards perfection; which perfection is not wholly to bee attayned, till this imperfection be wholly put away, and corruption hath put on incorruption. And therefore for *merit*, wee are farre from it, as a doctrine opposite both to our charity, and to the charity of God. To our charity, because charity is a free worker, not respecting the wages; if she thinkes to merit, she is not Charity. To the Charity of God; because if God gaue for the merit of our workes, heauen were not properly a gift, nor grace were not grace; nor charity, charity: for charity is free. Thus euen *Adam* himsele in his integrity could not merit, because hee had nothing *but what he receiued*, he was indebted for his daily bread, and for the grace he had to see and acknowledge this loue of God: so whilst we are giuing thanks for benefites receiued, wee are not paying our debts, but running farther in; for euery grace that wee haue is a new obligation: *To him that hath shalbe giuen*, and wee are receiuing whilst we thinke our selues giuing.

Againe, they teach, Though Christ dyed for vs, and
though

though Gods grace guide and direct our actions and affections, yet there are some sinnes left to be satisfied and discharged by our selues, either in this life by workes of merit or pennance heere, or heereafter by punishment in *Purgatory*. Now this they doe teach, not euer perhaps because they so beleue, but because it is a profitable error, and they know they may easily vndertake to pardon all that come into *Purgatory*. Besides, it is a great glory for their *Hierarchy* to be sticklers in so large and spacious a roome as they fancy or faine it to bee; not only to haue all earth, but all *Purgatory* also within the verge of their Inquisition. Now vvee teach the contrary, because we see this doctrine derogatory to Gods infinite mercy and glory, and to the infinite merits of our Sauiour. As if God had *forgot to be gracious*, or as if our Sauiours merits and actions were imperfect as our workes are; or rather indeed as if our workes were perfect to merit & supererrogate, and his imperfect, not able to do inough for all, vwhen our Sauiours death did satisfie for all the faithfull, and vvas sufficient for many vvorlds more, and his merits vv ere superabundant for vs, and for all that beleue and repent.

Fifily they say, that after the vvords of consecration, the bread is changed into the body of Christ, as he was borne, as he suffered. This they doe to exalt the dignity of their Preisthood: vvee teach the contrary, that it is his body and truly eaten, but both by faith, after a spirituall manner, as the Angels eate Christ in heauen by contemplation. And this vvee teach, both because vvee haue good testimony of *Scripture*, vvith the whole coherence thereof, and the *Analagie of faith* so to expound it, as also because it makes more for the glory of God,

and the humiliation of man, when our Aduersaries doctrine doth the contrary. For doth it not call in question the truth of Gods word, the truth of Christs body, when we are led to imagine such a body as might be borne of the Virgin, or not born; might be crucified, or not crucified, being neither to be felt, nor seene, nor tasted, yet to be taken vwith the hand, eaten with the teeth, receiued into the stomach? And doth it not exalt man, vwhen it makes him able to make his Maker? And with his word to make him so, as it should be in his power according to his intention & will to haue him present or not present? What is this else, but to sit in the seate of God, and to be exalted aboue all that is called *God*? Like in spirituals, to that of the great Earle of *Warwicks* in the time of H. 6. in temporals, vwho chose rather to be called *Primus Comes Anglie*, then *Rex Anglie*; and thought it more honor to make a King, then to bee one.

Lastly, they say they humble man more then we, and exalt God more then wee: 1. They humble man more whilst they tell him his sinnes are such as he must not presume to go to God, but by meanes of Saints or Angels. 2. They exalt God more, whilst they exalt his seruants, and giue asmuch reuerence to the Saints as wee to God. To this wee answere, they arrogate to man, whilst they will seeme wise aboue that which is written; they derogate from God whilst they make his seruice common to the Saints, and can only colour it with a distinction; nay, whilst they make him and Christ onely seuerer *Iudges*, and the Saints and Angels merciful, and so their *Mediators*. They ought not to do euill that good might come of it; this is euill to lye of God, whilst they faine him to bee what he is not, and deny him to bee
what

what he is. And of this kinde, and to this ende are all their fictions in the *Legend*, to proue the Saints merciful, and God seuerer; yea the blessed Virgin *Mary* to be more pitifull then *Christ* her Sonne and Sauour, in whom she was blessed more *as a childe, then a Mother*. That they may do this the more safely, they contend and say, That besides the written word of God, there are many other decrees and dogmaticall points and traditions necessarie to be beleueed to saluation, which the Church (that is, *themselves* alone) haue in custody vpon trust and credit. Now wee teach the contrary, aswell because wee haue cleere testimony of the Scriptures and Fathers generally, as of a cloude of witnesses to proue the contrary, as also because it makes more for the glory of God in things of absolute necessity toward saluation, to gouerne by positieue lawes of his owne, rather then by arbitrary and changeable lawes of Man; and that he should reueale to vs his will by his owne Sonne *Christ Iesus*, who came to saue vs, rather then to leaue vs to the vncertaine relation of Man, who for ought wee know may be *Antichrist*, and so intends to deceiue vs, though perhaps he comes in sheepes clothing, or may seeme an Angell of Light to bleare our eyes with apparance.

Wee might ioyne in this issue vvith them vpon all the questions controuerted, but these shalbe sufficient to giue light to see the rest at more leisure. In the meane time if wee cast our eyes truly vpon the end of their designements, vvee shall easily see, that gaine and glory vnto themselves are the only arguments which draw them to fight for the *Popes Supremacy*, the *Masse*, *Purgatory*, *Pilgrimages*, and all the rest of their opinions, vvherein they are opposite to vs and to the *Scriptures*.

To this end they are called Marchants, *Reuel: 18. 23.* Because for gaine and glory they sophisticate *Religion*, as Marchants their wares, and thus make marchandize of heauen and earth, and of God himselfe. And as the Marchants in *London* haue foreigne commodities whereby they sucke the sweete sap of the Country to themselves, and they in the Country haue meanes againe to recall it; as *Norwich* by stufes, *Torke* by Cattell, some places by vwooll and cloth, others by corne, and others by Mettals: Or as *England* vvith these commodities furnisheth other Countreyes, and supplies her owne wants from thence; and *Fraunce* with her vvines buyes her children vwooll, and *Spaine*, vvith Figges, Raysons Limons, and Oranges for sauce, buyes herselfe bread and meat: so these spirituall Marchants chop & change commodities, and tosse to and fro by that meanes the wealth, the pompe, the glory of the world, the fat of the Earth, the Crownes of Kings. To this end *Walsingham* had a lady to bring suiters and fees Eastward, and *Canterbury* had a Saint *Becket* to draw it Southward, The North had a *Winifrid*, *Scotland* a Saint *Andrew* and his arme, the Low-Countries a Lady of *Hales*, *Fraunce* a Saint *Denis*, *Spaine* a Saint *Iames*, *Italy* a Lady of *Loretto*, and euery Country vvvas full of these Marts, where the Saints did feuerall cures and seruices to the Church, and had continuall Votaries, and those of the frankest sort, as superstition is commonly a prodigall. And this vvvas a golden vworld, and a glorious *Religion* to the eye, so that vvee heare old men and women talke of these things still; but vvee know this was not sound at the heart; the way might seeme good to a man but the end thereof were the Yssues of death.

2. The certaine ill Quality; or Determination.

Is the Yssues of Death] hauing spoken of the first end, vvhich is the purpose and scope of this vway, vvee come to speake of the Yssue of this end; that is, The *Terminus ultimus* or determination of this purpose and ayme, and that is, Death; *They are the Yssues of Death.* Life was promised in their first apparance, it seemed the right vway, but vpon tryall wee finde *Latet Anguis in herba*, the end is the Yssues or wayes of death. A great distance betwixt the promise and the performance, betwixt the pretence and the Yssue, the passage and the port, the starting place and the end of the race; vvhhen life is proclaimed in the beginning, and death meets vs at the concluding. *I haue fought a good fight* (saith the Apostle Paule. 2. Tim. 4.7.8) *I haue finished my course, from henceforth is laide vp for me a Crowne of glory which God that righteous Iudge shall giue me, and not to me only, but to all that loue his appearing.* Now the Apostle hath fought, and if he had deserued *ex condigno*, might challenge this crowne as a debt due to his worth, but he doth not so, he expects it indeed out of grace, of free gift; he doth not deserue it by fighting, but he obtaines it fighting, it is giuen freely by a righteous Iudge vvhho gaue him grace to fight, and promised him both to ouercome and to triumph. *My grace is sufficient* 2. Cor. 12. for thee, makes Paule feare no buffeting of Sathan, no sting or pricke in the flesh, for that grace gaue him strength to fight and conquer, and vvas manifested the more by his infirmity: for Gods power is made perfect through our weaknes. And after he hath fought hee expects a crowne, that grace is his assurance, he cannot challenge it by any other right, and in that right he is assured of it both for himselfe and all others who loue the appearing of our Lord

Iesus Christ. To all that *loue*, not to all that *fight*; the affection, not the action, is respected; the person, not the passion is accepted. But now if *Paule* had beene of the Romish faith, this speech of his would haue beene iudged presumption; not presumption to chalenge by merit, but presumption to chalenge of gift, and so resolutely to rest vpon the grace of the giuer, as to assure himselfe and others of this crowne. *Presumption* is faith with them, and true *sauing faith* is *Presumption*. When they heare him say, Rom. 8. 38. *I am perswaded, that neither death nor life, nor Angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shalbe able to seperate vs from the loue of God, which is in Christ Iesus our Lord*; they would gladly make this only a probable perswasion, no certaine faith: but others seeing this too grosse a dallying with the manifest scope of the Text, say, Saint *Paule* vvas assured of the certainty of his saluation, of the happy end of his *right way* by extraordinary reuelation only. But let it be so; was it reuealed to him for others that belecue too? he saith so; for he saith nothing shalbe able to *seperate vs*: Now then if it be reuealed to him for others, let vs belecue the reuelation, and apply it with vnfained faith to our owne hearts in particular, as he did to his. And by the way, obserue what it is that Saint *Paule* builds his faith vpon, so that nothing can preuaile against it. Is it vpon *Peter* that rocke? Is it vpon Indulgences or Pardons of man? Is it vpon personall righteousness, inherent iustice, or his owne or other mens merits? No; It is vpon that rocke *Christ Iesus*; it is vpon the loue and Charity of God, in and through the merits of *Christ Iesus* our Lord; which loue, nor death, nor life, nor Angell, nor power,

nor

nor heauen nor hell can alter; for Gods loue is immutable, he is not *as man that he should repent*: whom he loues, he loues to the end; his wayes seeme hard, but the Yssues of them are the wayes of life.

Whereas therefore our Aduersaries accuse vs of nouel presumption, for teaching a faith that may assure vs of our saluation, and (to elude this cleere place of Saint Paul, and diuerse other the like) say, This was reuealed to him by extraordinary fauour. Wee know and confesse, that hee as a worthy instrument of Gods glory, as a Master builder, had many things reuealed vnto him for the edification of the Church, but for this particular it was no otherwise reuealed to him then it is to euery faithfull Christian, in vvhom the Spirit of God dwels, as in a temple, and there teacheth them to offer Sacrifice, and to cry *Abba Father* with teares and grones that cannot be expressed. Well may there bee a difference in the measure of the reuelation, not in the matter reuealed: *Wee know* (saith Saint Iohn. 1. Ep. 3. 14.) *that wee are translated from death to life, &c.* and after, verse 23. *He that keepeth his commandment, dwelleth in him, and he in him: and heereby wee know, that he abideth in vs, euen by that Spirit which he hath giuen vs.* So the persons are *wee*, not *I*, not Saint Iohn alone but *wee*, *all that beleene*, and loue; for this faith and loue are inseperable: Againe, *wee are translated*, not it is *probable wee shalbe*, but *wee are*, vvhich makes it certaine by faith, as if it were done and accomplished: Lastly, *we know this*, and wee know it by the Spirit which God hath giuen vs, the same Spirit that taught Saint Paule and Saint Iohn is our tutor too. For other reuelations Christ himselve hath silenced all pretences and shadows, and giuen absolute authority to the Scripture o-

pened and interpreted by the Spirit of God to resolute
 Luk 16.19 all scruples in case of conscience. And this wee may see
 cleerely in the Parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, where *Dives*
 after he had failed of his personall suite, and could not
 obtaine a drop of mercy for himselfe, yet requested *A-*
braham to send one to his friends to forewarne them of
 the state he was in, not that they might pray for him, for
 that vvas to no purpose, *the tree was false*, but that they
 might by repentance and amendment auoyde the dan-
 ger themselues. To whom *Abraham* giues this answer,
They haue Moses and the Prophets, let them heare them; so he
 turnes them to the Scriptures wherein the will of God
 is reuealed to euery man, what they should shun, what
 they should doe, what they should belecue, and how
 they should liue. And when *Dives* persisting in his suite
 saith; *Nay father Abraham, but if one went vnto them from*
the dead they will repent. *Abraham* replies definitiuelly and
 resolutely, *If they heare not Moses and the Prophets, neither*
will they be perswaded though one rose from the dead. So wee
 see, he that doubts the Scripture, or beleeueth any thing
 against it, vnder pretence of reuelations from heauen,
 or hell, or Purgatory, or the like fictions of Ghosts and
 Spirits appearing, is in a wise case, and may be drawne
 into a fooles Paradise, but neuer into the true Paradise,
 and so wander in this way which *seemes right*, but the end
 thereof are the *Issues of Death*.

To shut vp this point, obserue the certainty of this
 iudgement, as the Apostle Saint *Iohn* before in the 1.
 Ep. 3. Chap: 14. verse, speakes in the present-Tence, *We*
know that wee are translated, to note the certainty of
 their translation to glory; so heere *Salomon* saith, *It is the*
Way of Death, and the end thereof is so, to note the cer-
 tainty

tainy of the thing. And this is a plaine prooffe of the Spirits assistance to discern the end and determination of a thing before the end be come; when otherwise it were too late to doe it. For it is too late for *Dives* to repent in hell, when the end is come; he should haue attended better to *Moses* and to the *Prophets* before, and beleeued the word of God, not the foolish traditions of his *fore-fathers against the Word*, or the idle old-wiues tales of his *foremothers*, besides the *Word*: he should haue attended the admonition of the faithfull *Pastor* and *Prophet*, and not to the fained Legend of his flattering Parasites, trencher-fed Chaplaines. The perfection of all humane judgement, is to iudge by the end and issue; and euen heere wee often erre too: but if man goes farther of himselfe by nature, it is but coniecture and presumption arising from long experience in obseruation of like circumstances, as the effect leades vs to the cause; but yet euen then wee cannot say it is, or certainly it shall bee, but it may be so, it may so fall out, it may be the end of Death. But the Spirit of God sees the end before it comes; he sees the thoughts as farre off, and iudgeth, and warneth men aforehand inwardly by good and holy motions, outwardly by the Scriptures; and he that will not beleue the holy *Spirit of God in the Scriptures*, it is but iustice, if God giue him ouer to a reprobate minde, that he should be seduced and beleue lies, who would not receiue the truth of God, but was transported with respect of times, persons, places, and other humane Motiues.

And heere before wee part, I giue the intelligent Hearer this one obseruation by the way, that of all the controuerfies betwixt vs and our *Romane Adversaries*,

E

we are

we are not chalenged for doing any thing in the seruice of God which wee ought not to doe: for wee beleue with them all the Articles of the *Creede*: wee pray as Christ himselfe hath taught vs, wee liue (at least wee teach, that allmen should liue) as God hath commanded vs in the *Decalogue*. Only the exceptions they take at vs, are for omissions, because they say, wee do not something wee ought to doe; and our exceptions are against them. 1. First, for omitting some things which God commandeth; 2. Secondly, for doing something that God commandeth, not after the patterne prescribed, but after another manner invented. 3. Thirdly, for doing many things which God hath directly and expressely prohibited, prohibiting in the meane time what God hath commanded. Now I desire you so to obserue this passage, that you may take it vp rightly, and vnderstand what I meane.

I say therefore againe, the questions and controuersies betwixt vs, are not for the things wee doe, but of the things that they doe. As for example, they dare not finde fault with vs for praying as Christ taught vs, *Our father, &c.* But the question is, whether or no they doe as they ought, whilst they pray to *Saints* and *Angels*. The question is not, whether wee may pray to God without *Images* or no, but whether wee may pray by, at, in to, or before *Images*, with any reference to them, as they doe. And so for *Latin Seruice*, for the *Communion* in both kinds, the questions are about the things that they do, not for the things wee do: so the doubt is vpon their side; and such a doubt it is, that the *Pope* would gladly haue graunted *Queene Elizabeth* (of happy Memory) liberty for her and her people to do these things as wee now
doe

doe them; (as witnesseth the learned *B.B.* of *Ely* in his *Tortura Torti*, and Master *Camden* in his *Annales*), if the Queene would haue taken license from him, or would haue subiected her *Crowne* to his *Myter*; for that was the marke he shot at; the gaine of his *Peter-pence*, and other spirituall trading, and the glory of a Kingdome so obsequious, so fruitfull, so helpfull as *England* had beene, and might bee. But shee was too honorable to kisse his foote for feare or hope, and too honest to receiue any courtesie from him: which I adde the rather, to let them see, who perhaps are not altogether vvell affected toward vs, nor perswaded of our truths, that there is nothing practised in our Church, but that which finds allowance and approbation from the modestest and learnedest of their side. And therefore they may well be present at our seruice, and communicate with vs in our Sacraments, without scruple of conscience (vnlesse the *Popes* countermand bee their scar-crow) although wee may not safely communicate with them for feare of manifest Idolatry, knowing that howsoeuer their way seemes right in theyr eyes, yet the *Issues thereof are the Wayes of death*.

The Popes worde only hinders them from Communion with vs: but Gods word bars vs from Communion with them.

3. *The Publique Iudge, Salomon.*

The last point comes now to be handled concerning the true Iudge of this way, which is the holy Spirit of God, directing the pen of *Salomon* the *Publique Magistrate*, the *King* and the *Preacher*.

A man, and a priuate spirit of a man, was the Iudge of the apparance, the seeming good, the beginning of this way; But God is the true Iudge, of the end, and issue of this way. Man was an impotent Iudge, God an all-sufficient Iudge; Man was a Iudge preiudiciall and

Gen. 18. 25 partiall, God is an vpright Iudge: for *shall not the Iudge of all the world doe right?*

But the *Pope of Rome* steps in heere, chalenging to be Iudge in this case by Charter (as *Sathan* did in the like case) and to haue a Patent sealed to that end by Christ himselfe. And for feare *Salomon* (who as King durst dispose of the Preisthood) should bring euidence against him either by word or fact, he hath stopt his mouth, and condemned him aforehand to Hell, and brought out *Traian* the Emperour in his roome; who though he were a Pagan, yet hath found so much fauour, as to be preferd before *Salomon*; who was a Type of Christ, and the wisest Prince that euer reigned.

In the life
of Gregory
the great.

And doubtles if any other of the Prophets or Apostles should presse him with arguments, he hath power to silence them, and to cry vp and downe, what *Scripture* he pleaserh; to make *Canonicall Apocrypha*, and *Apocrypha Canonicall*, *ad bene placitum*. For who would beleue the *Scripture* but for the Church? and who is the holy *Catholique Church* but his Holines? at least who is the head thereof, who rules the roast there but hee? Now if any of them vrge him too farre, and make against him, he hath power to take order with them, either by binding or loosing; which iurisdiction in this case he exerciseth after a foure-fold manner.

1. By pronouncing them *Apocrypha*. 2. By eluding their genuine meaning and sence, by a foraigne and forced interpretation or exposition. 3. By warranting an *erronious translation* to be *Authenticall*, and the only true one. 4. Lastly, by purging all humors that offend his humor. In which regard wee see how the Auncient Fathers haue beene shaued, clipt, scoured, washt, let blood, purged, gelt,

gest, and mutilated: yea and many of the *Neotericks* of their owne Men and faction, haue beene dieted, and cast into a sweat, and hardly recovered with the application of their *Catholicon*. And all these acts of theirs iustified and defended with asmuch eagernesse and shew of zeale and truth, as the honestest cause. Well may wee therefore feare and flee from his censure, as from a Iudge full of preiudice, full of partiality; because it is in his owne cause, where he will not limit his *Prerogative royall*, but extend it beyond all degrees of comparifon. Yet though he be our Aduersary, let vs heare him a little, and see what notes and Land-markes he giues vs, to know and distinguish the true way from the false by, that wee may follow them; if they both seeme and bee infallible; and that wee may beware of them, if they only seeme right, but leade to the way of death, and then seeke out others that wee may cleerely see to be true.

Neither will the time permit, nor is it needfull to bring forth all the marks of the true way, which the Church of *Rome* hangs out. The principall only I will briefly touch and point at. But before wee do it, I must lay downe this ground of their owne which they giue to discern true notes by.

True Notes of the Church must be such as are able to constitute the absolute definition of the Church; so farre, that being found, the Church is found; and being lost, the Church is lost: So saith Stapleton, in his proæm. lib. 4. Againe, they must bee so proper to the Church, as they cannot be found in any other society or company of Men besides; And so notable, as they may bee more eminent and notable then the Church it selfe; and so inseperable, as the Church cannot subsist without them. Such as these

Bellarminæ requires in his 2. Chap: *De Notis Ecclesiæ*. Again, they must be such as *Valentia* assigns. *Tom: 3 in 22. disp. 1. q. 1. de object: fidei, punct. 7. In notis requiritur ut Ecclesiæ veræ conueniant, atq; etiam ut illi soli.*

This premised, come wee now to bring the notes they giue to these rules, that thereby we may trie their truth.

Mat. 13.30
finite vtraq;
crescere vfi-
q; ad mes-
sem.

1. The first note is, *Antiquity*; but this is neither cleere, nor proper: for the malignant Church is neere as old; nay perhaps elder, then the true Church militant, of which we now speake, vvhich consists of Men lapsed by sin, and restored by Grace. For the Church is called *ἐκκλησία παρὰ το ἐκκαλεῖν, quod est, euocare*. Because the elect are by the outward preaching of the Gospel, and the inward operation of the Spirit called out of the Masse of corrupted mankind, mixed in a confused lumpe, where they were first euill, before the grace of God wrought their wils to desire to bee good: therefore *Quæ nascentia mala sunt, ea crescentia peiora*; And so *Antiquitas sine veritate, est vetus error*. Error and Antiquity may dwell together.

2. Secondly, they brag of *Multitude*, as of a certaine note. But the most passengers trauaile (as our Sauour faith) in the broad way which leades to death: so that heere it may be sayd as *Liuy* sayd of old in his first Decad: *Ferè fit maior pars, vincit meliorem*. And therefore it is that our Sauour comforts his Church heere with those gracious words, *Feare not little Flocke, it is your Fathers pleasure to giue you a Kingdome*: as if he should say, You are but few, a handfull; your enemies many, a multitude, therefore you haue cause to feare; yet feare not, God is stronger then man or Sathan, your Father is stronger then

Then your Aduersary and his Legions. You are but little and weake, you cannot conquer this Kingdome by force, no more then *Abraham* could; It shalbe giuen to your faith, as it was to *Abrahams*: you cannot merit it; if you could then you neede not feare; it shalbe given freely; therefore though in regard of your selues you haue cause to feare, yet feare not in regard of the Donor, God. Lastly, you shall haue a Kingdome, you haue it not heere, for then you neede not feare, no more then *Rome* doth, but make all Kingdoms feare you rather, but it shalbe giuen heereafter, therefore *feare not but be faithfull*. Hope *Io. 20. 27.* well, and haue vwell.

3. Thirdly, they bring forth *Succession*. But euill men succcede one an other in euill places: this note therefore is defectiue. Succession of Persons without succession of Doctrine is a *decession*, a *defection*. The Preists and Scribes condemned Christ and his doctrine out of the visible chayre of *Moses*, as *Antichrist* may doe out of *Peters*.

4. Fourthly, they boast of *unity*. But there is a wicked *unity in hell*. And the Scribes and Pharisies, and Sadduces, though they could agree together no better then the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans*, or the *Secular Preists* and *Iesuits*, yet they bound themselues in a common band of obedience vnder one head the high Preist, and the then visible Church of the Iewes, against our blessed Sauour and his Apostles. *Luc. 11. 17.*

5. Fifthly, they call themselues the *Catholique Church*, and presume to carry it by that name. But the Iewes before them did boast of the *Church*, the *Church*, the *Temple*, the *Temple*, and called Christs doctrine both *new* *Ier. 7. 4.* and *singular*, and their owne, old and vniuersall; though *Mar. 1. 27.*

Mat. 19. 8. Christ told them he was before *Moses*, and *ab initio nota fuit sic*, there was a time when it was otherwise, when their traditions (now growne fusty with age) were novelties, or stale newes. Thus likewise they called Saint
 Aa. 24. 14. *Pauls Doctrine, Heresy*. More they could not say against *Luther*, or can say against vs.

6. Sixtly, they bring *visibility* for a note. But this is not a note of the thing, but the thing it selfe which wee seeke: for could the true Church be discerned to be the true Church by all, there were an end of this argument, and no farther vse of these notes. But because though her *being* be visible, and her *true being* bee visible, yet her *being true*, is not visible to all; wee inquire for notes whereby wee may not only discern her *true being*, but the *being of her truth*.

Now all these notes (with diuerse others of the same kind) are not such as are required by their owne rules, as able to *constitute the being of the true Church*: for a false Church may haue all these and more too; they are *not proper*, for other societies haue them; And if these would carry it, then the South-Church might contend for supremacy, and the East-Church would doubtles carry it against all pretenders as the Mother Church. *For she is before Rome in time, she hath larger bounds, and multitudes of people; Almost all the Apostolique seas, most of the Patriarches, An Empire, Seauen universall Counsels, The Syrian language wherein Christ spake, The Greeke, wherein the Scriptures of the new Testament was written; She hath Succession euen from the Apostles themselves lineally without interruption, They are at Vnity vnder one Chiefe, and they call themselves Catholiques; And yet for all these, the Church of Rome (and that rightly) makes such*
 excep-

exceptions against her, as wee doe against the Church of Rome.

Since therefore these notes are not *essentiall*, but *accidental*; not *proper*, but *common*; not *permanant*, but *transient*, wee ought to be wary how wee altogether trust to their probable direction, since all, or the most part of these are such notes as may accompany this way which seemes right and is not so, and so may be made meanes to in-
snare and intangle our affections with preiudice and partiality, and so to blinde our iudgements, that hauing these wee shalbe satisfied with shew and apparance, though wee walke as *Ioseph* and *Mary* did three days iour-
ney with the multitude of our friends, and neuer misse Christ, as if he were none of our Company. Luk. 2. 44.

And I pray obserue (to hold vs to our Allegory of a way) if there were doubt of two wayes, which were the right or the wrong way, and one that would vndertake to direct you to finde out the right, should say; You shall know the right way by these markes, It is an *old way*, a *beaten way*, a way where *Passengers* trauell one after another, It is a way by it selfe, or one way, it is called the *old way*, and it is *visible*; what were a man the better for these directions? would he not thinke such a guide out of his wits? Especially when he shall see both wayes alike *old*, alike *beaten*; both vvayes to haue *passengers* *successiuely*, alike *frequent*, both wayes to be *intire and singular*, both wayes to be *called old*, and both wayes to be *visible*? Thus both wayes doubtlesse he would be wilde except he had better directions: And yet this is the case of the Church, which some would thus marke out to the beleefe and obedience of all men. But to conclude, all these are no true markes; but the *Scripture* is the true and vnfallible

Evidence to bound the Church out, to him that will be heedfull to obserue, and faithfull to beleue, and humble to obey, as we hope to manifest. Heere then it were meete, I should giue you some infallible and inseperable note of the true way, having showne, or rather pointed at the defect of these which the Church of *Rome* produceth. But then I should offer violence both to your patience, and to the Text; the time not permitting so large a discourse, and my Text leading me to discouer *the false way which seemes right*, but giuing no warrant to proceede farther. Only to conclude all, since it is within my Commission to manifest the *false way*, I will giue you one note, a sure one, whereby you may know when you are *out of the right way*, that so you may shun error and seeke truth, and ensue it till death, that in the end you may finde euerlasting life.

- Ioh. 4.* Briefly Christ himselfe saith, *I am the way, the truth, and the life, no man cometh to the Father but by me.* He is the way to walke in, the truth to guide you, the life wherewithall you walke. And if you would finde this way, hee
- Ioh. 5. 39.* himselfe learnes you a rule, *Search the Scriptures, for in them you thinke to haue eternall life, and those are they that beare witnesse of me.* And he there vpbaydes the Iewes, because they gaue no credit or heede to the Scriptures, but preferd the traditions and doctrines of their forefathers
- Iohn. 5. 46. 47.* before it, saying, *Had yee beleued Moses, yee would haue beleued me: for he wrote of me: But if you beleue not his writings, how shall yee beleue my words?* Therefore the Apostle
- 2. Tim. 3. 16* calls all Scripture *profitable*, as a doctrine inspired by God to make men wise to saluation; and so beleeuing himselfe, and teaching others to beleue, he praiseth
- 2. Tim. 3. 15* *Timothy* for being from a childe brought vp in them, and he

exhorts all men to follow him as he keepes in this way, and vvalkes after Christ Iesus and no otherwise. For so long he is sure he goeth right, and they may follow him with security.

Now then I do not say vvheresoeuer thou seest the Scripture set forth for a signe, there Christ is vvithin: *there is the true way, the true Church.* But I say wheresoeuer thou canst *not see the Scripture*, be assured thou art out of *the way*: for the Scripture must be euer in thy eye, being that settled Land-marke by vvhich thou must try and know, and to vvhich thou must reduce and bring all thy other coast-marks and sea-marks. So it is that *Antiquity* vvhich agrees vvith the verity of the *Scripture*; that *multitude* vvhich vvorship God according to the rules of the *Scripture*; that *SuceSSION* vvhich succede in the truth of doctrine deliuered in the *Scripture*; that *unity* vvhich beleeues the Trinity taught in the *Scripture*; that *Catholique Church* vvhich is founded vpon, and vniuerfally agreeth vvith the truth of the *Scripture*; that *visible congregation* vvhich are seene to God, and vvhich see God as he reueales himselfe in the *Scripture*, that become notes by vvhich thou maist safely trauaile in this doubtfull vvay of mortality. So that the *Scripture must euer be present to make these infallible*, though perhaps it be not of absolute necessity, that all these be euer present vvith the Scripture to make the Church true. The *Heathens* of old burnt the books of *Numa*, because he bewrayd therein the prophane misteries of their Idolatries. The *Turks* at this day keepe their people in ignorance; no man must see into, no man must dispute or argue of their Sect.

And thus our Adversaries of *Rome* deale vvith the Scriptures; & resembling heerin the *Heathens* & *Turkes*,

would yet make the world beleue, that they are the only Christians. And lest they should seeme *insanire sine ratione*, they haue a seeming reason why they permit not the Scriptures to be in the mother-tongue of euery Nation publicly to be read by them; lest forsooth (as the *Rhemists* say in their preface) they should hurt themselves, as with fire, or water, or knives, or swords, or the like. And why do they not put out the Sunne because it hurts the gazers eyes? or why put they not out their eyes to preuent hurting, especially since they mis-leade many a man to lust and vanity? To argue from the abuse of things indifferent, to remoue the lawfull vse of them, is an abuse of sence and reason; But in things of this kinde, of absolute necessitie, it is an intolerable and presumptuous foolery. Nature cannot bee so blinde as to suffer any but naturals to beleue this their doctrine, and to vvalke in this their way: for *Salomon* saith, *The way of the wicked is as darknes: they know not at what they stumble: But the path of the iust is as the shining light, that shineth more and more vnto the perfect day.*

Pro. 4. 18.
19.

True; but vwill some say, *All Heretickes* hang out this flagge, and all boast of the Scriptures: how shall wee then know the true vvay from the false by that which is common to all vvayes, or vvich all vvayes at least challenge and make shew of? Obserue euen from this objection the force and authority of the Scriptures, vnder which, falsehood aswell as truth seeks to shelter herselfe, because *falsehood* by this glasse learns to trimme herselfe vp like *truth*. And looke as the Heathens by their idolatries proued aswell that there vvas a God, as the Iewes by their true vvorship: because nature taught the most barbarous Nation to adore some Deity, and rather

Act. 17. 23.
Rom. 1.

ther to make a God of a Calse, a beast, a bird, a stone, then to be a godlesse Atheist : so all Heresies and falsehoods beare witnessse for the truth and authority of the Scriptures, vvhilst they strive to iustifie themselves thereby; knowing, without the Scripture all other their arguments, notes, and pretences, how plentifull or plausible soeuer they bee, are nothing to the purpose ; and therefore they labour to wrest the Scripture to their fancie. And could the Church of Rome by this euidence approue her present praetise and doctrine, I assure myselfe she would looke no farther, but vvould permit euery man to reade the same at pleasure; nay, she would command the reading thereof vnder the paine of her curse, as now she forbids it vvith her *Anathema*. Ingenuous therefore is this speecch of a Fryer of her owne ; *Math. Tile-*
deos Scripturis tanquam quibusdam cancellis circumdedit Deus, sius. Iusti-
ne aliorum more Paganorum euanescerent, atq; in adinventioni-
bus manuum suarum insolescerent. God did impale the Iewes
with the Scriptures as with certaine bounds or abuttals, lest after the manner of Pagans they should apostate and perish through the inuentions and deuises of their owne hands. Therefore saith Cyrill, *Necessarium nobis est* *Cyrill. ad*
Diuias sequi Literas, & in nullo ab earum prescripto disce- *Regin. de*
dere. It is necessarie for vs to follow the Diuine Scrip- *fide.*
tures, and to depart or vary in nothing from that which they prescribe. And Irenaeus : *Scripturis diuinis, quae certa* *Iren. lib. 2.*
& indubitata veritas est, in firma & valida petra est domum *cap. 59.*
suam adificare : hac verò derelicta, alijs niti quibuscunque doc-
trinis, incertam effusa arena, unde facilis sit euersio, est rui-
nam frueret. To build vpon the diuine Scriptures, which is the sure and indubitable truth, is to build vpon a firme and strong rocke : but this being left, to rely v-

pon any other doctrines vvhatsoeuer, is to build to certaine ruine, vpon fleeting sand from vvhence the ouerthrow is easie.

Ambros.
lib. de pa-
rad. cap. 2.
In Scrip-
turis diui-
nis non
facile
reprehen-
damus ali-
quid, quod
intelligere
non pos-
sumus.

Againe, they pursue this obiection farther, saying, If it should be graunted, that with much study the learned might attaine the knowledge of the true vway from the false by reading the Scriptures, yet how shall the simple resolute themselves by that rule, vvhhen the principall questions arise from the variable exposition of Scripture?

I told you before, that I gaue not this note as an absolute infallible marke to know the *true way* by, (though being rightly taken, it is truly such a note as is formerly required, *Essentiall, Proper, Permanent*, and the principall things whereby vvee are distinguished and discerned from Iewes, Turkes, and Pagans) but I brought it to discover the *false way*, as by a light in a darke place. And though the Ideot (as S. Paule calls him) be not able to iudge of the Scripture, yet he hath an abridgement of the Scripture, that is, certaine short rules drawne out by the Apostles or Apostolique Men to guide his faith by, and to try the spirits and the doctrine propounded; this abridgement is called the *Apostles Creede*. Now none can bee so simple, at least in these dayes, (except they bee beg'd, or go a begging) but they can vvith labor and study (if they thinke the saluation of their soules vvorth the vvhile) finde, vvwhether the doctrine taught, crosseth and contradicteth either the *Lords Prayer*, the *Commandements*, or the *Articles of our Creede*; all which they haue commonly by heart. Yea God is often so favorable to these poore soules, vvwho seeke him in true humility with a sight and acknowledgement of their owne weaknesse, and vvith a hunger and thirst after
righte

righteousnes, that he reueales to babes and sucklings, vvhath he conceales from great Doctors and Rabbies: In-
somuch as though *Balaam* himselfe (blinded by coue-
tousnesse, and the desire of gaine and glory) cannot see
vvhhen his vvay is contrary to Gods vvay, and when the
Angel is ready to smite him, yet *Balaams Asse* can see this. Numb. 22.

And they are worse and more stupide then *Balaams* 32.
Asse, that will not both see and confesse these flat con-
tradictions, opposing directly the written and reuealed
vvill of God. For it is easier to see flat contradictions
and oppositions, then things only diuerse or dissenta-
neous; as weake eyes can discerne what stands in the
light, at least what stops the light. To this end, whereas
God to his owne glory hath suffered *Antichrist* mighti-
ly to preuaile, and to seduce many by glorious shewes
of *unity* and *Antiquity*, and generall apparences and flou-
rishes of truth, it hath pleased his goodnes in that Sea
& Kingdome of *Antichrist* to leaue such open & notori-
ous markes of falsehood, as they which *run by may reade* Abac. 2.
the Emnity betwixt the serpent and the seede of the wo-
man still continuing & opposing the truth of the Scrip-
ture, by doctrines directly contrary both to the out-
ward Letter of the Text, and inward meaning of the
Holy Ghost.

And that I may instance briefly what I haue so pe-
remptorily affirmed, If they heare Christ say, *When yee* Mar. 6.
pray, pray thus, Our Father, &c. And then heare another
say; Nay rather when yee pray, pray thus, *O Saint Mary*
Queene of heauen, O Saint Michael, Saint Peter, Saint Paule,
&c. they vvill know this is not as it should be, and that
there is flat contradiction betwixt these two speeches,
Thou shalt worship thy Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou Mat. 4.

serue, which is the vvord of Christ, and this, Thou shalt not worship God only, but the Saints and Angels also, which is the voyce of Antichrist.

Exod. 20.

If thou hearest God say, *Thou shalt make thee no graven Image, &c.* and hearest others say, *Thou shalt make Images and worship them.* The Images of God and Christ thou shalt adore with *diuine worship*; the Image of the Virgin *Mary* and other Saints vvith the *worship that is due to the person it selfe*; and to this end shalt see them curtaile this commandement out of their Catechismes, that by this meanes, & at this gap they may bring their Whore with all her abominations in triumph into the Church, as sometimes the *Grecians* did their horse into *Troy*; though thou canst not perhaps well vnderstand their distinctions, yet thou canst distinguish this falsehood from truth, and see how this their doctrine and practise contradicte the word of God: and therefore howsoever it may seeme faire, & to be the right way to life, yet it is foule play, and the end thereof must needs bee the Issues of death.

Againe, when thou repeatest in thy Creede this Article, *I beleeeue in Iesus Christ, &c. He ascended into heauen, and there sitteth at the right hand of God the Father almighty, and from thence shall come to iudge the quicke and dead, &c.* And hearest a presumtuious Priest with blasphemous mouth say, *This wafer or peece of bread I will presently make the body of Iesus Christ, the Sonne of God, and Sauour of the world, by crossing it, and vsing three or foure vvords ouer it.* Thou must needs see that this binds thee to beleeeue two contrary things at once: for *sitting at Gods right hand*, being spoken to our capacity after the manner of men, betokens a remaining and locall residing in heauen, touching his bodily presence; and *comming from thence to iudgement*

ment assures thee, he will not come before he come to judge the quicke and the dead. And thou maist aswell call his birth, his life, his death, and all the rest of his actions & passions in question, as this. Therefore learne to vnderstand the Doctrines that crosse and contradict one another; and whilst thou beleeuest Christ saying, *This is my body*, beleeue, so as thou maist not crosse the Articles of thy Faith; but know, it is his body after no carnall and fleshly maner, (*for the flesh profits nothing. Ioh: 6.*) but after a spirituall and diuine manner. Not food for thy stomacke, thy teeth, thy belly; but food for thy soule, thy vnderstanding, thy faith. And so hee calls the bread his *body* heere; as himselfe a *dore*, and a *vine*, and a *rocke*; and *Peter a stone* in other places of Scripture. And therefore consider, after Christ ascended, he neuer appeared to his Apostles in body againe, as he vsed to do often before: But in heauen he appeared personally to *Stephen* Act. 7. 55. to confirme his faith. And when before his ascension he appeared to the twelue with whome *Thomas Didimus* Iohn. 20. was; he did not vrge *Thomas* to beleeue any thing contrary to his sense of seeing, hearing, and feeling, but rather willed him to confirme his faith by seeing and feeling, what before he doubted. And then hee addes, *Happy are those which see not, and yet beleeue*; he doth not say, *Happy are they who beleeue contrary things to that they see*, (as they must do who beleeue the bread to be changed into his naturall body, which they see and feele to be true bread still) but *Happy are those who beleeue when they see nothing to the contrary; hauing the word of God* (which cannot contradict it selfe) *for their warrant*. As wee do beleeue his Resurrection and Ascension which wee saw not, and his comming to Iudgement in glory, which we hope to see.

G

Thus

1. Cor. 11. Thus when thou shalt heare Christ command thee to take *Bread* and *Wine* in the Sacrament; and a Priest countermand this, and will thee to take *bread only*. Saint
1. Cor. 14. 16. Paule commanding thee from God to *pray with understanding*; and a *Romane Priest* willing thee to pray in a *strange tongue*. God himselve *blessing Matrimony*, and *permitting all men to marry*; and the Apostle Paule saying, *Mariage is honorable with all men*, and in speciall tearmes, a
1. Tim. 3. 2. Bishop or Deacon ought to be the husband of one wife, &c. and hearest a *Romane Priest* say the contrarie; nay, inioyne thee to do the contrary, and to binde thee by an othe to do it: Then thou that hast *cares to heare*, heare what S.
2. Joh. 10. 11. Iohn saith to thee, *If any come vnto you and brings not this doctrine*, (that is, brings any contrary doctrine to Christs) *receiue him not to house, neither bid him good speed*. And heare what God gaue his people in charge of old in the
- Deut. 13. 1. 2. 3. like case, *If there arise among you a Prophet, or a dreamer of dreames, and giueth thee a signe or a wonder: And the signe or the wonder come to passe, whereof he spake vnto thee, saying, Let vs goe after other Gods (which thou hath not knowne) and let vs serue them: Thou shalt not hearken vnto the wordes of that Prophet, or that dreamer of dreames: for the Lord your God proueth you, to know whether you loue the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soule.*

So thou art not to belecue him though he confirmes his Doctrine by *miracles*; nay, suspect him the more and the rather for that: for *miracles* are the principall shelters and pretences of *Antichrist*, as thou maist see. *Math. 24. 24. 2. Thes. 2. 9.* So then belecue nothing which contradicts the Scripture; for the Scripture cannot be contrary to it selfe; because it proceeds from the Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of vnity, of loue, and of truth.

And

And to shut vp all this with a familiar example which the weakest apprehension may conceaue, the sleightest memory retaine : Not long since there vvas a tryall before the Iudges of Assize at *Thetford* betwixt two townes Oxbo-
 for a Common, in which both claymed interest : The rough.
 one towne chalenged by *prescription*, and pretended use, Gooder-
 and proued the vse by them & their *foresathers time out* stone.
of minde. The other parties produced an *auuncient Compo-*
sition in writing vnder the hand and seale of the Lords and Te-
nants on both sides. The Iudge then determined, that a-
 gainst a writing there could be no *prescription*; though, with-
 out a writing, *prescription* would be currant. Because the
 writing controuled their present custome, and shewed,
Ab initio non fuit sic; there was a time when their old vse
 was not, & therefore their claime was false. In prouing
 their vse against this composition, they proued them-
 selues intruders, incrochers, trespassers, euill neighbors:
 It was so farre from doing them good, as it might haue
 done them hurt, laying them open to euery mans acti-
 on, whom they had offended. So heere, where the
 word is silent, there heare *Antiquity*, heare the *Church*, ho-
 nor *tradition*, preferre *prescription*; *custome*, use. If thou
 doest not, then thou shewest thy selfe a selfe-wild *Schis-*
maticke, or an obstinate *Hereticke*. But where the *Scripture*
speakes; where thou hast that writing vnder hand and
 seale, that *old composition betwixt God and Man*, appointing
 Man his limits; there let not man presume to inter-
 commune with God, but let the tongues of men and
 Angels be silent. And whatsoeuer doctrine crosseth
 that, crosse thou it out of thy Creed, or God will crosse
 thee out of the booke of life. Heare Saint Paule adui-
 sing the *Collossians*, Let no man beare rule ouer you vnder

- Col. 2. 18. *shew of a voluntary humility and worshipping of Angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seene, vainely puffed up by his fleshly minde. So whatsoever humble shew or pretence he hath, he is puffed up, who presumes to crosse the doctrine of the Scripture: And though he comes in*
- Mat. 7. 15. *sheepes clothing, with shew of mortification and contempt of the world, yet inwardly he is a ravening wolfe, and*
- Mat. 23. *desires to swallow widowes houses under the colour of long prayers, auricular confession, and almes; And, though he seemes a worme and no man, and creeping humbly vpon his belly, lickes the dust of the earth; yet beware, he may be a subtil serpent, and no silly worme; for vnder the like faire shew Sathan deceiued our Ancestors in Paradise.*

Therefore attend Saint Pauls admonition carefully, where he saith, *But though wee, or an Angell from heauen preach any other Gospel to you, then that which wee haue preached vnto you, let him be accursed. And as if this were not sufficient, obserue how he riuets this commandement or admonition againe, and againe, saying; As we sayd before, so say I now againe, If any man preach any other Gospel vnto you, then that yee haue receiued, let him be accursed. What you haue receiued you know in the Lords Prayer, the Tenne Commandements, and the Creede, for these are Epitomes and abridgements of all. If therefore Saint Paule, or an Angell; an Angell that you were sure came immediatly from heauen; or Saint Peter, or his successor; any Man that you were assured without controuersie were his successor; or any other Man or woman how holy, chaste, learned, or religious soeuer they bee, should crosse this doctrine, belecue them not; nay, let them be accursed, saith Saint Paule. Much lesse then belecue the*

dotage

dotage of men, their gulleries, impostures, fictions, melancholy imaginations, dreames, visions, and reuelations; with which, *being deceiued themselves*, they seeke and indeauor to deceiue others.

You haue now seene the way, 1. *What it is*. 2. How it may seeme good and not bee so. 3. How *impotent, preiudiciall, and partiall* a Iudge man is, in his owne case. 4. You haue seene the *end of this faire way* to bee false. 5. The *issue of that pretence to be death*, whilst life was promised. 6. Lastly, you haue seene the Iudgement of Gods spirit, shewing you the *true notes to know the false way* by. Submit your selues now, and your senses, and iudgements to the direction of Gods holy Spirit, and thinke not your selues or your Predecessors wiser then Saint Paule, then Salomon, then God himselfe: but hauing found the *right way*, the way to life, walke in it constantly, and turne not backe to *fables, and traditions, and falsehoods*, in which you haue too long wandred astray: for howsoeuer that way may seeme right, and many of our forefathers haue ignorantly vwalked in it, yet the *issues thereof are the vvayes of death*: From which the Lord of his mercy deliuer vs, and direct vs to be zealous according to knowledge, and from faith to clime vp to practise, reforming those corruptions in our liues and manners; which now by the course propounded in the beginning, wee come to search and lay open, in that which followes.

THE

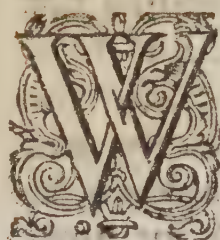


THE SECOND

SERMON, PREPARED FOR

the Iudges, and preached vpon
Sunday, the Assises following vpon
Monday after.

Thummim



Ier. 21. 8.

Pro. 16. 2.

Pro. 15. 24.

We haue spoken of the speculatiue part, the *Theory*, as the way was taken for Religion; now we are to speake of the practicall part as the way may be taken for the custome and trade of our liues and conversations, or rather for our passage, or vvalking in that Religion which wee beleue & professe to be the truth. And as the Lord said by the Prophet *Ieremy*, so may I say to you all. *Behold I haue set before you the way of life, and the way of death: I haue showne you that way which seemes right in the partiall eyes of man, who thinkes all his owne wayes cleaue: And I haue showne you that way that is both right and seemes so, euen the way of life which leadeth to heauen.*

And now I proceed to exhort you to walke in this way: for it is better not to know then not to practise what wee know. An honest Turke which knowes not the will of his Master, is to be preferd before a prophane Christian, who knowes his Masters will and doth it
not,

not, and therefore shalbe *beaten with many stripes.*

Luk. 12. 47

A *vway* then in this sence of *Salomon*, is the customary course of life which a man chiefly vseth, whether it bee in vertue or in vice. The whole race of mankinde naturally walke in the roade and way of sin and death: But some are regenerate and called out of this way by faith and repentance: others will not obay Gods word, but rather choose to liue in *the pleasures of sin for a season.* And they are sayd to be in their *vway*, because sin reigneth in them, tramples vpon them, & by custome takes away the sence of conscience; obdurating their hearts, as a way is hardned by the fecte of many passengers, so as a plow cannot pierce the same. Thus men haue their darling and beloued sins which is their *vway*, out of which you can by no meanes put them; as a Hare started before Greyhounds, will haue her accustomed way and muse, or die for it; so these,

And thus a man is not sayd to be in his *vway* when hee sinneth of frailty, he then hath slipt out of his *vway*, and leaues not till he returne into his *vway* by repentance: but vwhen he sins by custome then he is in his *vway*. And a notorious sinner is not sayd to be in his *vway* if now and then hee comes to Church, prayes, receiues the Sacraments, and forebeares grosse sinnes, or does some singular and solitary good: for he is not well, till he be out of this *vway* againe, and like a dog returnes to his vomite. Therefore a man is iudged wise or foolish, good or bad, and to be in, or out of his *vway*, by his ordinary actions, not by a speciall single fact. For *nemo omnibus horis sapit; Semel insaniuimus omnes*, and in many things wee offend all. It is therefore the generall course, proceeding, and perseuerance in vertue or vice that

brings life or death to our wayes: for the crowne of glory is at the end of this race of vertue, & here death is at the end of this race of vice: *the end thereof is the issues of death.*

2. King. 11. *David* committed Adultery and Murther, grievous slips out of Gods way; but being in those sins he vvas *besides himselfe*, out of his wit, out of his way, and neuer was at rest till by repentance he returned and witnessed his sorrow by that penitential *Psalme*, in which he expreseth cordiall repentance, and seemes to do corporall penance in the Church to this day. His *delight was in the Law of the Lord*, he vvas a man according to Gods owne heart; A man, and therefore might erre, might slip out of the vway; but a man after Gods owne heart, therefore he would
- Gen. 5. 24. *Walke with God as Enoch did*, and was neuer well at his heart till, he vvas reconciled to God by humble and hearty repentance.
1. King. 13. 33. *Ieroboam* was in his way all his life, and solde himselfe to commit sin: so that it is sayd of diuerse other Kings that succeeded *Ieroboam* both in his seate and sinnes, *That they did euill in the sight of the Lord, and vvalked in the vway of Ieroboam, and in his sinne wherewithall he made Israel to sinne.*
1. King. 21. 25. *Ahab* vvas not in his vway vwhen vpon the Prophets admonition he put on sackcloth and humbled himselfe before God: but he was in his way when he followed the counsell of *Iezabel*, slue the Prophets of God, and murdered *Naboth* for his vineyard.
2. King. 10. 15. 16. *Iehu*, though he slue all *Ahabs* children according to the word of the Lord, though he would needs haue *Iehonadab* see his zeale which he pretended was for God, in killing all the Priests of *Baall*, and in taking the Images out of the house of *Baall*, though he did many other

ther things tending to reformation, of Religion and the State. Yet all this while he was not in his element, in his way : for presently he was not well till he was committing the sins of *Ieroboam*, worshipping the golden calves in *Bethel* and *Dan*. Therefore though the Spirit of God praise him for what he did well, yet it addes in the end, *But Iehu tooke no heed to walke in the Lawe of the Lord 2. King. 10. God of Israell vvith all his heart : for he departed not from the 31. sins of Ieroboam vvhich made Israel to sin.*

And thus much to shew what this way of practise is, and when vve may be sayd to bee in our vvay, or out of it.

Now if those men may be deceiued in their wayes, who thinke they walke vprightly and like honest men, vvhat shall become of such as haue no vvayes, no vocations to vvalk in, or of such as know the vvay they vvalk in, is the vvay of death, and yet continue to sin against their owne consciences, and the very light of Nature? If the honest Heathen or Turke, for whose truth the Christian dares depose, hauing had tryall thereof in many bargaines ; if the deuoute Iew, for whom Saint Paule giues testimony : *I beare them record they haue the Rom. 9. zeale of God though not according to knowledge.* If the superstitious Anchorite, vvho lockes himselfe from all pleasure, and makes this vvorld a hell, that he might auoyd Purgatory ; if all these (I say) be condemned, when their wayes seeme good to themselves, hauing probable reasons to perswade them that they are so ; what shall become of the irreligious Atheist, vvho like a foole sayth in his heart *there is no God*, and yet by naturall feare is often taught to giue his heart the lie for so saying, and knowes his way is the way of death, yet vvalkes in it? what shall become of the prophane Naturalist and

Psalm. I.

Neuteralist, vvho is of all religions, or no religion; who goes to an Alehouse vvith better deuotion then to a Church; and to a Play with greater delight and loue, then to a Sermon? What shall become of the Mur:herer, Thiefe. Adul:erer, Drunkard, Sodomite, and of the rest of those impudent sinners vvho offend against nature, and yet outface the light of the Gospel, life of the Law, and laugh Religion and Gouvernement to scorne? These men see their vvayes are naught, yet they sit in *the seate of scorners*, and *vvalke in the vvay of the vngodly*, vvithout feare either of God or man. And their estate may be resembled to souldiars in a battell, who seeing their fellowes die before, behinde, on the right and left hand, and know their turne to be next, are yet so transported vvith the present hurry and fury of the fight, and their senses so dam'd vp with the noyse of drums and trumpets, the neighing of horses, the clashing of vveapons, the thunder and lightning of the interchanged artillery, as they cannot heare the heavy shrieks and grones of their dying companions, but desperately goe on, and seeme senselesse of danger, till indeed their bodies be made senselesse, and their soules more sensible by death. So fares it vvith these, vvhist they are sinning, and their soules ready to bee slaine by sinne, they heare such a thunder of othes, lyes, and lasciuious iests and songs, such drumming and tossing of pots and cannes, such musique vvich the Diuell makes them, or they rather make the Diuell, as they can neither looke vp to attend the admonitions of God or man, of their friends or foes, nor see the desperate condition, misery, and ends of their dying companions, some slaine so dainely, others liuing miserably beggarly, basely, full of

of rottēnesse and sores, deformed, filthy, lothsome to the eye, to the eare, to the nose; and the rest of these, and the best of these, going (as they say) to heauen in a halter, if euer they come there. *If the righteous scarce be saued, where shall the vngodly, and sinners appeare?* O Lord open their harts, that as they see their wayes are euill, so they may leaue their euill customs, and turne to thee with sorrow and repentance, that if it be possible, they may be saued from the pit of destruction.

But leaue wee these vagrants, vvhoe either vualke in no way, or like rogues, and vagabonds trauaile without passport, & come to speake of such as seeme to haue warrant for their wayes, though vpon tryall wee shall finde them forged and counterfeite.

Wayes are either 1. *Vicinales*. 2. Or *Private*. 3. Or *Publicae*.

1. *Vicinales via*. Or wayes of vicinity or neighborhood, are betwixt streete and streete, neighbor and neighbor, house and house, in Cities or townes. And these may be compared first vwith those opinions in our Religion, or conditions and manners in our liues, vvhich wee take vp by imitation of our Parents, Tutors, Predecessors or the like. Thus by imitation and example of others vvhome wee reverence for knowledge or deuotion, by the custome and consent of times and places, wee are led as it were blindfold, to take vp vpon trust all matters of faith without examination of their principles or grounds; vwhen if wee were not kept backe from search by ignorant superstition, vve should finde, that, *As man naturally begets man to sin according to his depraued Image, and man is apter to follow man in euill*

then in good; so both in Faith and manners wee are often misled and corrupted by our naturall parents and superstitious predecessors: by which reason, as the tares ouergrow the wheat, so the foolish ouergrow the wise, the superstitious ouergrow the truly religious; and the godlesse, the godly; and so *stultorum infinitus numerus*, the vvhole Earth is replenished vvith such people.

For instance, wee send our children beyond the Seas into *Fraunce, Italy, Spaine, Germany*; they returne not Englishmen from thence, but Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards, Germans; They do not only bring home the Language, which vvas the pretence of their trauell, but their religions, manners, customes, diets, gestures, cringes, vices, diseases: so that nothing heere now seemes good to them, but all that they bring home that seemes right in their eyes, they hate to be reformed, prejudice hath so taken vp their affections and iudgements aforehand.

Thus young men taste according to the company which first enters and seasons them. By which meanes some smell of *Rome*, some of *Constantinople*, and the greatest number become like *salt vvithout saour*.

2. Secondly, some vices by their propinquity and neighborhood to vertues, do so resemble them, that they can hardly be distinguisht from them: and so deceiue many a soule, who takes a spetious vice for a wholesome vertue, and resteth satisfied with the shadow in stead of the substance, as children are pleased aswell with counters and counterfeit coyne, as vvith pure gold and currant mony.

So prodigality is often taken for liberality, or for charity. Spirituall pride is taken for Humility: Single incontinencie

nenie

nenie or impotencie, is taken for *chastitie*; *Temeritie* is taken for *Fortitude*: *Securitie* is taken for *peace of conscience*: *Presumption* is taken for *faith*: *vaine glory* for *Piety and deuotion*: *cholericke folly*, for *zeale*: And *deadnes of heart*, and *dulnesse of affection*, for *Contentment*.

3. Thirdly, some *naturall vertues*, for neighborhoods sake, and for some resemblance betwixt them, are often mistaken, for *Theologicall vertues*; And this point would bee vvell obserued; for it deceiues many both in iudging of others, and in iudging themselues too, vvhilst either they consider not the difference, or marke not the proper concurrants to both, or distinguish not betwixt *Nature* and *Grace*.

Thus *morall or ciuill honestie* vvhich a Turke may haue, lookes like *true sanctitie*, vvhich the true Christian onely hath. So *historicall Faith*, vvhich vvhicked men may haue, and the diuels haue, lookes at first blush, to some that haue eyes to see no farther, like *iustifying Faith*, vvhich the Elect onely haue: So *naturall loue*, vvhich Ethnicks haue, is mistaken for *Christian Charitie*: for that a worke be good, that is, *accepted of God*, it must proceede out of *Faith*, and be done in *obedience to his commandement*, and to the end *to glorifie him*. Now this cannot be without *knowledge*, that is the ground of all: for how shall they beleue on him, of whom they haue not heard? Rom. 10. 14. *Bona opera dicuntur opera Ethnicorum, aut secundum apparentiam tantum, aut quod substantia operis in se bona sit, licet subiecto, obiecto, fine, alijsque circumstantijs sit malum*. The workes of Ethnicks are called good, either by reason of their apparence onely, or that the substance of the worke is in it selfe good, although in respect of the subiect, obiect, end, and other circumstances it bee euill. And againe, *Opera Ethnicorum non idcirco mala dicuntur,*

quod fiant simplicitèr, sed quòd non fiant benè. The vvorkes of Ethnicks are not therefore said to bee euill, as they are simply done, but for that they are not done well as they ought to be.

For that a *naturall* vertue be christened, (as I may say) vvithout vvhich it cannot be acceptable to God, there must concur these circumstances:

1. First, that it be done in a right vvay, a right faith, a right religion, which is onely in the faith of Christ: *other foundation can no man lay, 1. Cor. 3. 11.*

2. Secondly, that it be warranted by a speciall faith; that is, first, a certaine knowledge out of Gods word, that it is a worke pleasing to him, and not contradictorie to his will: secondly, vvith a full perswasion that his person, vvho performes it, is reconciled to God, in and through Christ Iesus; and so his worke, yea all his works accepted, as the person and sacrifice of *Abel* was accepted of God, Gen. 4.

3. Thirdly, that it be done to a good end, that is, to glorifie God, *to testifie our loue and thankfulnessse to him*, for his infinite loue to vs; and to *make our owne election sure*. And all workes done otherwise, how great soeuer they be, how glorious a shew soeuer they make, either in our owne eyes, or in the eyes of the world, are those apparances vvhich often beguile good men, (I meane, men of good natures, of good naturall dispositions and affections) and vvhich *S. Augustine* calls *splendida peccata*, glittering sinnes; promising life, but leading to death: *Their wayes seeme right in their owne eyes, but the yssues thereof are the wayes of death.*

Via priuate.

In the second place we haue *priuate vvayes*, vvhich are
vvayes.

wayes of ease for a mans person, or the priuate vse of his family, as garden alleys, vwalkes, back-wayes and by-wayes. And these haue their resemblances in our *generall callings*, as Christians, and in our *particular callings*, as we are Ministers, Magistrates, Lawyers, Merchants, or the like.

1. In our generall callings, wee haue priuate *Wayes*, vvhereby vvith *Nouatus*, vve thinke to goe to heauen alone by our selues : As for instance, amongst our Romish Aduersaries the infinite *Orders* and vvayes of perfection, (as they call them) doe plainly manifest ; and vvith vs, that auersenesse and singularitie of humour vvwhich preuailes so farre with some, as it causeth vvhatsoever is commaunded by the lawfull Magistrate in Church affaires, to be by them and their followers vtterly misliked; if for no other reason, yet for this, that it is commanded, and in obeying they should commit, as they say , three grievous faults. 1. Sinne against their consciences. 2. Giue offence and scandall to their weake brethren. 3. Infringe their Christian liberty.

2. In our particular calling , wee haue our priuate walkes also, euery one neglecting the maine end at which they should driue, and ayming obliquely, either at priuate gaine , at vaine glory, or the satisfaction of some base humor and passion. And to begin with the Diuine, because he should leade others right : The end of his vocation is, by *preaching* to acquaint men with the will of God , by *praying* to turne the wrath of God from the people, and to obtaine a blessing vpon his labors, and by *practise* to confirme such in the true faith by vvorkes, as he hath wonne by words to beleue and embrace it : But doth he tend this errand ? alas nothing

lesse, for as soone as he is fligge, and comes fresh out of the *Vniuersitie*, if he bee crost in his first preferment, then he growes refractary to the State and present government of the Church established; neither makes he conscience to mis-leade others, so he may be head of a faction, and be thought somebody. But if in his first yeeres he meetes no checke, but gets preferment, his study then is to grow with the time; and then he cannot distinguish the warts, moles, scarres, and corruptions of the Church, from perfections and graces: his study is not to discharge one Cure well, but to procure and charge himselfe with many; to heape steeple vpon steeple, as if he ment to climbe vp to heauen that way. And after all to retire himselfe to a Prebendary out of the vway, where like a bird in a cage he may be fed fat, and prouide to purchace some new and higher preferment, but neuer sing more.

This his way seemes good to himselfe (for I will not yncharitably iudge him to sin against his conscience) and yet he finds *the issue thereof to be the wwayes of death*. But we must let him alone, he is in his way, it is in vaine to moue him to leaue it, for he laughs both at the motion and the man that makes it: he abounds in his owne sense, and will not be taught, but by sence, by feeling punishment when it is too late to shun it.

The Lawyer is presented next, the end of whose vocation is to do iustice, and determine controuersies truly for the procuring and preseruing of peace: But doth he hold himselfe strictly in his course to accomplish this end of his calling and profession? Alas no. But he demeanes himselfe for the most part, as a man placed aboue the Lawe; And what he doth is either against the
Lawe,

Lawe, or without a Lawe, as it were by his princely prerogative, *non est iusto lex posita, &c.* There is no Lawe for 1.Tim. 1 9. a Lawyer. Thus he may take what cause he list in hand, though he know it be vniust: for his office (he saith) is not to ludge, but to pleade; and he speakes therefore with more affection and earnestnes against the truth, then for it: Because a good cause will speake for it selfe, but he deserues praise that maintaines an ill cause well; and for this he shall be famous, and get Clyants, and so get wealth which is that he aymes at.

Againe, he may take what fees he will, though the Law limits his takings, and calls the excesse, extortion. He is the expounder of the Lawe, he is *Lex loquens*, the tongue of the Law, and saith, That the intention of the Lawe was to limit men that they should take no lesse, and it limits such as can get no more.

Againe, other Trades must do their worke, if they wil haue wages; and must acknowledge the benefit they receiue, and the Benefactor: but heere the Master is the seruant; and whereas in all other vocations there lies an *Action in the Case* against such, as hauing taken a valuable consideration for their paines, will not performe their worke; He, notwithstanding his fee, may speake or hold his peace as he pleaseth: for though he hath two handes to take fees on both sides, yet he cannot be at two Barres at once, and *Demosthenes*, we know, had as much for holding his peace, as *AEschines* for pleading. The Doctrine of Restitution he likes not, it is a popish point; in all other things he can be content to be Catholique, to be vniuersall, to be for euery man: To be for a man in one case, against him in another, though the cases resemble: nay, perhaps to be both for
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the plaintife and defendant in one case; and though he cannot pleade for both, because he hath but one tongue, yet he may giue counsell to both, for that one tongue is double; and takes fees of both, for that's the end of all. His *wayes* seeme good and right; for can he walke wrong who hath the Law, the rule of Equity in his hand, and whose office it is to guide others right in the way? Yes doubtlesse, the end shewes, that *Malè par-ta, malè dilabuntur, the issues of all are the wayes of death and destruction.*

Next looke vpon the Marchant as it were the General, and all Mechanicks as vnder Officers of commerce, the end of their Professions is, or should be, by commutative Iustice to supply the necessities of each other, and so of the State. But see how they propound priuate gaine to themselues, as the only maine end and scope of all their labours. And vnder this couer what one can cheate or coosen his neighbor of, either by sophisticated wares, or false waights and measures, or by any other close deuise or conveyance, he thinkes it tolerable, nay laudable, a part of his trade, a mystery (as he calls it) of his profession, without which he could not be a good husband, or thought fit to deale in the world, or set vp for himselfe.

Thus perhaps he will be curious in the duties of the first Table, which touch not the corruptions of his profession; but for workes of mercy commanded in the second Table, he knowes not what they meane, or perhaps they are superstitious and popish workes, though

Hos. 6. 6. he heare God himselfe say, *I will haue mercy, and not sacrifice.* He will not sweare perhaps; for that is too open a sin for his purpose; in this point perhaps he will be an

Ana-

Anabaptist: but if lyes will sell his euill-conditioned commodities, he will let none lye by him, nor no man lye beyond him. He will not breake the Sabaoth, no not to eate, no not to feed others, not to doe good, he is a strict Sabbatarian, a Iew in opinion; but that day or any other he will not sticke to coosen his credulous brother, and aswell may you trust a Iew as trust him. Thus he growes rich, and treasures vp wrath for himselfe, and in his whole dealing shewes himselfe a wrong Marchant, but a right *Iudas*, who wil gaine by the fayned shew of godlinesse, or by any other course. *His way seemes right to himselfe, though the end thereof be the Issues of death.*

Via Puplice, vel Pretoria.

In the third place wee haue *Publique Wayes*, common roads, the *Kings high-way*, which resembles publique iudgement, publique authority, and the Common Lawes of the Land. For because all men thinke their owne wayes good, bee they wayes of priuacie, or wayes of neighborhood, therefore God hath appointed Kings and Iudges to bee life-tenants and Deputies in his steade, to defend weake *truth* from strong *falsehood* and oppression, and to decide euery controversie according to the right rule of reason and Equity contained and expressed in the Lawes where they gouerne. Otherwise vndoubtedly, if euery man might be his owne Iudge, the Thiefe, the Murtherer, all would be quit, and the Iudge and Iewry should smart for it; the Plaintife and Defendant, all would be sauers, and the Lawyer should pay for all, who now is like to get all. To auoyd therefore this confusion, God hath set Caesar to arbitrate indifferently betwixt party and party, and giuen

him a Lawe and direct rule how to doe it, and that he might do this freely without partiality, without feare or any other thing that might mis-lead his iudgement, God hath set him aboue all, exempted him from all other Iudges but himselfe, and the Lawes which are his rule and iudge. Now to the end he might be fully and compleately furnished, God puts an other spirit into him, as wee see in *Moses*, and after in the 70. Assistants, and in *Saule*, *David*, *Salomon* and others who were extraordinarily indued from aboue with Graces fitting their imployments; and this Spirit vvhilst it continues vvith them, doth neuer contradict the publike voice, that is, the Lawe of the State, but ioynes vvith it and speakes the same language, from whence perhaps that common speech arose, that the *voice of the people is the voice of God*, if it bee ioyned vvith the voice of the King; and this voice is to be heard and obayed for conscience sake, being heere opposed to the Spirit of priuacie, which will rule, though vvithout reason; and the more weake it is, is for that the more vvilfull.

Now this Spirit of priuacie (whose vvisedome consists in vvilfulness) may be in a publike Person, when for his owne or peoples sinne he hath lost the publike spirit vvherewith God indues Princes. So the publike spirit departed from *Saule*, and a priuate, mad spirit possessed him, vvwhich made him hate *David*, for louing him, and being loued of God; to giue him his daughter vpon purpose to ensnare and betray him; to deale falsely vvith him in all his faire pretences; and lastly, to crosse and contradict his owne religious Law for the extirpation of vvitches, by consulting vvith them.

Salomon vvvas in the like case, vvwhilst by the vncleane sinne

sinne of Adultery he fell into the snare of Idolatry; he
 crost his people, and forgot his owne vvritings, vvhere
 he saith, *As a roaring Lyon, and a ranging Beare, so is a Wicked* Pro. 28. 15
Ruler over the poore people: Yet he thought himselfe then
 also perhaps as vvise as before, because he found him-
 selfe as vvitty, and forgot vvhat he had vvritten, That
into a malicious soule Wisedome shall not enter: nor dwell in the Sap. 1. 4. 5.
body that is subiect vnto sinne. For the holy Spirit of discipline 6. 7.
Will flie deceite, and remooue from thoughts that are without
understanding: and will not abide when vnrighteousnes com-
meth in. For Wisedome is a louing Spirit, and will not acquit a
blasphemer of his words: for God is witnesse of his reines, and a
true beholder of his heart, and a hearer of his tongue. Where-
 fore, for this, vvhen he recouered his former publique
 spirit, he cryed *peccauit* and *miserere* vvith his father Da-
 uid, and vvrote that booke called *Ecclesiastes*, to bemone
 and manifest his owne fall, and forewarne other Prin-
 ces to beware of the spirit of priuacie, that they may
 hedge in their royall wayes vvith these conscionable re-
 strictions, vvhereby they may be obayed for conscience
 sake by their subiects.

1. First, *Salomon*, or *Cesar* must not rule vvithout a
 Lawe, nor by his absolute power make any, but see to
 the execution of those that are made. It inclines there-
 fore too much towards tyranny for a *Magistrate* to ex-
 ercise an absolute authority vvithout limit, and the *Su-*
perieur who rules vvithout a Lawe, or against Lawe,
 vvalkes in no way himselfe, but balks his owne high-way;
 for a way is fenced, but the champion fields are for the
 wild-goose chase; and corners and holes for sinister
 actions. When as publique persons should do publique
 actions in publique, in the *Gates of the City*, in the *Kings* Gen. 23. 10.
 I 3. high-

Deut. 22.15 *high-way*, in the eye of all. For chamber-workes are suspicious, and carry a shew of priuacy and parciality. And so it is sayd by *Liuy*, that *Tarquinius* made the name of a King odious at *Rome*, because he ruled all *Domesticis consilijs* by chamber-Councill, as *Rehoboam* in *Israel*, and *Lewes* the 11, in *Fraunce*. Thus Kings though they bee in some sort aboue the Law, because they are dispensers of it, are not yet without a Lawe, because they must rule themselves and others by it. And thus much the crowne that a King weares testifieth, which is a type of the loue, and acknowledgement, and consent of the people in his gouernement; and lets him see, that there is a verge, a hoope, a compasse for the heades of Kings, aswell as of subiects, and that wee come to manifest in the second consideration.

2. Secondly, Gods Lawe is *Cesars* verge, which *Cesar* must neither transgresse, nor suffer to bee transgressed. Where God hath set no Lawe, there *Cesars* Lawe (*I meane the Lawe of the Land, which is the hedge to this high-way of the King*) must stand. And this must agree with the equity of the Lawe of God, from whence it originally takes life and strength. For as where it agrees with Gods Lawe, wee must obey it for conscience sake; so where it contradicts or crosseth the Lawe of God, the Apostle *Peter* giues a generall rule,

Act. 4.19. *It is there better to obey God then man.* To cleere this:

Thou sayest thy conscience tels thee, the *Religion* commanded by the King, or some ceremony vsed in the Church according to the Lawes established, is not agreeable, but contrary to the truth; If thou canst manifest this by the word of God, then thy Conscience tels thee right, and thou art not to doe what is commanded

ded by man, though he speakes humane Lawe, but yet thou art to suffer vvhhat is inioyned by him, so speaking with the Law, or so doing as Executor of the Lawe: and both these wayes thou obeyest God and *Cæsar* too; God actiuelly, doing vvhhat he vvills; and *Cæsar* passiuelly, submitting thy will to Gods Holy ordinance, and obeying the Magistrate for conscience sake. But if thy conscience tels thee this or that, and cannot proue what it tels thee, but by shifts and shadowes; then it is not truly thy conscience, at least no true but a lying conscience that so misleads thee; nay rather, it is thy phantasie, thy imagination, thy peeuish, preiudiciall, and froward conceit; And thou art bound to resist, and breake thine owne crooked and peruerse vvill, and to subiect it to the will of God, who hath subiected thee to *Cæsar*. For *Conscientia non est contra scientiam, sed cum scientia*, Conscience is ioyned with knowledge; thats the ground, otherwise thou setst vp an Idol in thy owne heart, and worshippest it, vvhillst thou obeyest an erring and ignorant conscience. For an Idol (saith Saint Paule) *is nothing in the world*; and such is thy conscience, a bug-beare, a Scar-crow, a *Chimera* of thine owne melancholly imagination, or maleuolent invention: And howsoever it may seeme right to thy selfe & thy Sectators, or Sectmasters, *the Issues thereof are the wayes of death*.

3. Thirdly, as the Lawes of God must guide our consciences in our religious duties, so the positieue Lawes of the Kingdome must be the *high-way* wherein euery one must vvalke in actiue obedience. And Kings and Iudges are the dispensers and disposers of these Lawes according to reason. Neither shall they need in the execution to satisfie euery priuate, curious, and contentious

head, which pretending conscience, vwill disobey, or to satisfie every delinquent with arguments, for then his worke were infinite; but strictly and directly to open the booke, and to execute the Lawe of the Land, and every liege-man is to acquiesce therein. For the Iudge is, or ought truly to bee, *Lex loquens*, and doth but tell vs the Lawe, and shew vs the high-way in which wee must walke; and if wee list not to walke in it, wee must be content to suffer for our willfull folly, or walke out of the vway, out of the reach of the Lawe. And there is great reason for this, for God hath set Kings as his Deputies to execute Iustice and Iudgement, he expects it at their hands; and where any euill fals out for lacke of execution, the fault is the Magistrates, if there be Law to preuent it; of him shall the soule be required which perisheth for lacke of gouernment; as the soule shalbe required at the Pastors hands, which perisheth for lacke of instruction in the truth. Great reason is it therefore he should haue power ouer such as he must answere so strictly for, that he may punish them, or compell them to come in, or keepe them for drawing others out of his folde.

So wee see, *Iudg. 17. Micha* sets vp an Idol contrary to Gods Lawe, he will haue a parlor-worship, a religion by himselfe: The reason of this error of knowledge and conscience is giuen there; *Then there was no King in Israel, but every man did what seemed good in his owne eyes.* So the King is to see to Religion, and if Idolatry increaseth, or sects, or schismes arise, it is counted the Kings fault, if there bee a King; the fault arising heere for lacke of a King: that is, of a fit person to execute the Lawe against Idolary. Likewise in the 19. Chap. of *Iudges*, the Levites

Leuites wife is defiled after an vnſatiabſe & brutiſh manner: The reaſon of this villaine, this iniuſtice, this error in praſtiſe, is giuen as before, *Then there was no King, &c.* So all diſorders of life are for lacke of execution of Juſtice: for God gaue the People a Lawe in this caſe; ſo they lacked not a law, but a Magiſtrate to execute it. Againe, in the 21. Chap. of *Iudg*: There are two barbarous facts mentioned; the firſt, the bloody deſtruction of *Iabes Gilead*; the other, the rape of certaine virgins by fraude and force, who came out, without feare of trechery, ſecurely truſting to their owne innocence, and the peace of the State. The reaſon of theſe diſorders is giuen as before; *Then there was no King in Iſrael, but euery man did what ſeemed good in his owne eyes*: There vvas a Lawe, but there vvas none deſigned to execute it.

Prayſed be God, vvee haue both King, Lawes, Priests, and Iudges; how haps it then, that there are (I do not ſay finnes, for there vwill be finnes as long as there are men,) but ſuch common, open, crying finnes, ſuch raigning, roaring, raging finnes, ſuch beaten roads, common high-vvayes of finnes and ſinning, as if there vvere no King, no Lawe, no Priest, no Iudge in *England*? I ſpeake not of them, vvvhich may pretend their excuſe from the fraylty of our natures, and our procliuenes to ſin, but of ſuch as are committed with a high hand, ſtanding like theeues by the high-vvayes ſide at nooneday, and robbing God of his glory, the Common-wealth of their honor, and that vvith violence, vvith applauſe, ſhaddowing their vnlawfull actions vnder the pretence of Lawe it ſelfe, vvvhich ſhould reforme them. And ſome of theſe for the manifeſtation of this point, I intend to bring to the barre to anſwere for themſelues.

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But see I shall not neede; for impudent *Sacriledge* appeares of himselfe to confront the Pulpit and the bench too; It is not a *scarlet* gowne that can fright *Diuines*; for he vvent in purple euery day. If iustice helpe not, he vvill strangle *Devotion*: for vvho vvill giue to God, if the Diuell enioyes vvhat is giuen? Or vvho vvill giue to the Clergie, to the poore, to charitable vses, if the *At*hiest, the prophane person, the vncharitable vvretch, the Politician, may ceize vpon it & sell it, or the title to it, as he doth. It lyes only in the hands of *Power* and *Authority* to stop his mouth; for he hath got such countenance and supportance as he sits in judgement, and hath giuen sentence (like the Man of sinne) against the Clergy, that tithes are not due to them *Iure Diuino*; and therefore he and his may ceize vpon them vvith *Prescriptions, Impropriations, Prohibitions*, like an other three-headed *Cerberus*, *Iure diabolico*. The Country-people like well, and vvill soone learne this lesson, they thought before it vvas no conscience to pay tithes, but all being due by almes, it vvas no theft, no sacriledge, but vvifedome and good husbandry to keepe asmuch backe as they might; vvee expected reformation, and a restoring of the oyle to the lampes, as God had lent these times more light then others: But now there is cause to doubt rather subtraction, then to hope for restitution; much lesse to expect addition: *Simony, Sacriledge*, all are let loose and armed, and *Iudas* hath sufficient colour to saue like a theefe his oyntment from Christs members and *Ministers*, vnder pretence of charity, and releeuing the poore; though Christ sees the theefe in *Iudas* heart, and though *Salomon* knowes howsoever this way may seeme right to themselves, yet the end thereof is destruction to
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the Church, and death to many a poore soule. But they are in their way, rather villing to pay tenths to Sathan, then to God; It is therefore ten to one, if one of ten, haue grace to returne and to restore. God is iust, who, whilst they withdraw their hands and hearts from good, withdrawes his grace from their hearts; they may heare, but they profit not to obedience and practise; He will not suffer such to gaine grace by the preaching of the Word, vvho for their owne priuate gaine vvould starue the Preachers of the Word.

The *Vsurer* comes next as a brother in euill to *Sacrilidge*. This must not now be called a sinne, it is justified out of the Pulpit to be none; and it is growne to be a profession too, and the *Vsurer* is a free-man of euery company, but not *free* in any good cause or company. It was a sin so vgly heeretofore, as none durst practise it, scarce durst name it, but vvith the signe of the crosse, as if they had spoken of a Diuell: but it is now so common, as he is scarce thought an honest man that is not one: for he cannot be honest that is not rich, and he cannot be rich vvithout this trade. This is the gulph vvith sinks and swallows our Marchants, Clothyers, Farmers, Owners, all. Men complaine of the Law, (and that vvorthily) but this, this is the rocke that Shipwracks all, and spoiles all trading and commerce, whilst the venter and hazard is the buyers and the sellers, but the certaine gaine fals betwixt both to the *vsurer*. This Man payes neither duty to God nor the King, for his trade hath no warrant from either. God forbids it, the King tolerates it, as some States doe the practise of the Stewes, or as our Sauour said of Diuorces, *Moses for the hardnes of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wiues, but*

from the beginning it was not so; the time hath not beene long, since this sinne came in request for a vertue; nor will it bee long ere the practisers shall see, that howsoever the way seemes good in their owne eyes, yet the Issues thereof are the wayes of death.

Next, the *usurer* and the *Sacrilegious* person, who are coupled like dogges, comes three together in a cluster: 1. The *Forestaller*, 2. The *Ingrosser*, 3. The *Depopulator*; as severall species of one Genus; birds of a feather, who hang together of a string; and it is pitty they should not euer so hang.

The *Forestaller* (I meane not the petty forestaller of a Fayre or Market, but the forestaller of Commodities in a vvhole Country) bites closer then a Goose; for the Goose eats all about the earth, but this beast eats vp all commodities before they spring, as soone as they are sowne in the Earth, and therefore is a right earth-worme.

2. Neither when I speake of *Ingrossers*, do I intend petty persons, who ingrosse vp this or that commodity; but the *Ingrosser* of Farmes, who like another *Cain* takes possession of all, and will not indure any man to thrive or liue by him. Eucry Farme, eucry trade, eucry Sheepes-course is his. Nothing fatts him but a deere yeare, nothing drownes him but a deepe and long snow: for if that melts not the sooner, hee melts. He hath in his hands perhaps what would imploy and maintaine ten households, and he scarce keepes one. Thus he beggars himselfe, whilst he is not able to stocke all his Farmes, nor giue them that compasse, which *Aristotle* saith is the best; namely, to compasse the ground about often with the owners feete: hee beggars his Landlord, whilst once in seauen

Ani.
Decon. hb.
Sterquil-
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seauen yeeres he hangs his Lease on the hedge, and trusts to his heeles; he beggars the poore, whilst he will affoord them no abiding place in the Earth, nor no employment to preferue them from Idlenesse; and he beggars the whole State, whilst he breeds beggars, and makes the ground vnfertile for lacke of tending; which if it were in the hands of more, that could manure and follow euery part; would yeeld more increase to the Occupier, to the Master, and to the State of the Common-wealth.

3. The last of these is the *Depopulator*, who to inhanse his Rents, puls downe all the petty Tenements and Farmes, and will haue none dwell neere him. Assoone as this is done, he lackes neighbors; thus the iustice of God vvhips him by his owne hand. Then he hyes to the City, vvhere the *Dicing-house* vpon the right hand, and the *Drinking-house* vpon the left hand, and the *Drabbing-house* before him, spends all that is left; or if any be left, the *tyre-woman*, and the *taylor*, dogs and hawkes, and Coach-horses diuide it; and amongst these he wastes all that, wherewith his predecessors feasted themselves, and their poore neighbours. There are Lawes against these, but often it concernes the *Iury*, the *Iustices*; nay, the *Iudges* themselves, and therefore the Lawes must be silent in this case; for these wayes are good in their owne eyes, though the Issues of them be the wayes of death.

There come next to hand three others, who depend of those that went before, and whose profession is practised with a kinde of warrantable deceite; namely, the *Malster*, the *Brewer*, the *Alehouse-keeper*; these drinke vp the State, as the other did eate it vp; and for their sakes, drunkennesse is thought a tollerable, nay, a necessary

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cit opti-
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euill. Their pretences are the prouision for the poore, or the raising of the price of corne, that the husbandman may liue, and that the rackt Rent may not vndoe him; but what he gets of these at the Barne-dore, he leaues at the Buttery-hatch. Mothes are no worse in cloth, rust in yron, nor whules in Mault, then these in the Common-wealth. For since these were set vp, and manly exercises cryed downe, our bodies are weakened and corrupted, our spirits dulled, and made effeminate, and we fitted for slavery, being euery day ouer-mastered and made slaues by drunkennes and excesse. And yet there are some vwho suppose this trading to be as necessary for the State, as *Tobacco* or the trade of the *East-Indies*; and for my part I am easily induced to beleue them, vvhilst I know the equall discommodity of all; and see, *that though their wayes seeme good to themselves, yet the Issues thereof are the wayes of death.*

Next these, the bribing Officer appears, as in a clowde; for his wayes are darke and past searching out, except to him that can hold a candle before the Diuell. *Mammon* brought him in, *Mammon* keepest him in, and the excesse of his wife, child, seruants, giues notice to all eyes, that such brauery is not to be maintained without bribes. And therefore vwhen poore men come to passe any thing how iust soeuer, they are warned to open their purses vvide; and so whatsoeuer the cause bee, their *needles eye* shalbe made bigge enough for the *Cable* or the *Camell* to enter. Iustly may God complaine of vs as of *Israel*. *Thy Princes are rebellious, and companions of theeues: euery one loueth gifts, and followeth after rewards: they iudge not the fatherlesse, neither doth the cause of the widow come vnto them.* And *Ier. 5. 26.* *Among my people*
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are found wicked men: they lay waite, as he that setteth snares; they set a trap; they catch men. As a cage is full of birds, so are their houses full of deceite; therefore they are become great, and waxen rich. They are waxen fat, they shine; yea, they ouer-passe the deeds of the wicked: they iudge not the cause, the cause of the fatherlesse, yet they prosper, and the right of the needie doe they not iudge. Shall I not visite for these things, saith the Lord? shall not my soule be auenged on such a Nation as this?

God himselte must visit for these sinnes, the Magistrate will not; it is he that must be visited; it must be an omnipotent power that must therefore reforme this generall corruption, that spreads so wide, and climbs so high: for these wayes seeme good to the eyes of great men, yea to some of the greatest, (who should correct it) though the issues thereof be the wayes of death.

Now I haue proceeded so farre I vwill conclude with him that is the cause of all this, and that's the Courtly Thiefe; who begges a Patent, that all these before spoken of, and more too, may rob, as it were, with varrant vnder his seale. But I doe him wrong perhaps to call him thiefe, he is rather a Beggar; not a beggar by the Kings high-way, but a Beggar of the Kings high-way; so that no man may passe vp and downe in course of Lawe and Iustice but hee takes custome. Surely he hath begg'd so long, that he hath almost made vs all beggars, and therefore it is pittie there is no whipping post for him. But assure himselte, though he be of the number of the sturdy and incorrigible persons heere in this vworld, yet there is a vwhipping post for him in another world, and he shall see, that though his wicked wayes seemed good in his owne eyes, and in the eyes of his fel-

lowes, of his fooles, of his flatterers, yet the Issue of them are the wayes of death and destruction.

But vvhhat should I need to dwell longer vpon particulars, when not only this or that member, this or that finger or toe, but the whole body is corrupted? Looke vpon *Religion*, are not our aduersaries on all sides increased? Do not all places swarme with schismes, sects, heresies, and priuate spirits? Looke vpon our liues; was there euer such defect of charity, as if indeed it were true which some slander vs withall, that wee teach a solitary faith would saue, and that works were needlesse; nay sinfull? was there euer generally such an itch of priuate wealth which euer forerunneth and effects the ruine of the Common-wealth? Looke vpon all our *Projects*, of draining surrounded grounds, or whatsoever other profitable pretence they carry, see if they ayme not at the draining of the publique purse, at the milking of the state by priuate *Monopolies*; as if *England* were a hard step-dame, and no indulgent Mother to her prodigall and vngratefull children. Looke vpon our affections; was there euer such a deade-luke-warme indifferencie, a dowe-baked zeale, as if we cared not which way the world went, all wayes were alike to vs? Looke vpon man and wife, the Epitome of the Common-wealth; was there euer such iarres, so little loue, such chopping and chaunging of wiues and husbands, such Nullities, such playing fast & loose with the sacred coniugall knot, such houses ouerthrowne by busie, pragmaticall, and disobedient *Euahs*, and effeminate, flauish, and passiue *Adams*? Looke in the streete, if you can distinguish men and women asunder by their apparell, or behauiour; if euery *Succuba* seemes not an *Incubus*; so
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that you had need of a Iury to inquire of their Sexes? Consider well if there be such a thing as modesty and chastity or shamefastnesse, left amongst women, or courage, manhood, and honour left amongst men. Looke vpon the highest, if they make any other account of the poore then of their tame cattell (I except their dogs and horses, and perhaps their sheepe, deere, hogges; for these must all be fed before them:) Looke vpon the Commons, if their teeth grinde not with indignation, as if they had stomach enough both to eate the beasts and their more beastly masters. Looke vpon all men, if sinnes of all kinds doe not abound: See if you can distinguish the man from the Master, but that perhaps the man goes brauer, sweares lowder, and wilbe drunke sooner. And if his Master keepe from Church for conscience sake, he will keepe from thence because he hath no conscience. Looke euery way if it be not a shame to seeme good, much more to bee so: If it be not a glory to regard neither God nor King, Religion nor Lawe. If they be not the only braue fellows who dare doe the basest acts most boldly, and in a drunken desperate moode, iustle sober and silent Iustice from the wall into the Channell. Behold if *want* hath not made a violent ceizure of vs all; want of wealth, want of strength, want of courage, want of wit, want of conscience, want of grace; so that wee resemble the people of *Laisb* spoken of in the 18. Chap. of the Iudges, 7. 10. verses, and so are a carelesse, secure, irregular *Nation*, a fit prey for any *Conqueror*.

This is all true, all men see it and confesse it; but where is the cause of this? Our sinnes; they are both the cause & the effect; for sinne is punished with sinne: And

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we that are euill Customers to defraud God of his due, must looke to haue strict & seuerer Searchers, and Controuersers, and watchers set ouer vs. But vvhether is that *causa proxima* of sinne? Sinne is a cause indeed of sinne, but it is *causa remota*, so that euery eye cannot discern that cause. Why, the next cause of sinne which euery eye may see, is the lacke of *Execution of good Lawes*; wee haue them, but they lie as *Henry* the fifts Bowes and Arrowes at *Pomfret Castle*, with which he wan the battaile of *Agincourt*; or *Edward* the thirds sword in *Westminster*, which he vsed in the Conquest of Fraunce, and tels vs now what braue fellowes our forefathers haue beene: Heere only is the difference, that sword is euer drawne, but the sword of Iustice is euer in the Sheath.

Now my honorable Lords, you haue the sword in your hands, though not the scepter; draw it forth, and strike with it the enemies of Truth and Iustice, who wander out of the *Kings high-way*, in their *wayes of neighborhood*, and *wayes of priuacy*. You heare *Nehemiah* say, Cap. 6. 11. *Should such a man as I feare?* It were a shame. Should such as you either feare, or fauour, or respect causes or persons? I cannot suspect such a cloud, where there appeares such a shining Sun of graces, and gifts of knowledge and profession. I dare not admonish you of any thing, I am so confident of your integrity. Yet because I know as you are the eyes of the State, the eyes of his Maiestie, so you must see by other mens eyes, and heare by other mens eares, I turne me therefore to them.

Honorable Gentlemen, the King hath made you Iustices, to assist these Iudges in presence, to supply by your authority their absence: Shew your selues as your

Predecessors haue done, vworthy of your places; reforme what you can, inform where you cānot, that the higher power may. I know you know, you were not made Iustices of peace, to the end to be silent, but to speake. He is vnworthy of his place, vvho attaines it onely for his owne grace, to hurt his enemies, profit his followers, to vphold his faction and partie; and therefore attends his profit or pleasure rather then his calling, vvherewithall he thinks his conscience is not charged; but that it is enough for him to sit on the Bench, to tell the Clocke, and keepe his Cushion warme. You know, and therefore doe the contrarie; the Church, the Commonwealth expects more from you, and I excite you to this in their names.

And you Gentlemen of the Grand-Enquest, and of other Iuries, with chiefe Constables, and pety Constables, I turne me to you: Consider you are the eyes and eares wherewithall *Iustice* sees and heares; without you shee is blind and deafe: let not preiudice or partialitie take vp your affections therefore aforehand. Be not like Band-dogs muzled for feare of biting: remember the dignitie, authority and vse of your places, and disgrace them not by your vnworthy cariage. The poorest Constable is an eye to the richest and wisest Magistrate: but few of them I feare haue eyes to see it; and that their Certificates would witnesse, if they were strictly examined, which commonly are nothing but matter of forme, and yet without either matter or forme.

Consider, I beseech you, how Policie hath set one eye ouer another, and how many eyes there are ouer-looking all your voluntarie, your wilfull, your negligent and partiall escapes; the petty Constables, chiefe Con-

stables, Grand-Enquest, the Iustices, the Iudges and the whole County. And you that are next the lowest, consider the like, and so successiuelly as you are superordinate; I ascend to you honorable Iudges, who know you haue a King aboue you too, vvho can distinguish of wayes, discern colours (though all scarlet sinnes, & crying crimes be kept from his eyes and eares artificially): & *there is one aboue him too, who rules the hearts of Kings as the riuers of Waters*; and being aboue him, he must needs ouersee vs all; for he is καρδιωνόμος, the searcher and seer of the heart.

Ecc. 5. 8.

Psal. 97. 9.

Pro. 21. 1.

Act. 15. 8.

There is a double worke at the Assises, the triall of *Nisi prius*, and *Censure of manners*: This, this last (my Lords) is the needfull, the acceptable worke; for we haue more neede of a *Cato* to reforme our corrupt manners, then of a *Cicero*, or *Antony*, or *Salust*, to purifie and polish our Language. Wee all speake like good Angels, but we liue like euill. The Country Contention makes the Lawyer rich, but the neglect of Iustice makes vs all poore. Heere nothing profits but due execution, which is then done, when your honors do not only giue *good and learned Charges*, and good examples by present actions, but leaue an impression for the future, and looke at your returne for full obedience to your commands and orders; which else are effectuell no longer with some, then this my *Sermon*, which being taken for a matter of course, is perhaps tost by censure and science for a vvhile, but scarce touched by conscience, or drawne into practise by any at all, though that should be the end of all hearing, as it is the end of all preaching. Now to conclude; that both my Sermon, & your Lordships charge, and all our actions may be to the glory of God, and

and the good of this Common-wealth; Let vs ioyne together in humble and hartly manner, and commend the end of this our present *way of knowledge* and the beginning of your *great worke of Execution* and practise, which followes, to his holy blessing and direction in faithfull and humble prayer.

Gratious God, thou that hast giuen vs a *Way* to walke to heauen in, the *Way of thy commandements*; and, vwhen vvee did not keepe that *Way* as wee ought, didst in thy mercy reueale the *Way of grace vnto vs in thy Gospell*, sending thy Sonne to be a *Way, life, and truth vnto vs*. A way to vualke in, the life and strength wherewithall vvee walke, and the truth wherevnto wee vualke: dispose our hearts to meditate, & to obserue those things that thou hast taught vs, and obediently to shew our thankfulness by labouring to practise the same in our seuerall vocations with the care of good cōsciences to thy glory. Lord giue vs grace to shun *all Wayes that seeme euill and are so; or are euill, though they seeme not so*. Let vs not be misled by *Wayes of neighborhood*, by imitation or example, either of our predecessors deceased, or otherwise absent or present, nor wander in our *private Wayes* from the publique rule of thy vvord, and the true end of our callings in Church or Commonvvealth. Especially (O Lord) keepe vs from abusing the Lawe for a *colour of sinne*, as if vvee had warrant and authority to iustifie our vvickednesse, and durst sinne without feare of punishment in the sight of the Sunne, in the Kings *high Way* like Robbers.

And since we see, lack of execution of good lawes is the cause of our euil liues, giue care & courage to thy Iudges, & zeale and conscience to euery other Officer of Iustice, that all may ioyne together to root vp sin, & to strengthen the man of God in the *Wayes of God*, that wee may so

walke with thee heere in obedience as *Enoch* did; that as he was, vvee may be heereafter translated to vvalke with thee in eternall glory through Iesus Christ our Lord and Sauour. Amen.

*A Postscript to all Christian Readers,
especially to my brethren and fellow-laborers in
the Ministerie, and to the Freeholders.*

YOU haue seene the *high-wayes of God and the King* playnely layde downe. Keepe you to the word of God strictly, for that is Gods *high-way*; 2.Tim. 3. 14. 15. 16. 17. Concerning the *Kings high-way*, that also is his reuealed will in the Lawes of the Land; which, although his absolute will doe not constitute (as Gods vvil doth) yet his consent confirms them as the Parliament propounds them. In the Parliament then (which is the whole State representatiue) these *high-wayes* are made; and the fundamentall customes of our State, makes euery Freeholder a way-maker in this case, not binding any man before he hath bound himselfe by the Knights and Burgeses who are his Spokesmen.

Bee therefore wary, when you heare a Parliament summoned by his Maiestie, whom you choose Knights of the Shire, and Burgeses of Corporations; that is, whom you constitute in your places to repaire or make these *high-wayes of the King*, wherein you are bounde to walke obediently for conscience sake: and remember vvhat admonitions his Maiestie hath giuen you often by Proclamation to this end: especially in the first yeere of his

his Reigne, vvhhen he found fault vwith such as disabled their Countiees and Corporations, vsing to choose strangers according as they were directed by letters or superior Command, as if they had no freedoms, or wanted sufficient men of ther owne to supply those places. And remember also how before this last Parliament his Maiestie (hearing and beholding vvhhat packing, plotting, and vndertaking there had beene vsed in this important businesse) did command all men to forbear writing and vnderhand solliciting for the place, either on their owne behalfe, or others; and aduised the people to chose freely, & not to betray their owne liberties in the choice. Better counsell you cannot haue.

When therefore you heare of a Parliament towards, let the Ministers prepare the people, and warne them of the worke in hand, and let such as are Freeholders conferre together, and (neglecting both their Landlords, or great neighbours, or the Lord Liffenants themselues) looke vpon the wisest, stoutest, and most religious persons; and be carefull to choose such as haue no dependencie vpon Greatnes, nor seeke change of the State, Lawes, and Religion, nor hunt ambitiously for place, honor, and preferment; for there is danger in these: but he that is religious, vvill stand for his Countiees good; and in choosling such, you shall please God and the King, and profit your selues, and your posterity.

Finally, let none amongst you bee seene idly to sit at home, whilst these things are doing in the full Countie, as if it did not concerne you: but ride, runne, and deale seriously herein, as for your liues and liberties which depend heereupon. And as you see such as are contrary minded bandy themselues together for their

Psal. 85.

party, to choose one of their opinion for their turne,
 so see you doe the like, that you may countervorke
 them and hold the liberty you haue got; and the Lord
 prosper you, and make you of one minde as one man,
 that the Gospell may still flourish among you, that
mercy and truth may meete, righteousness and peace may kisse
each other, that the Lord may giue that which is good, and the
Land may yeeld her increase.

Errata.

Fol. 10. lin. vlt. for alterations, reade altercations.

Fol. 73. lin. 2. for villaine, reade villanie.

FINIS.

set

THE
PROIECTOR.

TEACHING A DIRECT, SVRE,
and ready vway to restore the decayes of
the Church and State both in
Honour and Revenue.

DELIVERED IN A SERMON
before the Iudges in Norvvich, at Summer
Afsises there holden,

Anno 1620.

By THOMAS SCOT Batchelor in Diuinity.

PROV. 11. 10, 11.

*When it goeth well with the righteous, the Cittie reioyceth; and
when the wicked perish there is shouting: By the blessing of
the upright the Cittie is exalted, but it is overthrowne by the
mouth of the wicked.*

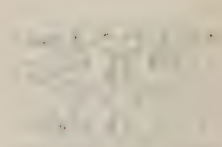


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PROJECTOR

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20 To the Reader.

 *H*ristian Reader, Sathan is subtile, and perswades vs all goes well; there needes no sharpnesse in this age; and that if any vse it, the salt humor of their braines, rather then the tainted manners of these times, provokes it. Especially this crime of customarie tartnesse is like to be layd to my charge, who haue beene (as some thinke and I feele) too busie in discovering falshood and error, and haue followed Truth too neere the heeles, to haue my teeth beaten out. But whilst my tongue is left in my head; I will say with the Prophet Psalme 37. If I forget thee, O Hierusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning: If I doe not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roofe of my mouth, if I preferre not Hierusalem aboue my chiefe ioy.

I must confesse I am the more earnest against these common and crying iniquities, because I my selfe was long subiected to them, and doe yet beare the scarres and cicatrices of their malice both in mind, body, and fame. My mind, though not naked, yet, by the time I wasted idly in their company, being disfur-nished of many necessaries, for which I doe often blush; my body, though not altogether crazed, yet being older, weaker, and more subject to diseases, and neerer the graue, then either my yeares or native constitution would haue carried me so early: My fame, though not tainted, yet being not so odoriferous, as

TO THE READER.

becomes either my generall calling as a Christian, or particular as a Minister of Christ, a Holy and sanctified vessel of honour.

Rom. 7. 23
24. 25.

These considerations makes me (being delivered from the bondage, though not from the body of that sinne vvhich hath done me all this mischief) *more eager against the common and cursed corruptions of the time, and that for three respects.*

First, to warne other men least they fall into the same snare.

Secondly, to binde my selfe, that the sinnes I haue by Gods mercy broken loose from, repossesse not my mortall body againe.

Thirdly, to excite, such as haue power, to sharpen the edge of Iustice against iniquity, which beginnes to grow so strong; whilst the loue of many waxeth colde, as a sodaine ruyne, without a speedy remedy, is threatned thereby to the Church and State.

Wee cry out of Popery, and there is cause; but Popery gets ground of vs whilst wee want piety to withstand it; and keepe our owne ground constantly. Aaron and Hurr want care, conscience and courage, to hold vp their owne hands, much more to hold vp the hands of Moses in the constant course of Iustice against the Amalekites, that Actuall, Magisteriall and Maiesticall kind of prayer.

The corruption of manners hath broken downe our Walles, and let in that Troian Horse laden with trumperies: And for my part I feare not what they bring in so much, as I doe the In-bringers. Atheisme brings in Papisme; irreligion, superstition. All are not true Christians that are truly christened, as they may deny God, so may they deny Christ Iesus in their liues too.

Tit. 1. 16.

These being the greater number are the more dangerous: otherwise,

TO THE READER.

therwise, but for these, and but that wee know these will take part with the worser part, wee would not feare the Romane Catholikes, since certainly the number of the true reformed Catholikes are in our lse the greater and stronger. But when I looke on these assistants I tremble.

First, because I know they will gladly entertayne that Religion which is most glorious to the eye, promiseth most worldly advantages, and giues most satisfaction to corrupted nature, and consists for the most part in externall rites. And if Turcisme should come next, they would preferre it before the Christian, as Machiavell their maister doth.

Secondly, I feare lest God in Iudgement should suffer these thornes and nettles to pricke and sting vs; because whilst Ios. 23. 13. wee had time, occasion, yea provocation, and meanes to weede up these weedes, wee neglected our duties, and would not doe it, but keepe them as necessary fences to the garden of God.

For these feares (if now it be not too late) I propound a remedy preached before, published now, that all may reade as they runne. Habacuc. 2. 2.

It was our Saviours charge to Peter, When thou art converted, helpe to strengthen thy brethren. That he denied Christ thrice, made him thrice as eager and zealous in preaching Christ crucified. This is my case, Sathans buffet- Luk. 22. 32. Mat. 26. 70. 2. Cor. 12. 7. ting makes me buffet Sathan and his associates; What Coward being smitten, will not strike againe? Christ that contemnes the blowes of insulting souldiers and is silent, yet to Peters smooth temptation, replies sharply, Get thee behinde me Sathan. Mat. 16. 23.

If any say I rayle (as that is a common aspersion cast vpon all that now speake truth in sinceritie) let them know it is against

TO THE READER.

Sathan that I raile, though he be hid vnder the Maske of Peter himselfe, or any other high or holy Stalking-horse. Pray against these euils, lend thy hand also to remoue them, according as thy place and authority giues thee strength; strike not me for striking on thy side, and taking thy soules part against sinne; (so only doe fooles and madmen) but pray for mee as I for thee, that his grace may mend vs; so that wee may helpe to mend others, and none may be so gracelesse as to shun reformati-on, or hate vs for our desires to make them better.

Thy servant in Christ Iesus,

Tho: Scot.



THE PROIECTOR.

Justice exalteth a Nation, But sinne is a shame to
any people. Proverb. 14. 34.

Here hath been much contention amongst great Wits about the government of Commonweales: some holding the best way to exalt a Nation, is to keepe it vnited at home, by action abroad. To which end *Scipio* would haue *Carthage* preserved, that *Rome* might haue enemies. Others thinke the best way is to secure them at home by making vniuersall peace, to which end *Cato* would haue *Carthage* destroyed, that *Rome* might haue no enemies.

Some thinke the best way to preserue States, is to make long leagues and confederacies to combine Nations in marriage, to suffer the Commons to gather wealth, that so they may be in loue with their owne ease. Others thinke confederacies suspicious and dangerous on both sides; mariages rather scarifie the close wounds; and that wealth makes the people proude and vntractable. Wherefore they thinke better that the Nobles be curbed, and that stirring edge of honor ground off; that domesticke faction be maintained, whereby the envy & emulation of great men may be busied in pulling one

B

another

P. Scipio
Nasica,
perpetuo
pronuncia-
uit, videri
sibi Car-
thaginem
debere esse.
Cato con-
tra, Cartha-
ginem non
debere esse,
Plut. in vit.
Catonis.

another downe : That Country-contention be cherished, to keepe by that meanes the Common stocke stirring; to vent the spleene of neighbor against neighbor, so that they shall not need to looke out for enemies, nor haue leysure to combine themselues and turne head against the publique Magistrate.

Amongst all these various opinions, the shreds of *Politicians*, which patch vp the Commonwealth like a beggars cloake, *Salomon* heere (as wise I thinke, as any other man, especially in king-craft) sets downe his obseruation and opinion in two brieve Aphorismes of State, *Iustice exalteth a Nation, but sinne is a shame to any People.*

Heerein I observe two *Coniunctions*, two *Seperations*, and two *Oppositions*.

1. The two *Coniunctions* :

1. First betwixt *Iustice* and *Honor* : In these wordes, *Iustice exalteth, or, honoreth a Nation.*

2. The second betwixt *Sinne* and *Shame*; in these words : But *sinne is a shame to any People.*

Now, *Those that God hath ioyned, let no man put asunder.*

2. The two *Separations* are :

1. First, betwixt *Iustice* and *Shame*.

2. The second, betwixt *Sinne* and *Honor*.

Now those that God hath seuered, let no man ioyn together.

3. The two *Oppositions* are :

1. First, betwixt *Iustice* and *Sinne*.

2. The second betwixt *Shame* and *Honor*.

Now those that God hath opposed, no man can put together, without a *Diabolicall Contract*, a *Sodomiticall mixture*, a *sinne against Nature*.

2. De Orat:

The Orator saith, *Legibus proposita sunt supplicia vitij, premia*

THE PROJECTOR.

3

pramia virtutibus. Heere we finde both these ends;

1. First, *vertue* and its reward; *Iustice exalteth a Nation.*

2. Secondly, *vice* and its punishment; *But sinne is a shame to any people.*

Thus as *Ianus* head (which was an embleme of Policy) looked both wayes, backward and forward, to prevent daunger: so this Text, to the right hand and to the left. It hath an eye to *vertue*, that it fade not for lacke of encouragement, and to *vice*, that in over-spreade not all for lacke of weeding. Heere wee have *vertue* walking like an auncient Englishman with an honorable traine of followers; and *vice* like a moderne Gallant, who hath travelled away his vertue, wit, and wealth, and returnes with a single Page, according to that approved Proverbe, *Sinne goeth before, and shame followes after.*

The termes are cleare enough; wee all vnderstand vvhat is meant by *Iustice* and *Honor*, and *Sinne* and *Shame*. *Iustice* is either *essentiall*, or *virtuall*.

Essentiall Iustice is God himselfe, euery attribute of God being God.

Virtuall Iustice is a beame of that Sunne. For though it be true, that onely diuine Iustice of it selfe, absolutely and immediatly guilds all persons and places it reflects vpon vvith fauour; yet it is also true, that God by virtuall Iustice, (a sparke of the same celestially fire) as by an instrumentall cause, is pleased to adorne and beautifie the humane nature, yea and to accept of honour intended by man to the diuine Nature: *For hee that honoureth me (saith God) I will honour:* As if God were pleased to exchange (as it were) commodities with man, and so to prize the seruice of man, as to returne a reward for

1. Sa. 2. 30.

mansworke : not (I must confesse) either out of *condignitie* or *congruitie*, as if man did merit it ; but out of abundant *Iustice*, since God hath out of *Mercie* promised it.

This Iustice then here spoken of, is *virtuall Iustice*, the iustice of man communicated to him by Gods spirit.

And this is either *vniversall*, or *particular*.

1 *Vniuersall Iustice* is that holinesse and sanctitie, whereby we giue vnto God vvhath belongs vnto him in our religious vvorship and seruice, as Faith, Feare, Loue, Honour, and the effects of these ; vvvhich must bee performed according to the expresse letter of the Law, his vvill deliuered in the Scripture, vvvhich is the infallible Word of truth, otherwise it cannot be iust, if it contradicts that word of God which is the rule of truth and iustice.

2 *Particular Iustice* is that, vvhereby wee giue vnto man vvhat belongs vnto man, as fidelitie in promises and contracts, obedience to superiours, loue to inferiours, equality to all : and therefore One saith, *Iusticia est virtus adequans vnum cum altero*, Iustice is a vertue vvvhich makes things iust. And *Ambrose*, *Iusticia est virtus qua vnicuique quod suum est, tribuit, alienum non vendicat, utilitatem propriam negligit, vt communem aequalitatem custodiat*. Iustice is a vertue vvvhich giues euery man his owne, claimes not that which is another mans, neglects priuate gaine, that it may obserue common equality. For
 Mar. 12.7. both these our Sauour giues a rule, *Giue vnto God the things that are Gods*, there is *vniversall Iustice* : and *vnto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars*, there is *particular Iustice*.

Againe, Iustice is either *priuate*, or *publike*.

1 *Priuate iustice* is that which a man exerciseth at home :

home : first to himselfe in his owne person, then to others in his family: (for I extend priuate Iustice so farre.)

First, teaching himselfe with all sobrietie, *declinare à malo, facere bonum*, looking into his owne inclination, censuring himselfe strictly, becomming a lawe to himselfe, restrayning his owne peruerse and libidinous desires, and like a iust man, neither defrauding himselfe of that which is meet for him, nor (with too much indulgence) cockering vp his nature with more then enough.

Nimum & parum iniustitia est, propterea quòd in exuperantia & defectione consistit. Arist. Eth. lib. 5. cap. 9.

Thus the iust man eates, and drinckes, and sleepeps enough to satisfie nature, but exceeds not; clothes himselfe according to his estate in a mediocritie, both for necessitie and decencie; desires an estate, that hee may rather be able to relieue others, then to begge reliefe, but all without excesse, according to Agurs prayer, *Prov.* 30. 8. 9.

He robs not himselfe to leaue to others, hee knowes not to whom, as the rich foole doth, *who hath no power to eate*: neither doth he rob others for his owne priuate wealth, eating vp all, and not suffering the poore to eate at all: He robs not the whole world, and all other mens children for his owne, by deceit or violence; neither doth he rob his owne children by excesse and prodigallie. He is not *Catiline*-like, *alieni avidus, sui profusus*; but he vseth the world as if he vsed it not, knowing hee is but a pilgrime, a sojourner here. He loues his wife, and giues her all due beneuolence; yet makes her not the head to gouerne all, nor the foote to bee lowest of all; but as the eye in his head, the apple in his eye, the heart in his body, giues her all due respect and honour, which

may stand with his owne honour, and not destroy both.

His children he makes as seruants, obedient; his seruants as children, loving; *intreating his seruants as sonnes*, and so esteeming them; and commanding his sonnes as seruants, and so nurturing them. If his sonne hath the inheritance, his seruant hath the Lease; his seruant shall serue his sonne, but his sonne shall keepe his seruant. And this is a iust man to himselfe and his at home, without which he can neuer bee truly so abroad to others.

2 *Publike iustice* is that which hee doth exercise to others in the Common-wealth in his particular calling, as he is a Magistrate, Minister, Lawyer, Phisitian, Merchant, Mechanicke, or the like. Hee makes a conscience of his calling, and knowes he must giue an accompt for the imployment of his talents; and therefore vseth himselfe in his place, not as if the end of his vocation were onely to gather wealth, and enrich himselfe and his posteritie, but to doe God seruice, and other men good, knowing that Heathens could say, *Non solum nobis nati sumus, sed partim patriæ, partim parentibus, &c.* and therefore followeth the rule giuen by Saint Paul to Titus, and contracted close in three Aduerbes, *ut uiuamus sobriè, iustè, piè.*

Tit. 2. 12.

First, *sobriè*, soberly: because all iustice must begin at home, it is the rule of all, *Loue thy neighbour as thy selfe*: if thou doest not loue thy selfe well first, thou canst not loue thy neighbour well at all.

Secondly, *iustè*, iustly. *Doe as thou wouldest be done to*: 1. Ioh. 4. 20. for *If thou louest not thy neighbour whom thou hast seene, how canst thou loue God whom thou hast not seene?*

Thirdly, *piè*, godlily; for this is the summe of all, *Thou shalt*

shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor like thy selfe: in these consists all the Law and the Prophets.

Now then a man being thus sober at home in his owne deportment, iust abroad to others in publique commerce, and religious towards God in his deuotions, is accounted by God and Man a iust man. Not as if any absolute Iustice were in him (for that alone is Gods, and there is *none that sinnes not*) but iust in comparison of t. Io. 1. 8. others, iust in estimation with others, iust in affection to others; iust if wee measure his declensions and digressions with his common conversation, and iudge him not by any particular act, but by the generall. And thus was *Abraham, Lot, Iob, Samuel, David, Zachary*, iust men; not absolutely iust, generally iust, *sed secundum quid*, after a sort.

And when a man is thus iust, see what honor it procures him. Other Men dare referre themselves and all that they haue to the censure of such, knowing his conscience is a lawe vnto him, and he will not transgresse against it for the world.

What an honor was it for *Abraham* in the contention betwixt *Lots* seruants and his, to offer *Lot* (though he were the younger and weaker) the honor of the day, the honor of the place, the right or left hand, chuse which he would? This was Iustice, and Iustice without partiality, without priuate respect; for it was in *Abrahams* Genes. 13. 9 power being both the elder and stronger, to haue taken which hand he would, and either to haue left *Lot* the worst part, or no part.

What an honor was it againe for *Abraham* to take Genes. 14. armes to redcem his Cousin *Lot* from thraldom? doubt- 14. les, he that would fight to redceme him being taken,

would haue fought to keepe him from captiuitie. Even iust *Abraham* will heere bee an assaylant. *The Iustice of the cause is ours as it was Abrahams, if the courage were ours, as it was Abrahams.*

Nay, when *Abraham* hath ouercome, see his Iustice shining more cleerely yet, protesting to the king of *Sodome*, who offered him the greatest part of the spoyle, because he had purchased all with his sword, *I haue lift vp my hand to the Lord the most high God, possessor of heauen and earth, That I will not take any thing that is thine, from a threed even to a shoe latchet, lest thou shouldst say, I haue made Abraham rich.*

No man but God shall make *Abraham* rich, especially none aduerse or diuerse in religion from *Abraham*, as the king of *Sodome* was. *Abraham* will haue no wealth, but what his conscience assures him is the gift of God. O iustice to be admired, but too much out of date to be imitated, or almost beleeued! when we will most vniustly take any thing of any man, by any meanes, whereby we may be made rich. *There is no shame now amongst men, but to be poore, and honest.*

Gen. 41. 38. What an honor was it for *Ioseph* to be sent for out of the prison into the presence of *Pharaoh*? to be advanced presently to place of authoritie, and made Ruler over all the Land, yea ouer his old master who had vniustly imprisoned him? and what an honour was it for him to forget all old iniuries, and to reuenge none, and to deale so faithfully and iustly betwixt the King and his subiects, that he gaue contentment to them both? hee saued the peoples liues, he gat the King their Lands. This was a *Proiecter* worthy of praise. The Text saith, *Gen. 39. 6.* *was a goodly person, and wel-fauoured; a Favourite fit indeed for*

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for a Prince, he sought not to enrich himselfe, but to enrich his Master, and to honour the State by his iustice, *Genes. 41.*

What an honour was it for *Iob* both to bee, and to bee accounted so iust, to be reuerenced of old and young, to be loued of the good, feared of the euill, to bee eyes to the blinde, feet to the lame, a tongue to the dumbe, counsell to the simple, a Patron to the poore, a bulwark of iustice to all? *Iob 29.*

What an honour was it to *Samuel*, that in the confident integrity of his heart, he could say to all the people, *Whose Oxe haue I taken? or whose Assse haue I taken? or Whom haue I defrauded? Whom haue I oppressed? or of whose hand haue I receined any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith, & I will restore it you? 1. Sam. 12.* And what an honour was it to heare them ingenuously confesse and say, *Thou hast not defrauded vs, nor oppressed vs, neither hast thou taken ought of any mans hand:* So that he might iustly reply, *The Lord is witnesse against you, and his Anoynted is witnesse this day, that ye haue not found ought in my hand: and they answered, He is witnesse.*

What an honour was it for *Salomon* to bee visited by a Queene, to haue his wisdom and iustice in the managing, both of himselfe, his houshold, and kingdome, so magnified by a forraine testimonie? *Blessed bee the Lord thy God which delighteth in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel: because the Lord loued Israel for euer, therefore made he thee King, to doe iudgement and iustice, 1. King. 10. 9.*

Thus then we see how a family is honoured by hauing one iust man the Master: A City is honoured by hauing one iust man the Magistrate: A Kingdome is honoured by hauing a iust and wise King: but when

all, or the greatest part of men are iust in the houshold; and all, or the greatest part of households are iust in the Citie; and all, or the greatest part of those Cities and Counties are *iust* in a Kingdome: when *iustice* raignes thus vniuersally, then, then is that verified which *Salomon* here affirmes, *Iustice maketh a Kingdome or Nation glorious*: or *Iustice exalteth a Nation*. For as in old *Rome* all the Senators seemed Kings, so here the Magistrates seeme gods, resembling God in iustice, *I haue sayd ye are gods*: the Ministers seeme Angels, resembling Angels in sanctitie and diligence: the people seeme blessed spirits, liuing in loue, in peace, in holinesse, and happinesse: and the whole Common-wealth seemes a heauen vpon earth, full of sobriety, iustice and godlinesse. Euill men may malice it, the Kings of the earth may conspire against it, Satan and his associates may vndermine it, but God protects it with his arme, guides it with his Word and Spirit, and guilds it with his glorious presence.

Take one example without exception for all, euen the Raigne of that euer-memorable Queene *Elizabeth*, within whose heart, as all royall Vertue was enshrined, and in her Raigne all true Religion and Iustice flourished, so for the confirming of this Maxime after her death, this *Elogium* was engraued vpon her Tombe, by the commandement of her vnpartiall Successor: which is the more remarkable for the honour both of the liuing and of the dead, because Princes can hardly (with patience) heare the praises of their Predecessors, much lesse write them, or command them to be written:

Religion

Religion reformed, Peace vvell grounded, Monie reduced to the true valevv, a Navy vvell furnished in readinesse, Honour at Sea restored, Rebelliō extinguished, England for the space of fortie and fovre yeeres most vvifely governed, inriched, and fortified; Scotland freed from the French, Fraunce relieved, Netherlands supported, Spaine avved, Ireland quieted, and the vvhole Globe of the Earth tvvise sayled round about.

What could be more? yet all this was true, and much more. And thus were we happy. And thus we see how *Iustice exalteth a Nation*, when it giues Sinne his due punishment, and Vertue his due reward: when the Countiman dares trauell safely abroad, or sleepe at home vnder his owne Vine without feare of theeues or enemies: when the Merchant dares trade without feare of Pirates at Sea, or Farmers and watchers at Land: when euery man dares buy and sell, without feare of coufening, dares flie to the Courts of *Conscience* without feare of vndoing; dares plant, and plow, and sow, and reape, and grow honestly rich, and be knowne to bee so, without feare of *Empson* and *Dudley*, or the like: when if men haue no other capitall crime, Innocence shall not be accounted one: when all men dare serue one God after

one and the selfe same manner deuouily, and none dares serue him otherwise: vwhen things are generally thus disposed, this makes a flourishing estate, this makes a nation glorious. And thus much of the first proposition or Aphorisme, *Iustice exalteth a Nation*. We come to the second: *But sinne is a shame to any people*.

Aug. de 2. animal. *Peccatum est voluntas retinendi vel consequendi quod iustitia vetatur*. And heere that rule holdes, *Iniustitia versa iustitie opposita, non pars vitij est se vniuersum vitium*. As justice before contayned all vertues, but especially the carriage of one man to another as the most supreme and sensible vertue; so heere all sinne is intended, but especially injustice as the proper and most apparant opposite to justice: And that to let vs see, how injustice (vvhich is justice mis-done, corruptly, or left vndone-negligently) is the cause of all sinne, and so consequently of all shame the reward of sinne, as justice duly executed is the cause of all vertue, and so by consequence of glory the reward or crowne of vertue both heere and heereafter.

To cleere this, looke into *Paradise*, looke into *Hell*, looke into *Heauen*, and looke vpon the *Earth* for examples.

1. In *Paradise*, when God had made man according to his image in originall justice, and giuen him the law of Nature to be his guide, and to teach him how to obey God, and command the Creature, with this one case and expresse prohibition not to eate of the *fruite in the midst of the Garden*, Sathan comes to the woman and like a Sophister perswades her, that if Man would eate thereof, he *should be like God, knowing both good and euill*. They vvere like gods before, being created the image of God;

God; but in coueting more, they lost vvhhat they had. And obserue the vvayes and degrees of piecipation; *Eua* that vvas made to obay, would needs command; for the text saith, *the Serpent perswaded her*, but shee gaue to the Man like a Mistresse, and it is sayd, *he did eat thereof*, as if he durst do no othervvise. So priuate justice being infringed, it made vvay to publike, and the particular lavv being broken, the vniversall defection follovved. Before this vv whilst *Adam* stood in integrity of Iustice he vvas *naked and not ashamed*; nay, hee neede Genes. 2. 25 not be ashamed, for he vvas a most glorious creature; God himselte approues him for such, and beholding him so, pronounceth him to *bee good*. But presently after vvhen justice vvas transgressed, and the lavv broken, it is sayd, *Their eyes were opened, and they saw that they were* Genes. 3. 7. *naked*: They were then ashamed, and therefore made Genes. 3. 8. *themselves aprons of fig-leaves*, They were then afayd, and therefore hid themselves in the shadow of the trees. For they knevv that God vvas just, euen justice it selfe, and therefore as the sentence vvas gone out of his mouth, *The* Genes. 3. 17 *day that thou shalt eat thereof, thou shalt dye the death*, so the svword of Iustice follovves to execute, and they must dye and all their posterity: *No sinne shall goe unpunished without shame*: All must dye vvith him, since all sinned in him: And thus vvee see hovv *shame* follovves sinne naturally, and hovv till man had *sinned* there vvas no *shame*, but now *Pudor est timor justæ vituperationis*, *Shame is a feare of a just reprehension*; nay rather, *Shame is a feare of a just reiection*, vv which man had by sinne deserved.

2. Look into hell; see the sinne of *Dives* repayd vvith *Shame*, and that according to the rule of justice *Lege Ta-*

Luc. 16.

lionis. He beg'd a drop of water and could not haue it, because he denyed a crumme of bread before when *Lazarus* beg'd it. Doublesse had he giuen a crumme, he should haue receiued a drop. There is lesse mercy showne to him then to a dog; he could not be suffered to lap a little water to coole his tongue: because he shewed lesse mercy to *Lazarus* then the dogs did; vwho lickt his sores with their tongues.

3. *Looke into heauen*; see *Abrahams* heart was charitable heere, his house stood euer open to all strangers: *Abrahams* bosome is enlarged there, made a hauen to all comers; nay, a heauen to all beleeuers. Rich *Diuers* starued *Lazarus* heere, rich *Abraham* feasteth *Lazarus* there. *Qui sequitur iustitiam, & facit misericordiam, inueniet vitam, iustitiam, & gloriam.* PRO. 21. 21. *The righteous* (saith our Sauiour) *shall then shine forth as the Sunne, in the Kingdome of their Father* Mat. 13. 43. And those that exceed in iustice heere, shall exceed in glory hereafter as *one starre exceeds an other in splendor.*

4. *Lastly, looke vpon the earth*; See *Cain* after his sinne degraded of his honor: Before, he was Lord of all, and had his name from the possession of the whole earth.

If then to be rich bee glorious, who could bee more glorious? for who could bee more rich? he was made the lord, king, and ruler ouer his brother *Abel*, Gen. 4. 7. *Vnto thee* (saith God) *shall his desire be, and thou shalt rule ouer him.* Thus in killing *Abel* vniustly, hee played the tyrant and slue all his subiects at once, (as *Nero* would haue done, when he wisht all *Rome* one necke, that hee might cut it off at a blow.) And was not this a shame for a King to be without subiects, and so with his owne hands (as it were) to depose himselfe? Nay, was it not a shame

shame to fall so low, as from the lord of all, to become a
 beggar, a rogue, a vagabond, marked out to future pu-
 nishment for fore-going *sinne*? And yet more base, of
 fugitiues the most cowardly, to feare (as the Psalmist
 saith,) *Where there is no cause of feare*, to feare the winde
 amongst the leaues (as his father *Adam* did) nay to feare
 the childe vnborne, for so he saith to God, Genes. 4. 14. *It shall come to passe, that euery one that findeth me, shall*
slay me. Miserable wretch! there is yet none borne to
 finde thee, to feare thee, and vwhen they shalbe borne
 wilt thou be a frayde of euery one? of euery childe? of
 euery weake woman? of euery one? Nay vwhen one
 hath kild thee, art thou still a frayde that euery one
 should kill thee by turnes, that euery one that finds
 thee should kill thee? O see the extent of hell vpon earth
 where torment is endles and infinite, see the lamenta-
 ble case of a sinner in despayre, who hath falne from iu-
 stice, he is a frayde of God, and so of euery creature of
 God, a frayde of euery man, of euery woman, and that
 successiuelly, eternally of euery leafe, of euery shaddow,
 of euery imagination; nay he is a frayd of himselfe as
Caine vvas, such as these *are dead whilst they liue*: what
 a shame was it for *Zimri* a principall man in his tribe to
 commit *sinne* openly and impudently in the sight of the
 Sunne, euen then when the rod of affliction was vpon
 the back of his Nation; and vwhen *Moses* and all *Israel*
 were weeping and mourning for their finnes? And
 what a glory was it to *Phineas* for his zeale in the execu-
 tion of iustice, to haue the perpetuall Priesthood con-
 ferred vpon him, to haue his act of iustice stiled a *prayer*,
 & to haue it not only imputed vnto himselfe for righte-
 oushes, but to his Countrimen also: for heere the plague

Genes. 3. 8.

1. Tim. 5. 6.
Numb. 25.Et stetit
Phinees &
placuit, vel
placuit. So
reades the
vulgar.
Then stood
vp Phinees
and prayed
Ps. 106. 30.

ceased, as if killing the sinners, he had killed the sinne, and killing the sinne he had killed the punishment. As they were stayned by *Zimries sinne*, so they were honored by *Phineas Iustice*; for *Iustice exalteth a Nation, but sinne is a shame to any people*. This *Balaam* knew well, when he taught *Balaack* to lay a stumbling blocke before the Israelites to cause them sinne, that so shame might follow.

Numb. 31.
16. 17.

Reuel. 2. 14. This *Phineas* knew well, who therefore removed the stumbling blocke, that Iustice being executed, the Nation might be exalted. *Psal: 106. 30.* The stumbling blocke heere layd was *Adultery* and *Idolatry*. The Lord therefore in his mercy keepe vs from ioyning in marriage with *Idolaters*: since wee see temporall fornication brings in spirituall; and the coniunction of hearts with the bodies of such, makes *Salomon sinne*. *Bodily lust blinds the eyes of spirituall loue.*

What a shame was it for *Sampson* the Iudge of the people to fall by a woman? Yea to haue his eyes put out, and to grind in a mill as a punishment of his sinne? The eyes of his iudgement were first put out, then the eyes of his body. He that followes lust grinds in a mill, runnes in a round circle, beginning where he ended, and is a slaue to worse enemies then the Philistins, euen to his owne base lust, passions and affections, and to *Sathan* their Captaine and Commander.

What a shame was it for *Elyes sonnes* who should haue dehorted others from sinne, to be the ring-leaders to sin? & whilst they should haue compelled others to come in, forced them out of Gods house by their scandalous offences? And thus by their irregularity to occasion the losse of the Arke of God, the vntimely death of their good old father, and the ouer-hasty trauell of a passionate

nate and affectionate wife, who dying, named the sonne of her sorrow *Ichabod*, to witnesse, that *Glory was departed from Israel*, and *shame* was like sodainely to follow for their sinne. 1. Sam. 4.

What a shame was it for the bad sonnes of good *Samuel* 1. Sam. 8, whilst they should haue punished others for bribery, to take bribes themselues, and to set ther authority to sale for couetousnesse? *Peccat voluntarius sciens, quando è contrario vititur scientia.* Arist. lib. 8. phisic.

And to summe vp all with a supreme example of Gods Iustice in punishing mans Iniustice; what a shame was it to *Ieroboam*, who was placed by God in a high estate, and raysed from being a servant to be a king, vngratefully to leaue that God; and whereas he should haue punished others for sinning, to draw others to sinne, by precept and example? And to be branded with a superlatiue shame, *That he was the man who made Israel to sinne*? Yea to haue a curse denounced against him and his seed, *That they should bee remoued as dounge*: like dounge defiling the chaire of State. O what distance is there betwixt the throne and the dounghill? Yet they should be remoued as dounge: *That dogs should eat such of them as died in the city, and the foules of the ayre such as dyed in the field*? Ro. 1. 32. 1. Kin. 14. 7.

Lastly, take for example the wise obseruer of this point of State, *Salomon* himselve, who doing iustice was honored and inriched aboue all men; but declining from iustice had *shame* following his sinne so farre, that *Siracides* one of his owne scholers sayth of him. *Thou didst bow thy loynes to women, and wert ouercome by thy body, thou didst staine thy honor, and hast defiled thy posterity, and hast brought wrath vpon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy folly; so the Kingdome was deuided, &c.* Thus he made large ex- Eccl. 47. 19. 20.

D

perience

perience of his owne principles, and saw truly by tryall, what he foresaw by wisdom, *That iustice exalteth a nation, but sinne is a shame to any people.* And thus much of the second Aphorisme, or the opposition; wee come now to the application.

I make no question if now I should propound some admirable proiect, how to raise great summes of mony, filling the Exchequer, and those mountaines aloft, without drayning the Country bogges below, I should be welcome to Court, and my message and person intertaind with fauour. Or if heere I could bring word that warres were proclaymed where wealth might be bought with blood: that the king had vndertaken the Protection of *Bohemia*, or the prince the conquest of *Fraunce*, so that now the old way were set vvide open, to honor this Land by the sword, and the wreath of Victory were set vp with this Motto, *vincenti dabitur*; I make no doubt the message would be welcome to all, or to the most, and perhaps not vngratefull to my selfe; yea here would be voluntaries enough euen in this City and Country, to make a campe royall. But now I propound a Proiect more profitable, more gainefull, more necessarie; a warre more safe, more glorious, more honorable: I feare though the Holy Ghost (the Churches Generall) bids me lift vp my voice like a trumpet, I may haue small intertainement of many, and amongst all scarce finde a voluntary; nay, hardly prest souldiers enough to fight these battayles of God against sinne, Satan, the world, and the flesh.

Yet for my part since (though vnworthy) I am heere set as an Officer for the present, and haue *vim admonendi*, though not *vim coercendi* in this place; I will do what belongs

belongs vnto me, to direct you the right vway, arme you to these warres, leauing the successe to God and to the Magistrate, vvho beares not the sword in vaine, but must either smite with it vvhere he findes *sinne*, or be smitten vvith it to his owne *shame* and dishonour.

1. *Iustice exalteth a Nation.* Here is a *Project* to make you rich.

2. *Sinne is a shame to any people.* Here is a warre to vnder-
dertake, an enemy to conquer, to expell, to cast out.

Such as doubt of the generall truth of these Aphorismes, notwithstanding all that hath beene said, I referre them ouer to reade at their leisures the 26. Chapter of *Leuiticus*, vvhere they shall see this argument handled at large, to the clearing of euery doubt, and satisfaction of euery obiection, beyond that vvhich the limited time of an houre will affoord me roome punctually to delineate. Onely for the present I am especially to acquaint foure sorts of men with this *Project*, and to arme them fit for these warres; namely, 1. the *Iudge*, 2. the *Plaintife*, 3. the *Defendant*, 4. the *Witnesses*. For euery cause consists of these foure parts or parties.

1. *For the Iudge.*

Worthy and honorable Iudges, I intend not to take vpon me to instruct you as men ignorant of your duties, though my warrant would carry it, and though my Master who hath instructed you thus farre, can yet instruct you farther; and send *Salomon* to schoole to the *Rauen*, to the *Pismire*, yea to the Lillies of the field, as being able to teach the wisest man, by the weakest creature; onely I purpose to acquaint you with that which God hath taught me; to vvhich end I humbly beseech you to suffer a vvord of exhortation: Your good words

doe well, your good workes, and good examples doe better. *Salomon the Preacher was King in Ierusalem, Eccl. 1. 1.* As therefore he gaue good charges like a Preacher, hee looked that his Officers should discharge and execute his Lawes and Canons like a King. *Corpora cœlestia calefaciunt, non in quantum calida, sed in quantum sunt velocis motus & luminosa.* Shine therefore as you had wont in the eyes of all, as glorious examples of grace; and first see, examine, search out truth and falshood, vice and vertue, right and wrong; for therein consisteth the glory of a Magistrate; the aduantage of place giues you meanes to do it, as the Sunne surveyes all things in his circuit. And then by swift motion, by swift execution, heate the coldnesse of our Climate, stirre vp our zeale, ripen our late fruites, dry vp our drunken sinne, whose inundation makes vs barren, vnfruitfull, and like water powred foorth, vveake to euery good worke. *Oratio gloria umbra.* The people will speake as they finde and feele; and either praise or disgrace, followes good or euill desert like a shadow. Therefore the shame of euill gouernement befalls the Gouernours: *For as the Iudge of the people is himselfe, (saith Siracides, cap. 10. 2.) such are his Officers: and what manner of man the Ruler of the Citie is, such are all they that dwell therein.* The people are the Magistrates shadow, but much more his Officers. *Cuius est potestas, eius est actus.* Iudges therefore ought to beware, that not onely themselues be innocent, but that their *Fauourites*, (O farre be that name from a Iudge, let Vertue and Iustice be onely his *Fauourites*) their Shadowes, their Followers I meane, be cleane-hearted, and cleane-handed too; and euer remember, that the glory or dishonour not onely of themselues, but of the whole State lies in their

Prov. 25. 2.

Arist. de
Somn.

their hands; *For Iustice exalteth a Nation, but sinne is a shame to any people.*

Before I part from this party, I must speake to the *Iustice of Peace*, who is an Appendix to this large Patent of Iustice, though somewhat abridged of late. I desire him to receiue this plaine, but free and wholesome admonition: First, that he be carefull to binde his wife to the Peace, his children to the good behauiour, that they intermeddle not with affaires of the Commonwealth vn-called, and vnsworne, lest they make the husband, the father ashamed, as they haue done many husbands, and many fathers of late in this Land.

Secondly, that he suffer not a notorious transgressor of the Law in any kinde to be a Retayner of his, and to vualke free from the censure of Iustice, vnder the shadow and protection of his Liuerie.

Thirdly and lastly, since *Projectors* haue eased him in his Office, and set vp Alehouses (those schooles of misrule) vnder the authoritie of the broad Seale, and so left him little to do: that he vvould pursue carefully, what he hath begunne profitably, and binde out youths to Trades, and binde Tradesmen to their vvorkes, that they may not (as now they doe) learne to trade to the Alehouse, and from thence to the Gallowes; but by the vvay take in the House of correction. And thus much of the first person, the Iudge.

The second person is the *Plaintife*; the third person is the *Defendant*: both these we vvill ioyn together vpon one yssue, for therefore they come hither.

Here first, I wish that wranglers and malicious persons, vvho seeke and hunt after occasions of suite and contention, might not onely bee restrained, but by se-

uere censures made examples to warne others to beware of vncharitablenesse. As *Dauid* prayed to God, *Lord bee not mercifull to them that sinne of malicious wickednesse*; so do I to you, my Lords. Doubtlesse whilst *Dauid* prayes that God vould not be mercifull to such, hee intended to shew no mercie towards them himselve: for vvhere malice is the pursuer of the quarrell, it is pitie but iustice with seueritie should meet with the pursuite.

As for all others I aduise them, that (where they can) they should charitably compound their owne differences, or suffer themselues (for their owne good) to be governed by the Iustices of peace, or their next discreetest neighbours, who are ready to doe for them without charge, what must be here done perhaps by Twelue lesse sufficient men after all their expences.

But in vaine speake I to them, (hot-headed fellowes as they are) I must therefore turne me to their *Pastors*, by whom perhaps they will bee governed. Alas no, the Suit for the most part is betwixt him and them; hee by his example learnes them to wrangle, and onely in that they will be his followers. But if hee bee such a man as rather attends vpon the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, then the practise of the Lawes of the Kingdom, (I meane in forbearing to commence actions) and so out of conscience will rather suffer some wrong, then right himselve too hastily by the Lawe, euill men will esteeme him the lesse, and giue him the lesse; nay, they will giue him nothing, and care nothing for him. They say of such, that they are *God Almightyes fooles*, and they meane to make them their *fooles* too. Or lastly, if hee be (as too often he is) a good-fellow Parson, (as they style him) that is, a *Flie in every cup*, a *Flea in every companie*,
skip-

skipping from the pot to the pulpit: then out of bas^e fellowship and familiarity with him in sinne, they wor^thily contemne him. He may leade them perhaps to the Alehouse, there to drinke themselves friends, and then foes againe when they are drunke or sober, but from the alehouse he will not, and from contention he cannot otherwise leade them; hauing shamed and stayned, and dishonored the dignity of his *Priesthoode*, and so worthily lost all respect and reuerence due to his person and calling. Therefore (hopeles heere of remedy for this mischeefe) I must turne me to their learned *Counsell* at lawe, by whose aduise perhaps they wilbe ruled; for these stand both for the Plaintiffe and Defendant, and the acts and words of the one are taken for the acts and words of the other.

You learned Gentlemen are the eldest sonnes of the Lawe, the profest followers and seruants of Iustice. Is it not therefore a shame that in this *Country* where you *Norfolke* most abound, most suites abound, as if you bred diseases and did not take care to cure them? Giue me leaue, I beseech you, all free and generous minds amongst you, to scoure off the rust which canker-frets your noble profession, that so no spots may be seene to blemish your honors; *Where the guilty meets reprehension, there the vertuous meet commendation*: The fall of the one, is the raise of the other. The good mount vp with *Iustice*, the bad sinke downe with *shame*.

I know *the workeman is worthy of his hire*; I know what an honorable age a well spent youth deserues to haue. But is not this a shame (I appeale to the best of you) that a man should sell himselfe for a Fee (as *Achab sold himselfe to worke wickednes*) or let himselfe out for an hower

or two to bouldster out an vniust action, and to outface a just action, and that for a person that is knowne to be malicious, against a widdow, or an orphane, or a poore simple man, at least assuredly against an innocent? Nay, is it not a shame to be seen to haue a hand in such causes, much more to giue counsel & countenance to such persons for the aduantage of such causes? to vse all art, and skill, and authority, to peruert iudgement, to seduce the Iury, to preiudice and confound the true witnesse, and to direct and animate the false: as if God had giuen vs all those talents of Eloquence, learning, judgement, memory, fauour, credit, authority, wealth, and wit, only to do wrong? O! I beseech you, since *Iustice* makes you so great, as you rise to build the greatest families of this Land, lay a lawfull foundation vpon good ground, that it may not totter assoone as you are dead, and rot before your bodies be rotten. Let not an ill-gotten *wedge* be found in your coffers, to corrupt and consume all the rest. O gather not your Oakes to build your houses vpon that day which God hath set apart for himselfe.

Iosuah. 7. Num. 15. For if *stickgatherers* were punished who wrought to supply their necessities, and *Manna* (Angels food, a Sacrament of Christ) might not be gathered on that day; then

Exod. 16. 26 how shall they escape; nay how shall they be punished; (for escape they shal not) who neglect Gods seruice, who neglect the workes of iustice, charity, and piety, to themselves, to their neighbours, and to God, and make a couenant, yea sell themselves that day to do vnjustly, vncharitably, and impiously to defend vniust causes, to oppose charitable actions, to ouerthrow pious works, and to gather wealth for the maintenance of ryot, excessse, and all manner of sin? It was once a question indeed

deed, amongst the *Pharises*, whether it were lawfull to doe good on the *Sabaoth* day or no: but I thought till now, that to do euil vpon any day, especially vpon this day, had beene without question vnlawfull. But if it be now questionable with any, learne to ouerrule it vvith a booke-case in the Scripture, the Law of God. And for ^{Leuit. 24.} praetise in the Lawes of the Land, take the reuerend ^{34. 35.} Iudges for a president, and be sonnes vvorthy of such fathers, vvho being moued by the vveake oratory of simple man, but the powerfull operation of Gods holy Spirit,) haue left an old corrupt custome, submitted themselves to the holy ordinance of God, & forborne to trauell vpon that day, because they would doe iustice, and not rob God, vvhist they vv ere seruing *Cesar*: for they knew well, *That Iustice exalteth a Nation, but sinne is a shame to any people.*

And thus much for the second and third person, the *Plaintife* and *Defendant*, & their learned Countel at Law.

The fourth person required necessarily in euery ordinary judgement, is the vvitness. And this is not only hee vvwhich is brought in by *Sub-pena* in some speciall action, but euery Iury-Man, euery Officer, vvho ought to informe the Court of truth, & to present such crimes as are vvithin the compasse of their inquirie.

These vvould be looked after, my Lords; for these are the principall cause that iustice is not executed: vvhist for feare or fauour, or some other sinister respect, they conceale vvhat they know, or are packt and made aforehand fit for the matter. And I haue heard some of the vviseest sort say, that if your Honors vvould bee pleased to take an exact roule and accompt of such presentments as are brought and found before you this Assises, and reuevv it againe at your returne the next Assises, and

so continue it by a settled course, you should finde some *Jacks* faulty, and some cogges missing, vvhereby the wheele of Iustice is hindered in his circular course: yea doubtles, you should finde some saints names wiped out of the Calender, which you had set there perhaps in red letters.

And now vvorthy Countrymen, I turne me to you; Consider I beseech you these three things aduisedly: 1. First the danger of lying, much more of swearing falsely, vvhilst thereby you offend against foure persons.

1. First against your owne conscience, vvhich you wound; and though now you bee not sensible of the sore, it will fester, and you shall then feele it most when there vvilbe found no plaister to cure it. 2. Secondly, you offend against the innocent, whom you hurt and ouerthrow. 3. Thirdly, you offend against the Iudge whom you misleade to do iniustice. 4. Fourthly, you offend against God, whom you contemne, taking his blessed Name in vaine, and he hath sworne, and vvill performe it (for he cannot lye, much lesse forswear himselfe) that *he will not hold you guiltlesse.*

Exod. 20.

2. Secondly, consider the danger of concealing sinne: although you thinke it nothing, but a cast of your Office, a curtesy, a fauour, that you may doe a friend in a corner vnseene and vnshent: yet assure your selues vvhilst you palliate sinne, you take vpon you the sin committed; and whatsoeuer after the party may commit for lacke of censure or due punishment, it is your sinne aswell as his; though he bee the lawlesse father, yet you must answere for the Bastard.

3. Thirdly and lastly, consider the dignity of your

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imploymēt, and the honour or shame which succeeds it. What a dignitie is it to bee eyes and eares to these great Officers? nay, to bee (as it were) ioyned in commission vvith them to punish sinne, to execute iustice? As therefore you thinke it a shame in any of them, vvhere you see, or doe but suspect an vniust conniuece at sinne: so call home your thoughts, and consider, if among a few triuiall matters you will be found faultie, how they may be held excused, if amongst a multitude of seuerall cases their iudgements or affections be intangled by some particular. And since all crimes in the Country are in your owne hands to present to punishment, blame your selues if you bee ouer-cumbred with offenders. Destroy idlenesse, and destroy all other vices; for *all vices like vermine breed in that burrow*. But if you neglect this, being slouthfull and idle your selues, and euery one shifting off the worke from his owne shoulders, posting it from one to another, (as men rather desirous to pleasure an euill neighbour, then to benefite the Commonwealth) assure your selues, these vicious persons shal be left to corrupt your children with their wicked conuersations; and so in time not onely to destroy and waste your priuate estates, but to indanger the whole estate of the Commonwealth; and vndermine it with vice, as it is reported of a great Citie overthrowne by Conies, and the like Vermine, suffered to digge and harbour vnder the walles and houses thereof. *For Iustice exalteth a Nation, but sinne is a shame to any people.*

And thus much of the last person, the Witnesse. But now left all the rest that heare mee this day; should thinke the matter nothing concernes them, vvho are neither Iudges, nor Plaintifes, nor Defendants, nor wit-

nesses, I must before I conclude, say something to all in generall.

1. x. phraim

To all therefore in generall I giue these two obseruations : you haue heard how *Iustice exalteth a Nation*, and how *sinne is a shame to any people* : I pray therefore collect your spirits, call home your thoughts, and make serious and diligent inquirie of these two particulars :

1. x. phraim

1. First, inquire and consider whether this Nation of ours stands now in as honorable termes with other Nations in the eye of the world, as it had wont : if you finde it doth continue the wonted reputation, then iudge our Iustice remaines ; but if you finde it begin to stinke in the nostrils of forraine Nations, then conclude certainly, that our sinne abounds.

2. x. phraim

2. Secondly, begin at the other end, and consider if there be any great sinnes practised in the Land, and left unpunished; such as are blasphemie, the prophana- tion of the Lords day, drunkenness, murther, and the like; or some crying sinnes committed with an high hand, as if they were vertues; such as are Vsurie, Extor- tion, Bribery, Oppression, and all manner of like cor- ruptions : Sigh, and pray, and weepe, and shew your selues no partners in the *sinne*, but sorrowfull for the *shame* that followeth. But if vpon examination you find this Nation cleere of those crimes, or that *iustice* is duly executed vpon the committers of such crimes, then con- clude vs a glorious people. For *Iustice* and *Honour* haue relation each to other, and so hath *Sinne* and *Shame* : if wee be *iust* we are *glorious* ; if wee be *glorious*, we are *iust* : If we be *sinfull*, we are *shamefull*; if we be *shamefull*, we are *sinfull*.

3. x. phraim

The poorest and simplest man that is may thus iudge of

of himselfe, and so prevent the Iudge of all the world, that he be not iudged. Nay, thus in execution of iustice vpon himselfe, he may helpe forward to aduance the glory of a State. But if (being no publike person) hee cannot by *Iustice exalt a Nation*, yet by abstaining from sinne, hee may bee one of the ten to preserve a people from *shame*, as *Lot* had done Sodome, if there could haue *Genes. 18.* beene found nine more iust like himselfe in that Citie. For euery inhabitant is either an *Achan* to shame the *Iosuah. 7.* place in which he dwels with sinne, and to draw a generall curse vpon it, or else a *Lot* to saue it from destruction; like that poore man in *Ecclesiastes* mentioned by *Solomon*, who with his iustice and wisdom deliuered the Citie from the extremitie it stood in. And therefore vvhatsoever thou art, be sober in thy selfe, in thy appa-
rell, meate, drinke, desires; bee iust to thy selfe, and to thy houshold: gouerne thy wife, chastise thy childe, cherish thy seruant. Looke then abroad, defraude not others for thine owne advantage; sell not heauen for earth. Thinke when thou art weighing of commodities, thou art weighing of thy soule; the scale of Iustice is in thy hand, and if thou addest to thy *sinne for gaine*, thou addest to thy *shame for losse*. Thinke when thou art measuring thy Wares, thou art measuring thy Iustice, *Mat. 7. 2.* and so thy glory. It is in thy hand to make the longitude and latitude thereof as thou pleasest: *For as thou Mat. 7. 12.* *measur'st, it shall be measured to thee againe*. And therefore doe as thou wouldest be done to. *Ab alio expectes, quod Seneca,*
alteri feceris.

You haue heard in the beginning of two marriages or coniunctions in this text of Scripture: the first betwixt *Iustice* and *Honour*; the second betwixt *Sinne* and

Shame; and how vve must not *seuer what God hath ioyned together.*

Where therefore we finde *Vertue*, let vs giue her the due reward, *honour* and *reuerence*, or *honour* and *maintenance*.

But haue we done thus? haue wee beene thus iust? alas no: for then vvhē Offices either in the Church or Commonwealth vvere voyd, it would bee as hard a matter to finde iust & vertuous men fit to supply them, as now it is hard for worthy men to finde imployment, except they buy it from the vnworthy.

The second marriage is betwixt *Sinne* and *Shame*: where therefore vve finde *Sinne* in vvhatsouer person, high or low, rich or poore, let vs send his wife *Shame* to beare him company; for better trouble one house then more.

But haue we done thus? haue we bin thus iust to giue euery *sinne* his proper *shame*? haue not, many husbands amongst vs lost their prerogatiues with *Adam*, and suffered their wiues to ouer-rule them without shame? Hath not *Euah* ioyned with Sathan against God to make her husband great? And hath not *Iesabell* painted, and whored, and plotted, and witched, and waded through blood to her owne wilfull ends, and all without *shame*? Hath not *Noah* discovered his nakednes, & *Lot* committed incest in their drunken fits? Hath not the sonnes of *Ely* made marchandice of sacred things? And the sonnes of *Samuel* sold Iustice and judgement? and both exceeded in euill as their fathers in good, and all without *shame*? Nay, hath not *Gehezi* so traded in bribes, that he goes brauer then his master, and all without *shame*? I haue no presidents in the Scripture to expostulate further with

with this froward generation. Some finnes which we practise are too abhord to find matches, and therefore I must speake plainly. Are men ashamed to resemble women both in their apparaile, & in their effeminate fooleries? or are women ashamed to be like men in their clothes, or in their debosht swaggering and most ruffian-like carriage? Nay, is either sexe ashamed thus accoutred, to confront the Pulpit, which should better instruct them, or outface the bench of Iustice, which should shame and correct them for these abominations? Is any man ashamed to be an vsurer or an oppressor? Nay, is it not rather a shame that only for lacke of mony and meanes, not for lacke of good will, wee are not all such? Is any man ashamed to be sacrilegious? Nay, is there any other sacriledge knowne, but only to steale a booke, or a Surplice, or the like, out of a Church? For spirituall Liuinges impropriated, and Simonaicall Marts iustified, these are warranted with double Vouchers. And Prescriptions below, and Prohibitions aboue sweepe all from the Clergy by sleight or by force, and so muzzle the poore labouring Oxe, as they make an Assé of him. 1. Cor. 9. 9. Is any man ashamed to be a blasphemer or a drunkard? Nay, is any man ashamed to force men first to drinke drunke, and then by consequence to blaspheme, as the Sodomites would haue Gen. 19. 4. forced the Angels to sinne? Briefly, there is no act that I know whereof to be ashamed, but this that I commit in telling men so plainely of their finnes: for this perhaps may be censured by some, but by none (I hope) that can tell how to censure themselves.

But all this while hauing spoken of sinne, wee haue mentioned shame as a condigne punishment following it, when now with vs shame is of so sleight account, that

did not *paine* follow vnlawfull *pleasure*, few or none
 vvould abstaine from any sinne for any *shame*. Indeed
shame had vvont to be such a punishment, as all other
 punishments vvere vailed vnder it, contained in it, and
 exprest by it, as the *specials* by their *genus*. So wee reade
Judg. 18. 7. that the men of *Laish* vvere lazie, and care-
 lesse, and secure in sinne, because *there was no Magistrate*
to put them to shame; that is, to punish them. And *shame*
 in noble mindes did so vvorke, as *David* rather chose to
 fall into the hands of God, then to flie with *shame* and dishonor
 before men; yea *Saul* himselfe, when his Kingdome was
 rent from him, desired *Samuel*, yet to honour him before the
 people; though he lost his Crowne, he cared not so much
 for that.

2. Sam. 24.
14.

1. Sam. 15.
30.

This vvvas then a sensible part, but now vve are insen-
 sible of shame and dishonor; and being past shame and
 past grace, there is no hope of cure, vvhere there ap-
 pears so much dead flesh in the heart.

As vve had two *coniunctions*, so we had two *separations*
 in this text; and as wee must not seuer what God hath
 ioyned, so vve must not ioyne what God hath separated.

God hath seuered *Iustice* and *Shame*, and *Sinne* and *Ho-
 nour*, doe vve keepe them thus seuered? O no! vvee
 haue found a way to make a nullity of this marriage be-
 twixt *Iustice* and *Honour*; and vvee haue married *Iustice* to
Shame, and *Sinne* to *Honour*.

For is it not a shame to be sober, and iust, and religi-
 ous? and if we say, hee is a sober man, is it not vnder-
 stood, as if vve called him a rude, melancholy, and vn-
 sociable dolt? If vve say, he is a iust man like *Iob*, is it
 not intended as if vve had said, Hee is a simple silly fel-
 low, vnfit to deale in the vvorld? And if we say, He is a
 holy

holy sanctified person; Is it not as much as if wee had called him a *Recluse*, or a *Puritan*? As if fooles, and madmen, and Schismatics were only holy, and to bee a *Christian* were nothing but to bee an *Epicure*.

• Againe, haue wee not married *Sinne* and *Honor* together? Consider if *Honor* be not to be bought and sold; Nay, consider if all honorable Offices either in Church or Common-wealth be not exposed to sale, and set vpon the Market-hill with this word of *Iudas* in their Mouthes, *Quid dabitis?* what will you giue me? what will you giue me and you shalbe a Knight, a Lord, an Earle? what will you giue me, and you shalbe a Iustice of peace, a Serjeant, a Iudge? Nay, what vwill you giue me, and you shalbe a Parson, a Deane, a Bishop? This I thinke is sinne: for the Law (if the Lawe vvhich is the rule of Iustice, bee iust) cals it sinne, cals it bribery, corruption, Simony, abomination, though our practise cals it, wisdome, policy, and Iustice. Yet how hard is honor got without this hooke? and what preferment need that man despayre of, who hath this baite, and knowes how to lay it? And must not the buyer sell? I appeale to your consciences whether it vvere not Injustice to deny him that liberty.

Lastly as we had before two *marriages*, and two *separations*, so wee haue in this text two *oppositions*; the first betwixt *Iustice* and *sinne*, the second, betwixt *Shame* and *Honor*, as betwixt light and darkenesse, truth and falsehood, white and blacke, God and Sathan, hell and heauen. It were a shame therefore to ioyne those things together which God hath opposed in Nature. If *Iustice* therefore] should make *sinne* eyther a wife, or a childe, or a friend, or a seruant, or a favorite and companion at

bed, or at board, or on the bench; this could not be done without a *Diabolicall contract*, a *Sodomitical mixture*, a sinne against Nature. Therefore let *Iustice* make sinne a slave, a drudge, a prisoner: for if he waxe familiar once, he will rule and reigne ouer thee, and thou shalt not be master at home, no not in thine owne house; nay, not in thine owne heart.

Genel. 3.

I haue put enmity (saith God to Sathan) *betwixt thee and the woman, and betwixt Her seed and thy seed*: This enmity must continue. *He shall breake thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heele*. The best men may haue their heeles bruised and trodden on by Sathan, sometime be ouertaken by sinne: (Euen holy *Dauid* tooke a nap, holy *Paule* himselfe felt a *sling in the flesh*, vaine-glory began to puffe him vp out of the consideration of his knowledge, zeale labor, and heauenly reuelations; the *Messenger of Sathan* was then sent to buffet him to humility.) But let not Sathan breake our heads, no not with oyle; with applauses, with glibbe and smooth sinnes, petty-seeming sinnes, sinnes like vertues; Much lesse let him blind our eyes with giftes; for thats the way to breake our heads indeed, when wee cannot see to defend our selues; Nay, to breake our necks too from the Chayre of *Moses*, with poore, old, weake, blinde decrepid *Ely*.

1. Sam. 4.

To conclude all, this Nation of ours at this day, out-sinnes all the Nations of the world, euen in their proper sinnes for which they haue beene infamous: Wee out-drab the *Italian*, out-drinke the *Dutch*, out-braue the *Frenchman*, out-brag the *Spaniard*. Surely, as wee out-act these in sinne wee must out-suffer these in shame; and is it not a shame wee should doe so? wee that know so much more then they doe? wee that liue in the cleare light of the

the Gospell? wee that goe euery day to Church to heare Sermons, with Bibles in our hands, vnder our armes, in our pockets? when they heare no Sermons perhaps but once a quarter, perhaps but once a yeere & that at Lent; a Lenten Sermon, a Leaden Sermon, a Latin Sermon; and for the Bible know not a word of what is within it?

Why *shame* belongs to Bastards, *sinne* is a note of bastardy; for by sinne wee are Sathans children. *You are of Io. 8. 44. your father the Diuel*, (saith our Sainour) *for his works do yee*. *Shame* followes *sinne*; it is all the Inheritance that Sathan giues his children (except paine) as an increase to the portion. *Honor* belong to legitimates: such succede their fathers in the badges and cognizances of honor, as in vertue and worth. *Iustice* is a note wee are Gods children, it is his character, his stampe, his seale, his impresse, his image, and shewes that wee are begotten to good workes by the Grace of his holy Spirit: the inheritance is glory heere, an earnest of greater glory heereafter with the Lord. Of his infinite mercy graunt vnto vs for his Sonnes sake Christ Iesus, *Our Iustice, our righteousness, our sacrifice for sinne, our Preseruer, Redeemer, and Sainour from shame*: To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honor and glory giuen and ascribed by vs, and by euery other Creature that he hath made for his glory, this present time and for euermore: *Amen.*

A Prayer for the Whole State of the Realme.

O Lord, thou hast made all things for thine owne glorie to manifest thy power, thy wisdom, bewtie, love, justice and holines: and amongst all these things, thou hast made man after thine image, enduing him with originall power, wisdom, beautie, love, justice, and holines. And that he might not only have, but exercise these vertues, thou madest this inferiour world for him, and didst subiect a world of Creatures to his rule and government; so that he seemed a God vpon earth, having so free, so large, so ample a comaund over his fellow Creatures. He was naked and not ashamed, for being framed by so perfect a workman, and formed after thy image, the image of perfection, he knew that there was nothing within him, or without him, whereof he need be ashamed, but much whereof to glorie and reioyce. The more he saw and contemplated himselfe, the more cause he saw there was to love himselfe, for being like thee, and to love thee for so making him. This Sathan saw with envie, and it was another hell for him to see it; and (hating thee and all things for thee) he seduced man with pride and ambition, causing him not to rest satisfied with what thou hadst given him, but to desire all things which thou hadst made only for thy selfe. And thus vainely and foolishly to neglect the rule of himselfe and the inferiour Creatures in justice (contrarie to thy commaund) and to affect the tree of knowledge of good and evill which thou hadst only forbidden him. By this meanes (O Lord) seeking more then he should, he lost what he had; and labouting indirectly to be equall to thee, he defaced thine image and whatsoever was within him like vnto thee; So that his wisdom became foolish subtiltie; his beautie, painted vglinesse; his love, lustfull vncharitablenesse; his justice, extreame injurie and vnrighteousnes; his holines either ydolatrie or prophanesse, and the whole man a living ghost, a golden Sepulchre. And now as before thou didst cast Sathan out of Heaven for pride (where no vncleane thing can stay or enter) so didst thou eject man out of *Paradise* without hope of other inheritance (for him and all his wretched
 poste

posteritie) then hell which he had deserved and wee in him. But herein appeared thy exceeding and superabundant love, not only pardoning this sinne of his and ours, but in sending thy Sonne into the world to dye for vs, to satisfie thy justice, and to purchase for vs a neerer and surer conjunction to thee, then that which wee had before, and lost, even a conjunction betwixt thy love and our faith, which the gates of hell cannot prevaile against. And that Sathans envie might be more exasperated (as a punishment vnto himselfe, a glory vnto thee) that which he intended for our curse thou hast turned to our crowne, and wee are truly in a way to become like thee, yea to be vnited to thee: So that as if thou hadst made all things for man, we have interest in all things, in thee and all; and thus are *truly*, what Sathan *falsely* told vs, wee should be, *become as Gods knowing good and evill*, the *evill* by present experience and fruition, the *good* in future hope and expectation. And that wee might not faint in this our wearie pilgrimage, thou hast breathed thy Spirit into vs, and given him to be our comforter, who *daily* assisteth our prayers, our meditations, our devotions, teaching vs to call thee Father, and leading vs into every truth; *daily* resisting for vs our profest enemy Sathan, giving vs wisdom to discover his treacherie, and discerne him for an adversarie; *daily* renueth in vs thine image, conforming vs by degrees to the rules of thy lawe; making vs wise, and beautifull, and loving, and iust, and holy in part, by inspiration, instruction, and affliction; by the humble and patient sufferance of worldly wisdom to beguile and flowte vs, of corporall beautie to contemne and deface vs, of carnall love to reiect and scorne vs, of pollitique justice to persecute and martyr vs, of superstitious and ydolatrous holinesse to shun and abhorre vs, of devillish Atheisme to deride and abuse vs; whilest wee know and rest assured, that thou, who workest all things for the best for thine elect, thy poore distressed and dispersed little flocke, beholdest all this, and laughest to scorne the foolish imaginations of mans hart, and in the meane time securest vs of thy love by infallible testimonies, and teachest vs in every estate to be contented: knowing that thou who orderest all things according to thine owne

Rom. 8

good will and pleasure, and takest care for Lillies to cloth them, for Ravens to feed them, for Sparrowes to house them, that madest an Arke for preservation of fowles and beasts and creeping things, that numbrest the hayres of our heads, and wilt not loose one of them, wilt much lesse loose one of vs, or let Sathan snatch vs out of thy hand, whom thou hast made with such care, and purchased at so deere a rate, but wilt at thy good time cause all things worke together for our best. So that wee are perswaded, *Neither death nor life, nor Angels, nor principalities, nor powvers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shalbe able to separate vs from thy love, vvhich is in Christ I E S V S our Lord.* In assurance of which love, wee comend vnto thee not only our selues, but all that have written their names vpon the crosse of thy Sonne, especially our Sovereigne the King of great Brittain, whom thou hast honored with the stile of *Defender of the Faith*, and to this end made *Antichrist* (like *Balaam* and *Caiphas*) prophetic his owne overthrow, in conferring that title. O Lord, as thou hast honored him with it, and enabled him towards the performing of that duty more then others, *annoynting him vvith the oyle of Science above his fellowes*, so inflame his heart with true zeale and courage, and strengthen his hand with true constancy, that he may still appeare worthy of it in the eyes of all men.

Mat. 4.

1. Cor. I.
27.

Blesse the Prince, and remember where he is, in a wildernesse of temptations, as thine owne Sonne was, from whence none but thy divine hand can bring him off safe. Let it be thy glory by babes and sucklings to confound those mightie Potentates; and the more Superstition and Idolatrie he beholds, the more let him abhorre it; & now calling to minde the truth which he hath heard, and wisely conferring all things together; so worke, that his constancy may shewe, it is only ignorance that holds them in Idolatrie, and that our Princes are too learned, and religious for their Priests to subvert. Keepe him [O Lord] safe for vs, and returne him, in thy good time, safe to vs, and hasten that time, O Lord, wee beseech thee, thereby to free our panting hearts from feare.

Blesse the King and Queene of Bohemia, and their royal Yssue;
reftore

restore to them what they haue lost, what Sathan and his associates, the *Sabeans* and *Chaldeans*, or men more cursed and cruell, haue taken away from them; and as thou didst make the latter end of *Iob* more happie then his beginning, so verifie it in these thy servants, that their example may be brought as a president in future ages to prove, that truth by experience which the Psalmist wils vs to observe in the course of our pilgrimage. Marke the perfect man, and behold the vpright; for the after-end of that man is peace. Iob. 2.

Psalm. 37.
37.

Blesse the Nobilitie, and teach them to know wherein true Nobilitie consisteth, and then to doe as they know. Blesse those Councillours that counsell for thy truth; If *Achitophell* be in *Dauids* Court, give *David* grace to know his Oracle and thine asunder, and bring his wicked counsell vpon his owne wretched pate, for the ruine of himselfe and his house. Give him no wisdom to set his house in order, who would disorder thine. Regard not him and his State, who would with subtilty ouerthrow that State which thou hast guarded for thy selfe so long.

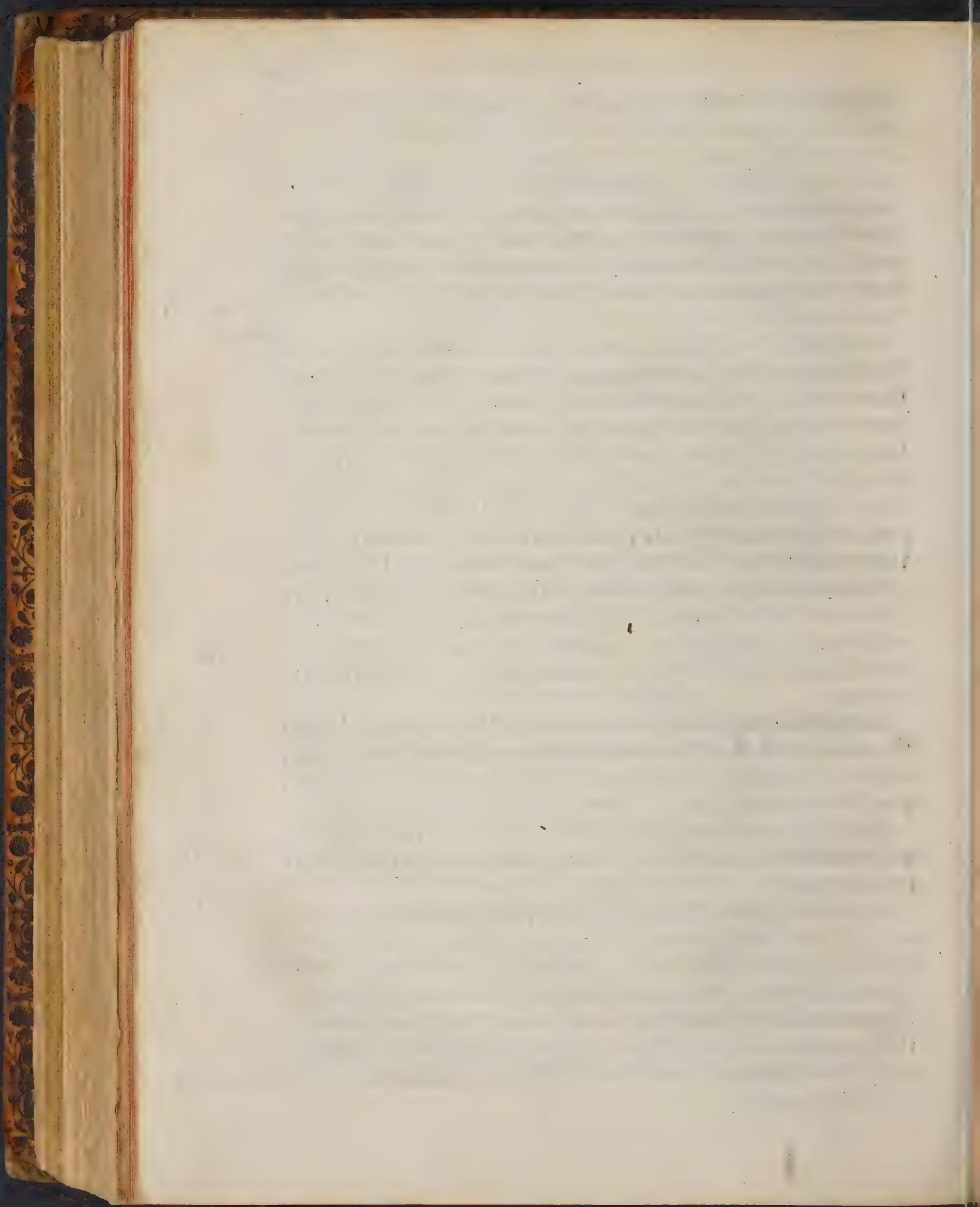
Blesse the Clergie, those laborers that labour for thee; open their mouthes yet wider, fill their harts yet fuller of spirit, even with thy Spirit: discover *Doeg*, and *Demas*, and *Diotrephes*, and thrust them out of thy fold, and let the world know they are wolves. 3. Io. 9.

Blesse the Magistracie, teach them only to comaund what thou comaundest; at least teach them even for conscience sake, to doe and comand nothing against thy comand, which thou wouldst not have done.

Blesse the people, and teach them to obey for conscience sake; and withall wisely to know where, and how it is better to obey thee, then man Act. 4. 19.

Blesse the whole State with vnitie, and continue verity amongst them, and restore to them that prosperity which their sinnes have provoked thee to take away, & which stands at the doore readie to depart, except their repentance cals it backe. Turne thy face towards them, and turne their hearts towards thee, and turne the expectation and endeavour of their enemies and thine to shame, follie and confusion, That the heathen may not say, vywhere is nowv their God. Psalm. 79. 10.

F I N I S.



NEWES

FROM

PERNASSVS.

The Politicall Touchstone,

Taken

From Mount Pernassus :

Whereon the Governments of the
greatest Monarchies of
the World are
touched.



Printed at Helicon. 1622.

THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY

OF LONDON

FROM THE YEAR 1660 TO 1700

BY JOHN WALLIS

OF THE SOCIETY

1700

Printed by J. Streater, at the
Sign of the Sun in St. Dunstons Church
Lane, near St. Dunstons Church

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THE PREFACE.

THE truest and securest precepts of Policie are those, which either are drawn from the prudent resolutions, or unadvised errors of great Princes in the deliberations of their most important affaires, or from the study of Policie; all consisting in a severe, and iudicious censure of the actions of the Great: and the studious in Histories, which haue the gift to know how to examine them well, draw out of them most excellent rules, for the wel-governing of many people: Which being very true, it is no marvaile, if the best Writers of matters of State have growen extreamely odious to those that raigne; by reason, that as Princes willingly lend an eare to the praises which happen to be given them, although they come from the pen, or mouth of an impudent Flatterer, so likewise they haue in exceeding abhominacion all censures which are made vpon their actions: it being an insupportable miserie vnto them, that their imprudence, and calamities, should serue for instructions vnto others, not to commit the like faults. This truth assures me, that these my present Advertisements from Pernassus, (where in a sporting manner the actions, interests, true ends, and defects of many Princes, not very iust, coming to be censured, touched, discovered, and noted) would bring them infinite displeasure, if they should be openly published. Wherevpon, I, that at any hand will not give disgust

The Preface.

to any person private or publike Whatsoever, haue fully resolved to keepe them from the Presse, as from the fire: for the length of time maturing things, that, Which for infinite respects, in our Age is odious, the present Princes Wanting, and those affaires growing olde, Which now line: and that in regard of their importance are held in great ielousie, I hope that these my Labours will then With particular liking bee read of the Vertuous, Whom I indevour to please and delight: In the meane time I haue presumed to hide these my Writings in your Lordships Librarie, unto Whom I present them, to the end they may be published to the World at such time as they cannot giue distaste to any one. But then my desires shalbe accomplished, When these my Workes, such as they are, may giue unto your Lordship that satisfaction, Which I so exceedingly desire, in regard of the infinite devotion I beare unto your Name, and the innumerable obligations, wherein I stand ingaged unto you, Which haue created me a debtor unto you in so great a summe, that if I should spend my whole life in your service, yet

I should thinke I had done nothing, but
that still I should die ingratefull.





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THe *Spanish Monarchy* arriveth at *Pernassus*; beseecheth *Apollo* she may be cured of an Yssue in her arme, and by the Politicall Physicians dismissed.

The *Monarchy of Spaine* lamenteth for that her falsehoods are discovered.

Maximilian the Emperor is advertised of the troubles begun amongst his sonnes.

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Philip the second King of *Spaine*, after some contestation about his Title, entreth vvith great pompe into *Pernassus*.

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The *Spaniards* attempt the acquisition of *Savoy*, but do not prevaile.

The Duke d' *Alva* being arrived at *Pernassus*, in complementing vvith *Prospero Colonna*, they fall foule about defrauding the *Colonesi* of their Titles.

NEWES



NEVVES from *Pernassus*.

CHAP. I.

*The Spanish Monarchy arrives at Pernassus:
beseebeth Apollo she may be cured of an Ysue in her
arme, and by the Politicall Physicians
is dismissed.*

Although the Majestie of *Apollo* had decreed vnto the High & Mighty Monarchy of *Spayne* immediatly vpon her arrivall at this Court (vvhich vvas some fovre months past) not only a solemne entrance, but the publike Consistory of the Learned in the Royall Hall of Audience, vvith the presence of the Excellent *Muses*: yet vvas it not executed, vntill tyvo dayes since, by reason she consumed all those fovre moneths in according vvith the Princely Poets such Titles as she vvas to giue, and receive from others: and in agreeing how to receiue, and how to be receiued in Visitations: vvhist the *Vertuous* stood amazed, and bitterly complayned of the hard condition of these modern times plagued vvith the corruption of such vanity: but greater vvas the affliction of the *Vertuous*, because many Learned Princes openly refused to be visited by that great *Queene*, saying, That they suspected the receiving some affront from her, for that they had lately Letters out of *Italy*, vvherein they vvwere advised by their friends to stand vpon their guard,

it being the particular cuſtome of the *Spaniards*, to goe to viſit perſons more to iniure, then to honor them; and that therefore it ſeemed to them a kind of exceeding madnes, in ſtead of avoiding affronts, to attend them in their houſes, and reverently to receiue them vvith Cappe in hand. And albeit ſo potent a Monarchy to the great vvonder of all men had ſhevvved herſelf much more ſparing, in giuing to others ſatisfaction of Titles, then in beſtovving her golden Piſtolets; nevertheles ſhe hath receiued from thoſe Princely Poets, and from all the Vertuous Potentates, that more regard the ſubſtance, then the vanity of things, in this ſame titular buſines, as much content as ſhe could deſire. Hovvbeit, the reputation of ſo great a Queen hath bin much blemiſhed in this Court, by reaſon ſhe is ſeen, notvvithſtanding the extreme neceſſity that lyeth vpon her for the acquiſition of friends, to ſhevv her ſelf too forvvard in alienating ſuch from her, as deſire nothing of her, but ſatisfaction of vvords. Further, it hath bin obſerved for a particular of much note, hovv the Mr. of the Ceremonies advertiſed her, that that great *punto* ſhe ſo ſtands vpon, is an odious thing, onely proper to barbarous Kings, and moſt vnvvorthy ſo great a Lady, and ſuch a Princeſſe of *Europe* as ſhe vvvas: vvhereunto vvith much diſdaine ſhe anſvvered, Hovv ſhe vvondered that he, conſidering the place he held, ſhould haue ſo litle vvnderſtanding, as not to knowv, that a Prince vvith out gravity, ſhevvethe like a Peacocke vvithout a tayle. It is not poſſible to vvrite, vvith vvhat curioſity and deſire this Princeſſe vvvas expected, nor vvhat a concourſe of people came from all parts of *Apolloes* State, to looke vpon this povverfull Queene, that vvith ſuch a monſtrous courſe of felicity hath in ſo ſhort a time vnited vnder her moſt ſpacious

ſpacious Kingdomes, and therof framed an Empire ſo formidable, that there is not a Prince in the vworld, vvhich for ſuſpition of her hath not armed himſelfe. The Monarchy of *Spayne* in compariſon of thoſe of *France*, of *England*, and other ancient Monarchies, is young in age, but of body farre bigger then any other vvhatſoeuer; and according to the proportion of yeres ſhe is of, of an vnmeaſurable greatnes: vvhen it is argued, that if ſhe continue grovving vnto that terme, vvherein humane bodies are wont to come to their full perfection, ſhe will become ſo great a Gyantefſe, that ſhe will arrive to that vnmeaſurable height of the Vniuerſall Monarchies, wherunto the *Rom. Monarchy* attained: but the accidents of matters of State affirme for certain, that ſhe wil neuer be bigger: and that ſhe was as high in her tendreſt yeres, as euer ſhe vvilbe in any time to come vvhatſoeuer. The which is plainly demōſtrated by this apparant argument, that in theſe preſent times ſhe hath grovven more ſlovvly halfe a fingers breadth, then ſhe did two handfulls in times paſt. This mighty Lady is of complexion very ravyvy, much inclyning to the *Moore*: therefore her cuſtomes are rather proud, then graue; and in all her actions, hath more of the cruell, then the ſevere: ſo that not having beene able, nor deſirous to learne that art (ſo neceſſary for a Prince) of pardoning, it is the firme opinion of many, that thereby her greatnes is the more impeached: for placing her eſtimation vpon nothing more, then to be called the *Miſtris of Nations*, in the knowvledge of being moſt reſolute to ſtrike off the heads of ſuch odious Poppies, as in the gardens of her States ovetop their fellowves, ſhe reioyceth not a litle, that ſhe is ſaid in that ſort to haue gone beyond that *Tarquin* the Great, vvho vvvas the fiſt inventor of ſuch a ſe-

cret. Being then ſo reſolute in the execution of ſeuerities, ſhe is much perplexed in conferring of graces, vvhich are ſcene to proceed very ſeldome from her; and thoſe too ſhe doth, are granted vvith ſo much authoritie, as they are not very acceptable: Howvbeit in apparance, ſhe is all mildnes, and vvholly diſſolved into Complements: but he that vvith the politicall Spectacle knowveth how to penetrate into the invvard of the heart, ſhall diſcover her to be all pride, all covetouſneſſe, and cruelty; in ſuch ſort, that they vvwhich haue long negotiated vvith her, report; That there is not any Princeſſe from vvhom. come ſvveeter vvords, and bitterer deeds: vvhereby it happeneth, that as a friend ſhe greatly allureth men, and as a Miſtreſſe exceedingly terrifieth them. Her hands be out of all proportion long, vvwhich ſhe extendeth euery vvhere, as may be moſt for her profit, vvithout diſcerning friend from foe, or a ſtranger from a kiſſman: She hath the nailes of an *Harpy* moſt rapacious; vvith fingers of ſo hard and ſtrong a tenure, that ſhe neuer letteth goe any thing, vvwhich ſhe once faſtneeth on. Her eyes be blacke, and of a merveilous ſharpe ſight: She looketh aſquint, ſo that fixing her eye vpon one, ſhe attentively beholdeth another: (a matter of much danger to Princes) for of late yeares, having ſet her face vpon *Argier*, before any body vvvas avvare, ſhe faſtned her looke vpon *Marſeilles*. And in thoſe eyes is diſcouered a world of greedines, becauſe ſhe neuer beholdes any thing, that ſhe doth not earneſtly covet vvith her heart; vvhereupon the Speculative affirme, That this Queene is enflamed vvith an immoderate thirſt of others Eſtates; and ſhe never had freind, vvhom in a ſhort time vvith ſundry deviſes ſhe made not a ſlaue. All vvwhich doe manifelt vnto the
vworld,

vworld, that ſhe is fitter to governe ſlaues then free-men. She ſtandeth ſo much vpon the *punto* of State, that ſhe vwill not vouchſafe to ſtirre a foot for to encounter good occasions, vvvhich many tymes haue gone home even to her ovvne doores to find her out. She goeth beyond all other *Queenes* vvhatſoever, either paſt or preſent, in the knowvledge hovv to cover vvith the cloake of hypocrisie any intereſt of hers, though neuer ſo diabolical: and albeit ſhe is ſeene daily to enter into actions that are none of the beſt, yet ſhe maketh oſtentation of nothing more, then of her Conſcience. Whence the *French*, ſo often deceived vnder colour of moſt holy pretexts, haue at length to thier coſt learned to arme themſelues, and get to horſe, aſſoone as they once heare her propound matters full of pretences of Religion, and bleſſed Charitie tovvards her moſt beloved Neighbor. She is ſo excellent in the exerciſe of horſemanship, that ſhe hath not only vvith good fortune tamed the generous Courſes of *Naples*, but alſo made gentle even thoſe moſt vitious mules of *Spayne*, that by their naturall inſtinct are ſo vvilde and unruly. She is aboue all other Ladies moſt ſuſpicious, inſomuch that, her ovvne Nation excepted, ſhe truſteth not any of all thoſe that are ſubiect vnto her, though vpon all occasions ſhe hath proved them moſt faithfull: a matter of ſuch preiudice vnto her, that the vnderſtanding part of the vworld plainly ſay, hovv for that only moſt important defect, it is not poſſible ſhe ſhould euer grovv greater: And this happeneth, becauſe no Prince living careth leſſe then ſhe to be loved of her people, placing all her ſtudy hovv to make her ſelf to be feared. Wherevpon the *Polititians* haue obſerved it as a kind of very great madneſſe in her, to be ſo confidently perſwaded as ſhe is, that

she can draw people to adore her by oppressing them: Nevertheless, with these so odious Customes she allureth all men vnto her service, for the infinite abundance of her treasures is that calamitie, which with such violence haleth vnto her even those minds, that are bound to abhorre her. She is most accurate in petty things, but in great affaires no other Queene hath suffered herself to be more easily deceived. In discoursing of, and resolving importāt matters, she sheweth admirable vnderstanding and prudence; but either by her naturall sloth, or the cunning of her ministers, most covetous Marchants of great businesses; or because it seemeth vnto her, that no resolution is made with *Decorum*, if it be not a long time expected by the World, she executeth her resolutions with so much delay, that the face of affaires changing with the time, those resolutions which haue bene most prudently deliberated, haue often proved infortunate. And therefore it is the opinion of all men, that she is more able in laying of Plots, then in the managing of Armes, wherein she hath great courage, exceeding constancy, ynspeakable patience of all discommodities: but so little resolution, that her extraordinary circumspection hath many times the face of feare: whereupon she seemeth more apt to maintaine, then conquer *States*. There are many singular men, that laugh at her, for ruling all her actions by such solide and mature counsels, without ever venturing any in the hand of that Chance, and Fate which haue so favoured, and made glorious the *French*, when as on occasions they haue bene carried more by valor, then discretion: And some are of the minde, how that only proceedeth, from her being as sparing of her owne blood, as she is thirsty after others: Whence it is, that

that the most vnderstanding Captaines in the Art of warre, deride her, for aspiring to the Empire of the World, and yet will neuer fight: for this mighty Queene being resolved to make acquisition of great States by marriages, she abhorreth that dreadfull custome of the *French*, to buy others *Kingdomes* with the price of their owne bloud. Being then more advised then couragious, she is more dangerous to her friend in peace, then to her enemy in warre; wherefore the *French*, that hitherto haue lined with her in a supine negligence, haue at length, after so many calamities learned to double barre the doore when once they haue concluded a peace with the *Spaniards*. She is most carelesse of her owne, but so greedy of others riches, that she careth not to waste her owne patrimoniall estates, so as thereby she may get anothers. She is so close, so reserved, that it is not possible for any cunning of man to find out her ends: but he that will iudge of the disposition and customes of such a Lady, must be fully perswaded, that in all the affaires which either she manageth herselfe, or others haue to negotiate with her, she is within quite contrary to that she appeareth without. And albeit that amongst the aforesaid vertues, she hath so notorious vices, yet by the greatnesse of her fortune every thing in her is interpreted, and admired for Vertue: so that many wise Princes hold it an honor to imitate her, even in vices. She is of constitution very strong: whereupon it is concluded, that she is long-liu'd, only she suffereth in the indisposition of the distraction of her members; a matter that doth infinitely weaken so great a Body: and although with the ayde of the liberty of *Genoa*, and the alliance she hath with the Duke of *Savoy*, she vseth many devises to vniue them: yet by the diver-

lity of the intereſts of thoſe Potentates, ſhe prevaileth little. But ſuch a Princeſſe by nothing receiueth ſo much preiudice, as by her principall miniſters the *Spaniards*, whoſe ſervices alone ſhe uſeth in the greateſt Charges, exerciſed by them with ſo much inſolency & odious pride, that they will not be honored as men, but adored as gods: an impertinence, that hath made the *Spaniſh Dominion* diſtaſtfull, not only to the *Italians* and *Flemmings*, but euen to the very *Spaniards* themſelves.

This mighty Princeſſe then, appearing in the Royall Hall before the Maieſty of *Apollo*, ſhe cauſed her ſeruants to vnbinde her left arme, and ſhewing it naked vnto *Apollo*, and to all the ſacred Colledge of the Learned, ſhe ſpake in this manner: Lord, and Father of good letters, this vvhich you ſee, is that ſame ſtinking Yſſue of *Flanders*, vvhich the *French*, the *Germanes*, and ſome *Italian* Princes, vvhich ſeeme my friends, and that imbowelled beyond-Sea *Renegada*, made me ſo many yeeres ſince, out of the ſuſpition they had of mee. I grant, that the Princes I haue named, had iuſt cauſe to bee iealous of my power, at ſuch time, as after the death of *Henry* the ſecond, they ſaw *France* falne into the calamity of infant Kings; and that in their minority, I ſought to ſow diſſention in that Kingdome: But now that thoſe ſuſpitions are vvan-ting, and that in the great contention vvhich I had with the *French*, and particularly vvith that ſame ynchayned Prince of *Bearne*, I vvvas condemned in coſts, I doe beſeech of your Maieſty, that ſo ſaſtidious an Yſſue may be ſtopped, ſince every one ſeeth, that by the great abundance of humors, vvhich are there concurring, it is become ſo raging a Canker, that I pray God, it doth not end vvith the ruine of the vvhole. I did not paſſe into *Italy* through
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mine owne ambition, nor had that ardent desire to possesse my selfe wholly of it, as mine enemies affirme: It is vvell knowne, that I was called, nay, forcibly haied thither by the Princes of *Italy* themselves, to deliuer them from the great feare they were in, of the domination of the *French*. And happy had it beene for my House of *Spainne*, vvhich I had covered with State of silver, and Tyies of massie gold, if I never had had any thing to doe with the *Italians*; a double-dealing Nation, full of deceits, and interests, and onely good to imbarke men in dangerous affayres vvithout Bisket, and then to abandon them in the midst of greatest perils, making profession of nothing more, then to fare well at other mens costs: And it seemeth marueylous strange to mee, that *Italy*, which (as every man knowes) hath suffered her selfe to be towzed by so many strange Nations, should now make such profession of chastity to mee; that if shee see me never so little to moue, shee entreth straight into a jealousy, that I vvill deprive her of the honour of her Liberty. And albeit the greatnesse, wherein the Kingdome of *France* standeth at this instant, secureth *Italy*, and all the Princes which I have named, from the feare they are in of my power; yet vvhen it shall so seeme good to your Maiestie, I am ready to give security to every one, of not offending, so that this same fastidious Yssue of mine may be stopped.

By order then of his Maiestie, the Yssue then was diligently considered by the politicall Physicians; and having made an exquisite consultation thereupon, they delivered, That in regard the *Spanish Monarchy* was troubled with an ardent thirst of Domination, that Yssue was necessary for her, whereby those grosse humors might be

purged away; which from *Peru* distilled downe into her stomacke, and caused that vnquenched thirst. And those worthy Physicians considered, that if the sayd Monarchy had not that Yssue, there was manifest danger, that the pernicious humors of *Peru*, would mount vp into the head of *Italy*, with apparant ruine of the principall members, which now remaine free in her; and that the said Monarchy of *Spayne* would fall into the Drop sic of an *Vniuersall Monarchy*: to avoid vvhich inconveniences, nothing was so proper, said they, as that same Yssue of *Flanders*, which was to be kept open, so long as *Peru* ministered those pernicious humors to the Monarchy of *Spayne*.

This resolution greatly displeased the *Spanish Monarchy*, vvherevpon being much incensed, she said thus; Sir, if through the malice of others I must so foully consume away my selfe in ministering oyntments to the Canker, vvvhich my enemies call a diuertue Yssue, some peradventure, that litle dreame of it, shall haue their share in it: This was presently apprehended by the *English*, the *French*, and *Italians*; who replied; That they cared not a rush for any thing she could doe: for they sent but the refuse of their States into *Flanders*, whereas the *Spaniards* consumed Gold, and vitall bloud there: And that to secure themselves from the formidable power, and ambition of the *Spanish*, vvvhich appeared to haue no *Horizon*, the *English*, *French*, *Germans*, and *Italians*, were forced conformable to the Aphorisme of the politicall *Hipocrates*, *Tacitus*: *Consilijs & estu res externas moliri arma procul habere.*

CHAP. 2.

*The Monarchy of Spaine lamenteth, for that
her Falshoods are discovered.*

I Know not whether it were by accident, or by the malice of some *French-men*, or indeed (as many haue grievously suspected) by the plottings of that nation, which is such an implacable enemy to the *French*: but so it was, that many yeares since, the Royall Palace of the Monarchy of *France* was set on fire, and so great was the Flame, and so terribly did it burne, that the neighbouring Monarchies were in extreame feare, lest that fire wold end with the ruine of their States: in such sort, that for the preservation of their owne, euery one ranne to the extinguishing of the flame of anothers house. The *English*, though natural enemies to the *French*, brought thither the waters of their *Thames*; the *Germans* those of the *Mose*, and of the *Rhine*; the *Venetians* emptied almost all their Lakes. And in truth it was a mervailous thing to see, that even the Monarchy of *Spaine* her self, (esteemed so cruell an enemy to the *French*) should labour amongst the chiefeest friends, to extinguish that fire; whereas the common fame went, she would rather haue reioyced to haue warmed herselfe at it: wherevpon euery one remained much astonished, when they saw, that with care, and vnspeakeable charitie, she not only brought thither her waters of *Tagus*, and *Iberus*, but even the boundlesse Ocean it self; whereof, when the *English*, and *Hollanders* will permit her, she is absolute Mistres. Howbeit, some *Politicians* finislerly interpreting the cha-

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ritie of the *Spaniards*, publiſely affirmed, that it was a pernitiouſ matter in the occaſions of the *French* to admit the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*, who being eternall and capitall enemies to *France*, were rather to be recounted Architects of euery *French* ruine, then zealous of the greatneſſe of that Kingdome: as men, that meaſuring all the actions of thoſe, which raigne in the workes of Princes, with the only Compaſſe of their intereſt, many times doe not admit even pietie towards God, much leſſe charitie towards men. But theſe Politicians were ſo much the more held in abomination with the world, by how much it was moſt apparant, that the *Spaniards* in their diligence, and charitie to bring water vnto that fire, not onely equalled, but went beyond any friend whatſoeuer of the *French*: And that which encreaſed all mervaile, and brought high reputation to the *Monarchy* of *Spaine* with ſimple men, was, that *Flanders*, and *Auſtria*, her ancienteſt patrimonies, burning with the cruell flames of warre, ſhe had preferred the ſafety of the *French*, before the care of her owne affaires. Now becauſe neither humane labour, nor any quantity of water was ſufficient to extinguish the leaſt ſparke of ſuch a dreadfull fire, but rather the flames of thoſe bloody ciuill warres, notwithstanding all diligence, and remedies, daily more and more encreaſed; euen good men, and the deuouteſt Simplicities began to lend an eare vnto the aduiſe of the Politicians, and to ſuſpect, that the charitie of the *Spaniſh Monarchy* was altogether intereſt, which indeed is right *Spaniſh* charitie; ſo that they reſolved no longer to giue credit to apparences, but to looke into them, and ſee what matter it was, that the *Spaniards* brought in their Barrels: and they found, that
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in ſtead of water, to quench the fire, they were filled with Pitch, Oyle, Rozin, and diabolicall diſſentions, to encrease it; which treachery alſo ſome *French* Barons were diſcouered to uſe, who more then others making profeſſion of extraordinary charitie, employed thoſe Barrels, and the matter in them, lent them by the *Spaniards*: Whereupon, vvith iuſt indignation they vv ere ſlaine by the *French Monarchy*, and burned in the very ſame fire, vv hich vv ith ſuch ſedition, and infidelity they had nourished in their Country. And the *Spaniards* were not onely chaſed away from that Worke, but vv ith ſound of Trumpet proclaymed and publiſhed for Hypocrites; and by a particular Ediſt of the *French Monarchy*, the World vv as made to know, that if ever in time to come, there vv ere any one found, that could be induced to beleene, how any kind of charitie could fall into the minds of the *Spaniards* towards the *French*, he ſhould bee held, and reputed for a notorious Simplicity: and that, if after the firſt admonition he ſhould perſeuere in his errour, as malicious, and ſeditious, hee ſhould be roſſed in a Blanket.

It vv as ſtrange to ſee, how the *Spaniards*, and thoſe *French* before-named, had no ſooner abſtained from that Worke, but that the inflammation of *France*, vv hich before vv as ſo great, that even men of the beſt iudgement affirmed, how it vv as not poſſible to bee extinguished by any humane means, ceaſſed of it ſelfe: Whereupon, the famous *Flowers-de-luce* of Gold ſo trampled on before, roſe vp more reſplendent and flourishing, then ever they vv ere; and *France*, that through the exceſſiue ambition of many, had beene cruelly tormented for forty yeeres together and better, became (to the great marvaile of all men) quiet, and pacified in the twinckling of an eye: ſo

that then it evidently appeared, that the *Spaniards* were the first Authors of that fire in *France*, which with such faire pretences of Religion and charitie, they haue labored to make the world beleue they would so faine haue extinguished. It is generally reported, that the *Monarchy* of *Spaine* retired herselfe into her Royall Palace, and how for a long time together she would not suffer herselfe to be seene of any one, giuing her selfe over to a deepe Melancholy, and with abundance of teares freely acknowledging, that she would rather haue lost two of the best Kingdomes she had, then see the vworld condemne, and deride those holy pretences of hers, with which she had so often, to her infinite comodity, sold even the most stinking *Assafetida* for Muske, and Ambergrice: for now it seemed vnto her that she remayned without her richest treasure, and that she had lost the inexhaustible Mynes of Gold and Siluer of *Peru*, and of all the new World, seeing she was deprived of the benefit of being able euer after to make the simple multitude beleue, that blacke was white; thinking it withall a very hard case to be driuen to that fearefull passe, wherein she had alwaies seene the *French*, that she must be forced to make acquisition of Kingdomes, only with the point of the sword; whereas in times past, with the sole apparences of her holy pretexts, vvhich had served her in stead of a most flourishing army, she had put the whole world into combustion: And that it exceedingly grieved her to be fallen into such an ill opinion with men, that she was in danger for the time to come, not to be beleueed any more in the truth; vvhich before, the dissimulation of false pretences, and of the openest Hypocrisie that might be, carried the credit of most sacred Truth, and of most perfect Devotion.

CHAP. 3.

*Maximilian the Emperour is advertised
of the Troubles begun among his Sonnes.*

T Here came three Postes very lately vnto the Majestic of the Emperour *Maximilian* the second, and presently it was knowen, how they brought him advertisement, that the Arch-duke *Matthias* had taken Armes against the Emperour *Rodolphus* his Brother, seditiously requiring the Kingdomes of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and the absolute Dominion of *Austria*, and other Provinces. These ill newes infinitely troubled the mind of the Emperour; for he well knew, that the discord risen vp among his Sonnes, would giue the enemies of the House of *Austria* that content, which they so much desired. Whereupon, yesterday morning very early, that Prince presented himselfe before *Apollo*, and with many teares demanded of him, when the evils of the House of *Austria*, so long before commenced, through the cruell combination of all *Germany* against it, should have an end; and for what demerit such fearefull scourges were sent vnto his House. Vnto this demand *Apollo* answered in this sort: All the troubles and persecutions of your Family, great Emperour, shall cease, when it shall wholly abandon those ambitious thoughts of desiring to command over *Hungary*, and *Transilvania*; which hath given vnto *Germany* such icalousies, that to secure her auncient Liberty from the power of your House, shee bendeth all her study to nothing more, then to the depression of it: for the *Germans*, fearing greater prejudice from your ac-

quests,

quests, then from the victories of the *Turkes*, are fully resolved rather to lose *Vienna*, then recover *Buda*. And then also shall all *Germany* vnfaignedly loue your Arch-Dukes, when deposing their present ambition, they shall make it appeare, that they desire to be equall, and not superior to other Princes of *Germany*.

CHAP. 4.

*Philip the second King of Spaine, after
some contestation about his Title, entreth
with great pompe into Pernaſſus.*

THe mighty King of *Spayne*, *Philip* the second, who (some two months since) arrived at this Court, was not permitted before yesterday to make a publicke and solemne entry, because that on certaine Triumphall Arches, which with a Royall magnificence were erected vnto him by the *Spanish* Nation, these wordes were written: *Philippo secundo Hispaniarum, vtriusq; Sicilie, & Indiarum Regi Catholico, Italie pacis Auctori felicissimo.* Which distasting the greater part of the *Italian* Princes, they required them to be cancelled, saying: That they would not at any hand acknowledge from the *Spaniards* that peace of *Italy*, which with ready mony they bought of the *Hollanders*. This aromaticall matter was a long time disputed, and albeit the *Italian* Princes had concludingly proved in iudgement, that the present peace of *Italy* was not to be acknowledged from the good mindes of the *Spaniards*, who would haue seized on it all, had it not beene for that great diuersion, but altogether from the
warres

warres of *Flanders*, yet in the greatest heate of this contention, the *Queene of Italy* with her wonted prudence pacified the matter; for hauing called all her Princes together, she advised them to leaue ostentation, and vaine-glory to the *Spaniards*, and applying themselues to substantiall things to continue feeding them with breath. The concourse both for number, and quality of Princes which assenbled to grace, and serve so great a King, was the greatest, and the honorablest, that euer *Pernassus* had seene. And so powerful a Prince had place amongst those Monarchs, which are famous in the world more for prudence, and advisednes vsed in peace, then for valor shewed in warre: and greatly did the Learned marvaile at the Imprese, which he carried painted in his Standard generall, of a writing-penne, wherewithall, by the testimony of Historians it plainly appeared, that in the potent Kingdome of *France*, and other places, where good occasion had beene presented vnto him to employ it, he had caused greater batteries and ruines, then *Charles* the first his Father had done, or could do with most part of the Cannons of all *Europe*. An Imprese, that was much commended by the sacred Colledge of the *Vertuous*, it being greatly to the honor of all Writers, that a Penne in the hand of a man, who knew how to mannage it, could worke such memorable effects. So mighty a King was entreated in *Pernassus*, *alla grande*; for euen the chiefe Monarchs of Christendome thought it a great reputation vnto them for to be able to serue him, insomuch that the day after his entry, being vnder the Barbers hand, the famous *Queene of England* continually held the bason vp close to his beard; and the warlike King of *France*, *Henry* the fourth, counted it a great glory vnto him to wash his

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head,

head, the vvvhich he performed vvith ſuch excellent dexteritie, as if he had beene borne for the Trade, although ſome malignants haue published, that it was without Soape, and onely with very ſtrong and ſharpe Lye.

This great Monarch was preſented by all the *Vertuous* of *Pernaſſus* with ſundry Preſents of Poefie, and other moſt elaborate Writings; the vvvhich he exchanged with much liberalitie: And to a learned perſonage, that preſented him with a moſt worthy and honeſt Diſcourſe, wherein he ſhewed the way, how the noble *Parthenope*, and the whole Kingdome of *Naples*, that by the robberies of Souldiers, corruption of Iudges, oppreſſions of Great-men, and by the generall ranſackings of the ravenous Vice-roys, which from *Spayne* are ſent thither to be fatned, is now come to vtter deſolation, may be made to returne vnto the ancient greatneſſe of his ſplendour, he gaue twenty Ducats, and conſigned the Diſcourſe to his Confefſor; charging him to yeeld him a good account of it, as of a Worke, that was very holily written: But vnto a ſufficient Politician, that preſented him with a long Diſcourſe, howbeit cleane contrary to the former, entreating of the meanes which was to bee vſed, for afflicting the ſayd Kingdome of *Naples* more then now it is; & how it might be reduced to ſuch calamity and miſerie, that the generous Steed, which without Bridle and Saddle, the Seate of State doth (with ill fortune) carry for Impreſe, ſhould patiently endure both Pack-ſaddle, and Burthens; yea, and quietly draw in the Coach too: becauſe he held that to be vnderſtandingly written, according to the true termes of good Policie, hee gaue twelue thouſand Crownes a yeere, and created him a *Grande of Spayne*.

CHAP. 5.

*Most of the Princes, Common-weales,
and States of Europe, are weighed in a payre
of Scales by Lorenzo Medici.*

Seeing it is appatent, that the *Romane* Common-weale, after the acquisition it had made of the Empire of all *Italy*, could in a short time arrive to that *Vniuersall Monarchy*, which is yet so famous to the World, and whereunto many ambitious Princes haue since in vaine aspired, it hath beene a generall receiued Opinion, That that Potentate, who in State and Forces is suffered to grow vnto such greatnesse, that hee findeth no other Prince able to counterpoyze him, no more then the *Romane* Common-weale did, after it became Commander over *Italy*, cannot possibly be impeached from obtaining the *Vniuersall Monarchy*. Whereupon those Empires and Kingdomes, which were afterwards framed out of the pieces of the *Romane Monarchy*, to avoyd those calamities and dissolutions, which fell vpon such Potentates as were oppressed by the *Romane* Forces, out of most wholesome, and almost diuine counsell agreed together, that every fifteenth yeere, all the Princes of *Europe* should assemble into one place; where each ones Forces should bee severally weighed; and thereupon fit counterpoyze, and due mortification be given vnto him, that was found to be growen to any greatnesse, which might be odious and dangerous to his Competitor.

Many great Wits were from time to time preferred to that honorable charge of governing the Scales; but for an

hundreth yeres paſt or thereabout, they were managed by the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Medici*, and in particular by *Lorenzo* the Great. Which prerogative, although to many it ſeemed preiudiciall vnto the Maieſtie of the Popes, and prudence of the *Venetian* Senate, who haue alwayes watched; if not more, at leaſtwiſe equally with *Lorenzo*, and the *Florentine* Commonweale, to maintaine both in Italy and abroad, the Forces of the Potentates of *Europe* evenballanced, yet with a marvailous conſent of all the Hiſtorians the government of the Scales was given into the hands of Signior *Lorenzo*. The firſt day of *Auguſt*, then all the Princes and Potentates of *Europe*, aſſembled in *Phocis*, not only to meet with ſo important a buſineſſe as the perfect knowledge of their owne affaires, but that alſo of others, which in matter of State importeth much more. Whereupon, by an ancient and juſt prerogative, the firſt that came to be weighed, was the *Ariſtocraticall Monarchy* of the *Apoſtolicke Sea*, whoſe temporall State was put into the Scale; and becauſe the weight of the laſt fifteenth yeere was but ſixe Millions of pounds, and now was found to amount vnto ſeuē & an half, every one knew, that the addition of the noble Duchie of *Ferrara* had cauſed that encrease. The next that was put into the Scale, was the State of the ſeuē Princes *Electors* of the *Romane* Empire, which by old Records appeareth to haue weighed in times paſt ſeuē my Millions of pounds; but ſince, by the indiſcreet government and courſes of many Emperours, that luſty complexion, which made it evermore redoubted, was ſo ſpoyled, that it fell into thoſe dangerous and foule infirmities, which after a long *Quartane*, found end in an Heſticke Fever, that hath now ſo conſumed it, as our Age beholdeth it left with nothing but
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very ſkinne and bone. Howbeit, though it bee ſo much decreased in ſtate, yet the great bulke it hath of body, maketh it in ſhew very goodly to looke vpon; the rather, becauſe the intrinſecall imperfections are not diſcouered: for many good perſons with the ancient Titles of the Empire, and maiſticall Name of *Cæſar*, haue beautified it very excellently without, but when it came to bee weighed, it was found quite empty within; a feather not being ſo light, as the name of a Prince without authority is vayne: whence it is, that the *Romane Empire* proved ſo weake, as it weighed but 480. pounds. Then the famous Peeres of *France* brought vnto the Scale the flourishing and warlike *French Monarchy*; a ſquare of five hundreth and fifty Miles every way, replenished with an infinit Nobleſſe, armed on horſebacke, which not onely maintaineth peace at home, but maketh ſo great a King formidable to all the Nations of the earth; beſides a world of learned men, which adorne it; Merchandife and Trades which enrich it; Tillage and Husbandry, which make it plentifull, and abounding with every good thing. The ancient weight of ſo famous a Monarchy was twenty Millions of pounds; but in the laſt fifteenth yeeres weight, by reaſon of the horrible calamities, whereinto (by the diſloyalty of ſome of her Barons) ſhe was throwen, it did not arrine to twelue Millions; howbeit now it not onely equalled, but went farre beyond the weight of the beſt ancient times; for it came to five and twenty Millions; a matter of ſuch marvaile to every one, that the *Spaniards* got on their Spectacles, and very narrowly obſerved, whether the Weights were right or no.

To the ancient Kingdome of *France* was added the ac-

quisition of *Bresse* given vp by the Duke of *Savoy*, which in regard it was so advantageous to the City of *Lyons*, augmented the weight of it about a Million. Next were the many Kingdomes of *Spain* put into the Scale by the *Spanish Grandes*, and to the great wonder of those ancient men, that could remember, how an hundred and twenty yeeres since, they were held in a poore and vile account, the weight amounted to twenty Millions. The *Spaniards* remained exceeding well satisfied with this weight of their *Spain*: and assured themselves, that with the addition of so many other States, they had besides to put into the Scale, not onely to equall, but farre to exceed the five and twenty Millions of the *French Monarchy*. Wherefore instantly they put into the Scale the flourishing Kingdome of *Naples*, which every one thinking would encrease the weight at least two Millions more; it appeareth, that then it weighed lesse by one and an halfe: at this strange accident the *Spaniards* being much amazed, sayd: That either *Lorenzo* had vsed some fraud in the weighing, or that of necessitie the Scales were not even; because it was a monstrous thing, that the addition of matter should abate of the weight. Whereunto *Lorenzo* coldly answered; That his Scales were even; but that neither the *Indies* voyd of inhabitants, nor the *Neopolitans*, and *Milanese*, which were so farre distant from the Forces of *Spain*, and replenished with a people, which so vnwillingly supported the command of strangers, weighed any thing at all: for it was the loue and multitude of subiects, the fertility and v-nion of States, that giue weight, and turne the Scale.

Hereupon the *Spaniards* added the Dutchy of *Milan* into the Scale, which in like manner abated a Million of
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the weight; whereat also the *Spaniards* were so much
astonied, that they would not put *Flanders* into the Scale,
fearing to receiue a greater distaste and affront. How-
beit some sayd, that if they had put in the *Indiaes*, they
might haue wrought some good effect, but not those
miracles, which certaine lavish tounge have delivered;
who with the same facility talke of Millions of Crownes
that the furnace-men make of very bricke and tyle.
Then came the *English Lords*, who put into the Scale
their Kingdome, so much redoubted for the strength of
the wonderfull scytuation thereof; for the continued
Mountaynes, which compasse it about serving for walles,
made by the very powerfull hand of God in forme of
bulwarks, and the Ocean for most profound ditches,
make it a Kingdome feared, in regard of the commodity
it hath to assayle others; and the insuperable difficulties,
which they shall finde, that offer to attempt it. The
weight of this Kingdome was answerable to that of the
last fifteenth yeare, which amounted to sixteene Mil-
lions. But the *English* to giue more weight to their
Kingdome, would haue put the Kingdome of *Scotland*
into the Scale; when the *Scottish Nobilitie* with drawn
swords in their hands opposed themselues; freely pro-
testing, that they would never suffer their Counry to
be annexed to the Kingdome of the *English*; for yet
fresh was the lamentable example of the miseries of
Flanders, who when she saw her Earles become Kings of
Spayne, foolishly beleeeved that shee should command o-
ver the *Spaniards*; whereas soone after, not *Spayne* was
sacked by the *Flemmings*, but *Flanders* by the covetous
and cruell *Spaniards*; and that which made vp their mi-
serie, *Charles* the fifth the Emperor, and King *Philip* his
sonne,

ſonne, by their continuall reſidence in *ſpayne*, of *Flemmings* became *ſpanyards*. The vnfortunate *Flemmings* by loſing their Prince, of naturall ſubiects, grew to be eſteemed ſtrangers, and men of little faith. And ſo *Flanders*, the naturall Country of *Charles* the fifth, the Patrimony of King *Philip*, became (according to the termes of moderne Policie) a State of ſiue States, and began to be governed by ſtrangers; with thoſe jealousies, and with thoſe oppreſſions of Cuſtomes, Taxes, Contributions, and Donatiues, as begat thoſe bad humors, thoſe ill ſatisfactions, from whence ſince hath proceeded that ciuill warre, which after an vnſpeakable profuſion of Gold, an infinite effuſion of bloud, an incredible loſſe of honour to the *Flemmings*, was converted into a covetous merchandiſe of the *ſpanyards*. Therefore the *Scots* by ſuch lamentable miſeries haue learned, not to permit their King vpon any termes whatſoever, to abandon the Royall Seate of his ancient Kingdome, for to place it in a greater, newly fallen vnto him: in which caſe the *Scots* ſhould vnder their cruell enemies the *English*, be ſure to ſuffer all the calamities, which inferiour Nations are wont to endure at the hands of the ſuperiour.

Some that were preſent at this Act report, how the *ſpanyards* told the King of *England*, that thoſe *Scots* which had ſpoken ſo arrogantly in the preſence of his Maieſtie, were to be ſeuereſly chaſtiſed; to whom the King of *England* answered, That the *ſpaniards* ought not to giue that counſell vnto others, which had proved ſo pernicious to themſelues: and thereupon hauing commanded the ſtay of weighing their Kingdome, hee aſſured his *Scots*, that ere long he would giue them all poſſible ſatisfaction.

After this, the vaſt *Ottoman* Empire was put into the Scale;

Scale ; which the laſt fifteenth yeare arrived to the ſumme of two and thirtie Millions , but now was found to be leſſe then ſixteene ; the ſtrangenefſe whereof made all the Princes very much to marvaile ; and particularly the *Venetians* , who could not beleue ſuch a fall ; whereupon they deſired, that with more diligence it might be reweighed ; and it appeared, how in that litle time running betweene the firſt and this ſecond weighing, it had fallen eight hundreth twenty and two pounds ; whereby it was manifeſt, that the *Ottoman* Empire , here afore ſo terrible to the world, now conſumed with luxury, covetuousneſſe , and idleneſſe , runneth headlong to his ruine, which gaue great contentment to all thoſe Princes. Nevertheles, it was obſerved by ſome of the wiſeſt there preſent , that the *Spaniards* were not ſo glad of it as the reſt ; out of a doubt they had , that the depression of the *Turke*, would be the exaltation of the *Venetian* State. Then came the *Polack* Senators , and put into the Scale their Kingdome, which in regard of the ſmall authoritie the King hath there , and the too much command , which the *Palatines* arrogate vnto themſelves , made but a poore reckoning ; for it did not amount to fix Millions of pounds , whereas in times paſt it alwayes exceeded twelue. After them , the Signory of the Councell of *Tenn* put into the Scale the flourishing eſtate of the *Venetian* Commonwealth, moſt admirable for the greatneſſe thereof , and oportunitie of ſituation fitting for all great enterpriſes , which went beyond all expectation in the weight , for it came to eight Millions ; the cauſe whereof was layd to be the huge maſſe of Gold , which thoſe wiſe *Senators* in ſo long a time of peace had gathered together into their Treafury. Next came the *Switt-*

zers, the *Griſons*, and other free people of *Germany*, and brought their *Comonweales* to the Scale. Howbeit the Princes required, that they might be weighed each one ſeverally by it ſelfe, wherewith the *Germanes* were well contented, ſo that it might be done. But *Lorenzo* having put the *Commonwealth* of *Baſil* into the Scale, it appeared, that the greater part of the other *Commonweales* of *Germany* were all ſo linked together, that it was impoſſible to ſeperate them one from another, which put a many of ambitious Princes there in a ſweate. Then the Duke of *Savoy* cauſed his State to be put into the Scale by his noble Knights of the *Annonciata*, which equalled the weight of the laſt fifteenth yeare; but *Lorenzo*, having added into the Scale that moſt noble prerogative of Title, which the ſayd Duke *Charles Emanuell* enioyeth of the Prime Souldyer of *Italy*, it was ſcene to aggravate the weight a Million foure hundreth and twenty pounds. After this, with a pompe and Maieſtie matchable to Kings, appeared the Duke of *Lorraine*; whoſe State, though liſle, equalled the weight of great Kingdomes; and it was conſidered that it fell out to be ſo by a certaine good fortune which that Prince had, to haue his States ſo happily ſeated, that he could eaſily put the *Lowe-Countreys* into grievous difficulties, by impeaching the paſſage of thoſe ſuccors, which the *Spaniards* conduct thither out of *Italy*, whereby he hath growen into ſuch reputation, that to the moſt offerer he ſelleth for ready Gold the marchandiſe of that his adhering; in ſuch fort, that after he had dreyned the *Spaniards*, aſmuch as any the devouteſt *French* Lord of the *Holy League* whatſoever, ſyding afterwards with the *French*, he knew ſo well how to change his coppy, that a King of *France*, ſuch as was *Henry* the fourth,

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the great Duke of *Toſcan*, and the Duke of *Mantoua*, were glad of his allyance. And fully to make vp the *Spanyards* iealousye, the famous *Venetian* Commonwealth drew in- to her pay a Prince of that Houſe with ſuch affection, that if that great *Lady* had not made a vow of perpetuall chaſtity, and her nature (according to the cuſtome of ſome *Indians*,) had not bene ſtytched vp the firſt day ſhe was borne by the *Venetian Signory*, moſt jelous of her honor, it was verily beleeeved by many, that ſhe would haue taken him to huſband. It was obſerved, that the Duke of *Savoy* envyed much the felicity of this Prince; becauſe he finding himſelfe alſo ſeated betweene the *French* and the *Spanyards* of *Milan*, as the Duke of *Lorraine* was betweene the *French* and the *Spanyards* of *Flanders*, in ſtead of ſo many benefits, and ſo many commodities, as fell vpon the Duke of *Lorraine*, he had received moſt cruell kickes, not onely from the *French* then his enemies, but from the *Spanyards* his friends; ſo that it was evident, the Duke of *Savoy* did now plainly ſee, how that praſtiſe of his with the *Spanyard*, was moſt pernicious for him. Then came the *Otto di Balia*, and put into the Scale the flourishing State of the Great Dukes of *Toſcan*, which by reaſon of the excellent wits of the inhabitants, perpetuall plenty, continuall peace, and quiet ſecurity it enioyeth, answered in weight to many Kingdomes. *Lorenzo* greatly reioyced, when he ſaw how vpon the foundations of thoſe Churches and Hoſpitals, which he and his Predeceſſors in the time of the *Florentine* libertie had layed in their Countrey, their Succeſſors, according to the modell left them by *Cosimo* the Great, had afterwards found meanes to erect ſtrong Cittadels; where vpon *Lorenzo*, to make a glorious ſhew of the worth and

wisedome of the Princes of his House, added into the Scale the admirable vnderstanding of *Ferdinand* the Great, with the excessiue weight whereof it was so overcharged, that the huge chayne whereby it hung brake in two, so that all went to ground. This accident of the Scales so broken, was an hinderance that other *Italian* Princes, which remayned, could not be weighed; whereupon it was concluded, that comming, according to the ancient custome, to lay all the Princes and Potentates of *Italy* in ballance against the Monarchy of *Spayne*, out of the vniversal weight of the *Italian* Princes, each ones particular would easily appeare. Into the midst of the great Hall then was brought an huge, and even payre of Ballance, whereinto on the one part was put all the Kingdomes of the Monarchy of *Spayne*, and into the other all the principalities of *Italy*; and it was seene, that they stood in equall Ballance; a matter of great trouble to all the *Italian* Princes: but whilst they continued in this agony, it was noted, how the mighty *French Monarchy* with one only loving looke, which she gaue to that Ballance, wherein the *Italian* Principalities lay, made it suddainly to turne on that side. It may not be omitted, how the *Spaniards* seeing the Dukes of *Savoy*, who the last fifteenth yeare refused to be weighed with the *Italian* Forces, now to be put into the Ballance, for to counterpoise theirs, threatned them by biting their thumbs at them; whereof those Princes being aware, with a generosity worthy their vndaunted spirits, they say thus vnto them: *Signory of Spayne*, yee can no longer feed men with hopes, for now we are thoroughly possessed of your courses: Yee thought to haue brought the Dukes of *Savoy* by the cunning of your hopes to such a madnesse, as to forgoe that
 little

little bread, which they had in the mouth of their State ; to reach at the shadow of thoſe great inheritances of *Spayne*, which they ſaw in the bottome in the water. And becauſe the *Spaniards* complained for that the Dukes of *Parma*, *Modena*, *Vrbino*, the Lords of *Mirandola*, and the famous *Roman* Barons, *Gartani*, *Coloneſi*, and *Orſini* ; which haue the Fleece, and are in their pay, were weighed with the *Italian* Forces ; whereas in regard of that Order, and the Penſions they receiue, they were obliged to adhere to their deſignes, and to be the miniſters of their greatneſſe. They were answered by thoſe Lords, that they receiued the honors of the Fleece, and enioyed the profits of thoſe Penſions, as honorable Ladies accept

of gifts from their Lovers, only in a pure way of curteſy, and not with an intent any way to forget what appertayneth to their honor.

CHAP. 6.

The Spanish Monarchy goeth to the Oracle

*at Delphos, for to know whether ever she
shall attayne to the Monarchy of the
World, and receiveth a con-
trary answer.*

Y Esterday morning two houres before day, the renowned *Monarchy of Spayne* departed with great secrecy, in a Caroch of sixe hories from *Pernassus*, carrying along with her onely some few Confederates of her Court, which begate a world of jealousie; but in particular the *French Monarchy* was so mooved, that to be ascertained of this voyage, she presently tooke Poste, and following the *Monarchy of Spayne*, shee over-tooke her iust as shee was entring into the Oracle of *Apollo at Delphos*; before whom presenting herselfe, by report of them that by chance were then present, shee made this ensuing request: O eternall, and cleare Lampe of the world; thou right Eye of Heaven, that not onely bringest day, but every good else to mankind: Thou knowest, that for a long time together, all my thoughts haue aymed at that *Vniuersall Monarchy*, whereunto the *Romane* people onely arrived: Thou knowest what effusion of bloud, what profusion of Treasure I haue made, to attaine vnto the end of my intent: To thee onely are knowen the watchings, the sweat, and those so artificiall endeouours of mine which I have vsed, to bring so important a Deseigne to passe: Thou knowest also, that by the valour of my Nation, by the dexterity of my
wit,

wit, and by the power of my money, not many yeeres since, at such time, as I had sown those turbulencies of ciuill warres in *France*, whereon I had grounded all my hopes, I was neere vnto the obtaining of my intent; nothing remaining for me to overcome all impediments, but to vnite *Naples* with *Milan*; a difficulty, which if I can once surmount, I may then securely boast that I haue gotten the day: But seeing that either by my fatall misfortune, or by the impossibility of the affayre, or by the power of so many cruell enemies, which declared themselves against mee, the scandals of those revolutions, which with such devises in the space of so long a time, I had sown amongst the *French*, over whom yet I could never preuaile, were in one onely day converted into such peace and tranquillitie, as it breaketh my heart to behold it; and that after the wasting of so many of my people, whom in this enterprise, that I haue propounded to my selfe, I haue almost reduced to vtter desolation, I am in the end become euen the fable of the world: Therefore doe I thus present my selfe before thy Majestie, whom I most humbly beseech, to let mee clearely vnderstand, whether that *Vniuersall Monarchy*, which is so imprinted in my heart, and which is the only end of all my actions, bee destinated by the will of Heaven to me, and my Nation: and this I desire to know, that either by the impossibility of the matter, I may bee constrayned to give it over, or by the possibility thereof, I may encourage my *Spaniards* to goe on cheerefully in their attempts: for to confesse the truth vnto thee, that knowest the secrets of thoughts, in regard of so many crosses; which both by Sea and Land I have endured; in regard of so many Conspiracies and Counterplots which

by my implacable enemies have beene contrived, and now more then ever are contrived against me, I beginne wholly to despaire and faint.

After this request, the Temple shooke, and the earth trembled, when from the mouth of *Apello's* Minister came these words: The *Vniuersall Monarchy* shall returne anew to the noble *Italian* Nation, when it shall give over those intestine discords, which have made it a slave to Strangers. Vpon so sad an answer, the *Monarchy* of *Spayne* full of grieve departed out of the Temple, and much she marvailed, when shee saw the *French Monarchy* present her selfe before her; with whom having vsed her wonted Complements, shee drew her aside, and declaring vnto her, what answer shee had received from the Oracle; shee informed her, that if the *Vniuersall Monarchy* should returne againe to the *Italian* Nation, *France* would quickly be as sure to feele a new *Iulius Caesar*, as *Spayne* a second *Scipio*; and therefore to secure their affaires, there was no such way, as to divide *Italy* betweene them. Shee also offered to teach her the same Receipt, which shee had so happily experimented in the *Indias*, wherewithall they might so assure themselves of the *Italian* Nation, that there should remaine no more of that wicked race of men in the world, then the bare name. Let me first forget (answered then the *French Monarchy*) that vnlucky deuision of the Kingdome of *Naples*, which my king *Lewis* the twelfth made not long since with you, and then we will talke of this businesse: For it is not so easy a matter to wrong the *French* a second time, as I perceiue you perswade your selfe it is. As for the receipt, which (to be secured of the *Italians*) you propound vnto me, I pray you vse it your selfe; for to spoyle the earth
of

people(as you haue done in the *Indiaes*)and to raign over naked Countreys voyd of inhabitants, is a certaine politick Precept, which is not found in the *French* reason of State ; for I haue learned to my coſt to content my ſelfe with a litle, ſo it be good; and therefore I place my greatneſſe more in the multitude of Subiects, then in the extent of Kingdomes ; and ſo as my *French* may line cōmodiouſly in this world, I am well pleaſed that others ſhall doe ſo too. Moreover, with that libertie, which is proper to my nature, I will freely tell you, that the ſubduing of all *Italy*, is not an enterpriſe ſo facile as you imagine ; for when I was of your humor, I know how pernicious it proved to me ; and therefore be warned by my experience, not to attempt that, which
in the end will bring you
nothing but loſſe,
and diſgrace.

CHAP. 7.

Almanfor, sometime King of the Moores,
*encountring with the Kingdome of Naples, they relate
 one to another the miseries they sustayne by
 the oppression of the
 Spanyards.*

THe famous King of Moores, *Almanfor*; he that many yeares together raigned in *Spayne* over the noble Realme of *Granada*, met yesterday with the Kingdome of *Naples*, and falling in talke with him, after he had for a good space observed the chayne, which the sayd Kingdome of *Naples* wore fastned about his legge, he told him, that the manufacture thereof being *Moreisco*, he verily thought that he had many times seene, and handled it some where els; and a litle while after with a shew of great marvayle he affirmed, that he knew it well; and how it was the very same, wherewith all both he, and the *Moorish* Kings his Predecessors had for the space of seven hundreth yeares held many Kings of *Spayne* in servitude, and therefore he earnestly entreated him, to let him vnderstand, how, by whom, and when he was chayned in that manner. A very good eye, and an excellent memory hast thou, *Almanfor*; (answered then the Kingdome of *Naples*) for this vn lucky chayne, which thou seest about my legge, was brought out of *Spaine* by *Gonsalvo Corduba*, called the great Captaine, and therefore it is very likely to be the same thou speakest of. And now it is an hundreth yeares, since first I found my selfe in the miserable servitude, wherein thou beholdest me, and from
 which

which I know not whither ever I shall be freed ; for in regard of the mighty power , whereunto I see the forces of the *Spaniards* arrived , having vtterly lost all hope of assistance, that may be expected from men, I know, that my ancient libertie standeth wholly in the poewrfull hand of God, who had need to renew in me the miracles of the Red-Sea, if my deliverance shall follow. The yeates (replied *Almansor*) confront well; for a litle before the time of thy seruitude, the *Spaniards* vndid this my chayne from about the legge of the Kingdome of *Granada*, where withall afterwards they bound thee. But let it not displease thee, O Kingdome of *Naples* , to declare vnto me, how it could come to passe, that the *Spaniards* should make themselues Masters of such a Kingdome as thou art , so potent, and so farre distant from their Forces. By fraud *Almansor*, (sayd the *Neapolitan* Kingdome) did the *Spaniards* get into *Italy*, for by open force they had never beene able to make such notable acquests ; and as thou saydest well , so disproportionable to their Forces, which vvere so farre off. But heare, and vvonder at the large and grosse conscience of a King of *Spayne* in matters of State, alhough he vsed much art to seeme vnto foolish men a very Saint; for thou shalt come vnto the knowledge of a Tragedy , according to the rules of my Christian Religion , most vvicked and cruell ; but according to the termes of moderne Policie , the most advised, that ever any Nation represented vpon the Stage of the vvorld. *Alfonso* my King, to his vtter, and my chiefeft ruine, gaue *Isabella* his Niece (for from this vnhappy marriage did my displantation take beginning) to *John Galeazzo* , Duke of *Milan* for vvife. The minoritie first, and then the vnspeakeable silly weakenesse of so infortunate a Prince encouraged

Lodovico Sforza to vsurpe the State vpon his Nephew ; *Alfonſo* , as it behoued him, ſought to hinder that Tyranny ; vvhwhereof *Lodovico* being aware , and knowing , that without the ruine of my Kings , it vvas not poſſible for him to arriue vnto the end of his moſt injuſt deſire , he fell into that reſolution , vvhich afterwards both to himſelfe , to me , and to all the Princes of *Italy* proved ſo fatal , of drawing the *French* into *Italy* , to the conqueſt of me. My Kings to defend themſelues from ſuch mighty enemies, called to their ayde that holy ſoule of *Ferdinand* King of *Aragon* their Couſin , who ſhewed himſelfe ſo kind a kinsman, and ſuch a faithfull friend, that in ſtead of chaſing avvay the *French* enemies, he divided me with them ; and to ſhew himſelfe compleat , a little after this vnhappy diuiſion, he entred into warres againſt the *French*, and having overcome them , he forced them to returne full of ſhame, and loſſe into their countrey ; vvhcreupon the good King *Ferdinand* without any ſcruple at all of conſcience became my abſolute Lord ; and then it was , that he faſtned this chayne about my legge , which thou remembreſt to be the manufacture , and worke of thy Nation. And I do not thinke, that in all the Chronicles of the *Saracens*, *Mooreſ*, or *Turks* , vvhich it is likely thou haſt read , there was ever a more vvicked treachery recorded , done by a King , that deſired to be reputed a man of a good conſcience , and of an holy diſpoſition ; and that a little before had receiued of the Apoſtolicke Sea that glorious title of the moſt *Catholike King*. Truly (replied *Almanſor*) in the Chronicles , which thou haſt named of my Nation, many foule actions comitted by diuers Princes out of ambition to raigne, may be read, but this which thou haſt recounted of *Ferdinand* goeth beyond them all.

all. But if thou, O *Almanſor*, (ſayd the Kingdome of *Naples*) diddeſt with thy Nation keepe the Kingdome of *Granada*, chayned ſo many hundreth yeares, vvhath courſe tooke the *Spaniards* for to free him? That Vnion of the Kingdomes of *Caſtile* and *Aragon* (replied *Almanſor*) which followed vpon the marriage between *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, occaſioned the libertie of the Kingdome of *Granada*: a moſt vnhappy Vnion, the which, no leſſe then I haue done, and continually ſtill doe, the greateſt Potentates of *Europe*, haue lamented, doe lament, and perpetually with vnfained teares vwill lament; as that, which is the true and onely roote, from vvhence are ſprung all thoſe greateſt ſubverſions of States, which vnto this day haue beene ſeene in many partes of *Europe*, but more remarkeably in *Italy*. And belecue me, *Neapolitan* Kingdome, that even till now might I haue raigned happily in *Spayne*, if this peſtiferous Vnion had not overthrowen my greatneſſe; for the many jealousies that raigned betweene the *Caſtilians* and *Aragonians*, were my inexpugnable Cittadels, which would haue maintayned my raigne here for ever. Withall aſſure thy ſelf, O Kingdome of *Naples*, that the aydes which the Popes gaue to *Ferdinand*, and Queene *Iſabella*, greatly accelerated my taking in. Peate, peace, *Almanſor* (ſaid then the *Neapolitan* Kingdom) for after thou wert chaced out of *Spayne* by the ambitious *Spaniſh* Nation, the Popes vnderwent ſuch miſeries, that it may be truly ſayd, how with ready mony they bought thoſe extreame calamities, wherewithall afterwards they encountred; for though the Sea Apoſtolical were well contented to ſee the *Moores* driven out of *Spaine*, yet that ſatisfaction was much diſtaſted with my ſervitude, which followed preſently vpon it, the Popes having ne-

ver had any thing in greater feare, then that I should fall into the hands of a mighty Prince, vvho might make them live in those perpetuall jealousies, vvherein finding themselves drowned even vp to the very eyes, many of them, and particularly those, that haue a greater knowledge of things of the vvorld, do not alwayes make quiet sleepes. A cleare testimony of the truth which I speake, was the lamentable and wicked sacke of *Rome*, perpetrated by the *Spaniards* a litle after my servitude; with which ingratitude they payd the Apostolicke Sea for all they were debtors vnto it, aswell for the remission of the Tribute of *Naples*, as for the other succors, which they received in the vvarre of *Granada*. A calamitie, that having past the termes of most grievous miseries, hath in such manner opened the eyes even of men of the drowsiest vnderstanding, that every one cometh clearely to know, what it is to vnchayne the Lyon out of a zeale of pietie; for the *Spaniards* no sooner saw themselves freed from the impediment of the *Moors* of *Granada*, but that through the ambition, which they shewed in desiring to comand over the whole Vniverse, not onely in *Italy*, but throughout all *Europe*, most important jealousies of State, and most grievous interests of Religion discovered themselves, in so much, that I haue often heard it discoursed by men of most vnderstanding in affayres of the vvorld, how peradventure it would haue beene lesse prejudiciall for many Princes of *Europe*, that thou haddest raigned still in *Granada*, then that the *Spaniards* should haue passed into *Italy*, to acquire such important States, as at this day they possesse there.

Hereunto may be added the prejudices both publike and priuate, which my ruine hath brought, and continually

nually doth bring vnto the *Italian* Princes, and more particularly to the Popes, becauſe the Kings of *Spayne* had no ſooner faſtned this Chayne about my legge, but preſently they began to aſpire vnto the Dominion of all *Italy*; and the quicklier to arriue thereunto, they knew very excellently how to intereſſe themſelves in the differences, which at that time depended betweene the Princes of *Italy*, and the *French*, about the poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*, wherein that top of man, *Charles* the fifth, carried himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that hee made himſelfe to bee knowne the worthy Nephew of his Grandfather by the Mothers ſide: for having with the Forces of the *Italian* Princes, chaſed the *French* out of *Italy*, in ſtead of reſtoring the *Sforzi* to the State, as it was agreed betwixt him, and the confederate Princes, with the fraud of a thouſand Turkiſh quarrels pickt of purpoſe, which he well knew how to invent againſt the *Sforzi*, he made himſelfe abſolute Maſter of that ſo important a Dutchy. Stay, Kingdome of *Naples*; and making a point here, (ſayd *Almanſor*) ſatiſfie me in this: ſeeing the noble State of *Milan* was fallen into the hands of the *Spaniards*, what hindred them from running precipitouſly to the acquiſition of all *Italy*? and ſeeing thy ſervitude doth manifeſt vnto the world, that the aydes and ſuccours of Princes, ſerue more for the benefite of him that giveth them, then for the profit of him that receiveth them, why would not the *Italian* Princes rather ſuffer, that *Milan* ſhould be vnder the Dominion of the *French*, then by receiving ayde from the *Spaniards*, runne the danger of letting that Dutchy, (beeing ſo important a member of *Italy*) fall into the hands, as thou ſaydeſt it did, of the Kings of *Spayne*? The power of the Kings of

France (answered the *Neapolitan* Kingdome) defendeth that remnant of Liberty which remaineth in *Italy*, from the ambition of *Spaine*: for thoſe glorious Kings out of the intereſt of their greatneſſe will not endure, that the Dominion of all *Italy* ſhould fall into the power of the ambitious *Spaniſh* Nation, which cannot extinguish the ardent thirſt they have of commanding, neither with the Conqueſt of all the new World diſcovered by them, nor with ſo great a part which they poſſeſſe in the old.

Besides, the *Italian* Princes, who know the great perill (wherein they finde they are) of a dangerous and miſerable ſervitude, have ſo vnited themſelves together, that although they be many in number, yet make they but one Body; and the *Spaniards*, who haue uſed, and doe uſe all poſſible deviſes to diſ-unite them, evidently perceive, that they waſh a Black-Moore.

But touching the State of *Milan*, thou muſt know, how it was iudged more ſecure for the publike Liberty of *Italy*, that that Dutchy ſhould fall into the power of the *Spaniards*, then that it ſhould remaine in the hands of the *French*; who for that they were ioyning to *Italy*, when therein they ſhould poſſeſſe any little part, there would haue beene manifeſt danger, that they would haue made themſelves abſolute Lords of the whole: but in the *Spaniards* it would fall out cleane contrary; for their Forces, albeit very great, are notwithstanding ſo farre off, that by ſo long a tract of ſea, they could with much difficulty transport out of *Spayne* into *Italy* Forces, that were able to maintaine the acquieſts they had made, not that they could be ſufficient to ſubdue the whole.

Thou ſpeakeſt the truth, (ſayd then *Almanſor*) but goe on, and declare vnto me the prejudices, which thy fal-
ling

ling into the hands of the *Spaniards* brought vnto the Popes. Know then, (replied the Kingdome of *Naples*) that whereas before, the Popes were the terror of my Kings, now it happeneth to bee cleane otherwise; for they lue in a very great agony, lest the Vnion of *Milan* with *Naples* should one day follow; to which marke, they obserue, the *Spaniards* haue directed the scope of all their thoughts; vvhereupon the *Spaniards*, whose proper nature it is to make good vse of the feare, vvherein to they see they haue put the Princes their neighbours, haue arrogated vnto themselves such authority in the Court of *Rome*, that they vaunt they are the true arbitrators of all the most important matters, vvhich there are handled. Moreover, when the Kings of *Naples* were not Kings of *Spayne*, the Popes with every litle menace of denying the investiture, obtayned of my Kings, Principalities, Dutchy, Earldomes, and other great States in gift, buying their friendships also with mariages, and many other sortes of liberalitie; but now, the feare being ceased, if the Popes vvil make their kinred great with titles of important States, they must be glad to buy them with their ready mony, and the aduised Kings of *Spayne*, besides the pretious Gold of entreaties, which at any hand they will bee sure shall precede for a first payment, sell them vnto them thoroughly sawced. Important interests, and grievous disorders are these (sayd *Almanſor*) vvhich thou hast recounted vnto me; but how cometh it that thou, Kingdome of *Naples*, which art the Magazine of Silkes, the Granary of *Italy*, shouldest goe so ragged, and be so leane? Seeing the *Spaniards*, that come naked out of *Spayne* [answered the Kingdome of *Naples*] after they haue beene three or foure dayes in my house, will needs cover them-

ſelves all over with gold, it is no marvaile if I be ſpoyled, to clothe ſo many Raggedemuffins: beſides, if thou ſaweſt the rapaciie of the Vice-roys, that to recover them ſelves are ſent vnto me, or if thou kneweſt the rapines of Secretaries, of thouſand Officers, and other Courtiers, which they bring along with them, all thirſty of my bloud, thou wouldeſt greatly marvaile, how it were poſſible, I ſhould ſatiate the raging, and greedy ſwallow of ſo many hunger-ſtarved wretches. As for the litle fleſh thou ſeeſt on my back, the *Spaniards* affirme, that in the booke of a certaine *Florentine*, who hath given rules of the cruell moderne Policie, they find written, that being a Kingdome conquered, after the manner of thoſe horſes vvhich are kept only for races, I ought to be maintayned low in the fleſh.

I but (ſayd *Almanſor* then) the *Milaneſe* how are they entreated? They alſo (replyed the Kingdome of *Naples*) are bathed with the water, wherewithall thou ſeeſt mee ſo wet; only this difference is betwixt vs, that in *Milan* are dropes, in my houſe, flouds. The true occaſion of the diverſitie of theſe entreatings is the quality of the *Lombards* diſpoſitions, moſt vnlike to my *Neapolitans*: for the Nobilitie of the State of *Milan* are naturally phantaſticall, free, reſolute, and farre from that vice ſo proper to my *Neapolitans*, of flattery, and affectation; but ſo bold and hardy, that they dare ſay, how if one only *Cremonefe* ſpirit had beene found amongſt my *Neapolitan* Barons, it would haue hindered that ſame forced donatiue, that hath brought me to eate Bread and Onyons; the which, although with great words, it hath beene often demanded by the *Spaniards* in *Milan*, they haue beene as reſolutely answered, that they ſhould take care to liue: Beſides,

the

the confining of the *Grifons*, of the Duke of *Savoy*, and *Venetians*, are the cauſe, that the Kings of *Spayne* proceed with more diſcretion in *Milan*: for when the Popes managed Armes, I my ſelfe alſo was for their occaſion greatly reſpected. But ſoft, *Almanſor*, yonder commeth my moſt capitall enemy *Don Pedro de Toledo*, wherefore I pray thee withdraw a litle; for at any hand I would not haue him take notice, that I lament my diſgraces heere vvith thee; and for this onely, vvhere it for nothing els, may I tearme my ſervitude moſt wretched, in that I am forced to call this miſerable ſtate, where-
in thou ſeeſt me,
the happy gol-
den Age.

Sigismund Battor learneth

the Latin tongue.

Y Esterday about eight of the clocke in the evening, the ordinary Post of *Germany* arrived at this Court, and brought very ioyfull newes, how *Sigismund Battor*, Prince of *Transilvania*, was growen so inamored of the gracefull Latine tongue, that to his great glory he spake, and wrote with the puritie and eloquence of the *Cesarean* style; whereupon all the *Vertuous* earnestly besought *Apollo*, that for such good newes there might be made in *Pernassus* all those demonstrations of ioy, which (to incourage Great-men to the loue of Learning) were wont to be made, when any Prince became learned: But his Maiestie, that seeth into the vttermost secret of all things, denied those *Vertuous* their request, and told them, that then only there should be feasting in *Pernassus*, when out of the freeness of a noble minde, and meere election of studies, not constraigned by any necessitie, Princes applyed themselves to Learning; and that they were to know, how Prince *Battor* had gotten the elegant Latine tongue, neither out of ambition to shew himselfe to bee learned, nor out of a vertuous curiosity to know many things, but onely out of necessitie for his reputations sake, to correct the foolish and childish absurditie which he committed, in Gender, Number and Case, at such time, as in the warre of *Hungary* he tooke that fatall resolution to arme himselfe against the *Turke*, for to adhere vnto the Emperor of *Germany*, whom in regard of the strong and lively pretensions, which he hath to the Principality of *Transilvania*, he was to haue in more horror, then seventy *Ottoman* Emperours.

CHAP. 9.

*The Cardinall of Toledoes Summa is not
admitted into the Library of Pernaſſus.*

THe illuſtrious, and reuerend *Francesco Cordova*,
Cardinall of *Toledo*, a perſonage of exemplarie
life, an exquisite Divine, and excellent Philoſo-
pher; hee that in his owne perſon honoured the Word
of God in the Pulpit more then any other Preacher
whatſoever of his time, ſome few dayes ſince arrived at
Pernaſſus, having beene received vpon the confines of the
State, by *Aleſandro d' Ales*, and *Cornelio Muſſo* Biſhop of
Bitonto, and all the way entertayned at his Maieſties
charge. This honorable learned man preſented his Wri-
tings vnto the venerable Colledge of the *Vertuouſe*; and
thoſe of Philoſophie were not only commended, but ad-
mired; as alſo the Commentaries compoſed by him vpon
the diuine paſſages of all the ſacred Writers, were recei-
ued with extraordinary applauſe, and ſhortly after they
were carried in a precious Vrne vnder a cloth of Eſtate,
into the *Delphicke* Library, and with the name of the Au-
thor conſecrated to Eternity. Onely his *Summa*, although
very learned, was not received by thoſe *Vertuouſe*, who
freely told him, that there were ſo many Workes already
of that kinde in his Maieſties Library, as ſome of them
ſeemed ſuperfluous: for an infinit many of great Divines
had with ſuch diligence handled matters appertayning
to the conſciences of private men, that they had put the
ſalvation of ſoules into comprimiſe, for the only regard
of a ſhillings gaine: And that the world very much deſi-

red to see a complete *Sacra*, composed vpon the consciences of great Princes; a matter most necessary for the quiet of the whole Vniverse, and altogether omitted by Divines, wherein those actions of Princes should be exactly discoursed vpon, with which so often they put the world into confusion, filling it with robberies, assassinations, and such slaughters of men, that many of them blinded with the ambition to raigne vpon earth, have made rivers to runne with humane blood.

The Colledge of the Learned, hearing these particulars, sayd, That they much desired to have these Questions disputed, and resolved: Namely, whether Christian pietie will admit the speciall *hipotesis*, which the violence of the sword hath vsurped over others States: Whether a Principality, that by Armes, and fraud, is forceably taken from another Prince, may be held by one that hath the true feare of God: Whether that course of ruling a Kingdome, which is conquered onely to the end to impoverish and waste it, that so it may be governed without jealousie, may be practised by one that is borne in the Christian Faith: Whether the exalting of *Reason of State* to such an height, that it should trample vnder feet, as at this present it doth, all Lawes divine and humane, be not a more detestable and execrable Idolatry, then worshipping *Nabuchadnezzars* Image, or the golden Calfe. And lastly, the Colledge sayd, That then their desires would be fully accomplished, when there could be found a Divine so much fearing God, that with his Writings durst fright Princes as much from doing evill, as many others with their great Volumes had terrified private men; for it seemed a strange thing vnto them, that infinite learned Divines had so laboured to reason,
of

of the ſtrict accompt, which Shop-keepers are to render, even for idle words, vnto the Maieſtie of God, and in the meane time had omitted to make mention of thoſe exorbitant errors, committed by great Princes; when with their Armies over-running States, they ſend all things into perdition, both ſacred and prophane: And that with more benefite to mankind, and eternall reward to themſelues, Divines might have diſcourſed vpon the actions of *Lewis* the twelfth, and *Frances* the firſt, both Kings of *France*; of *Ferdinand* King of *Aragon*, and *Charles* the fifth the Emperor, whoſe ſoules departed out of this world with the heauy burthen of halfe a million of man-ſlaughters, all comitted by their ambition to raigne, and whereof they were to giue a ſtrict accompt to Almighty God: All which were matters exceeding neceſſary, to the end, that mankind ſo much afflicted by the ambition of Princes, might one day receiue the conſolation, which with ſuch longing it deſireth, when thoſe that raigne, ſhould be terrified from doing amiſſe,

and be made to know, that

Hell was prepared aſwell

for the Great, as

the ſmall.

C H A P. 10.

*The French deſire the Receipt of the
Spaniſh Sent for Gloues.*

THe emulation which is ſcene to raigne betweene the two warlike and powerfull *French* and *Spaniſh* Nations, is as great, as it is eternall: for there is not any vertue appearing in the *French*, which is not exceedingly coveted by the *Spaniards*; neither are the *French* ever quyet, till they haue attayned vnto thoſe rarities, wherewithal they ſee *Spayne* indued. And becauſe that ſent with which Gloues are made ſo ſweet, is a particular invention and gift of the *Spaniards*, the *French* haue omitted nothing that might bring them to the perfection of making the like; and to their great charge they furniſhed themſelves with Muſke, Ambergriee, Civet, and all other the moſt odoriferous Drugges the Eaſt produceth, but all to no purpoſe; for neither charge, nor diligence were ſufficient to make them attayne to the end of their intent; howbeit, before they vvould giue it over as desperate, the noble *French* Nation had recourſe vnto his Maieſtie, the productour of all Aromatickes, vvhom they earneſtly beſought that hee vvould bee pleaſed to teach the *French* the vvay how to make the right *Spaniſh* ſent for ſweet Gloues. Whereupon *Apollo* was never ſcene to laugh more heartily at the fall of the infortunate *Icarus*, then hee did at the requeſt of thoſe *French*, whoſe hands, hee commanded his Priests that ſtood by him, to ſmell vnto, and tell him what they ſented of: The Priests immediatly obeyed, and affirmed vnto his Maieſtie, that they ſented vvell: Which

Which *Apollo* hearing, he ſayd to thoſe *French*, that nature alwayes uſed to countervaille a defect vvith ſome rare vertue ; and that therefore the gift of making Gloues ſo ſweet, ſhee had only granted to that Nation, whoſe hands ſtunke moſt abhominable.

CHAP. II.

*The Monarchy of Spayne throwveth
her Phiſitian out of the Window.*

THis morning the Monarchy of *Spayne* hauing ſent for her ordinary Phiſitian, a litle after with her owne hands ſhe threw him out of the window of her Royall Pallace, whereupon the poore wretch, being all battered in pieces, died incontinently. An accident that ſeemed the more ſtrange, in regard the Phiſitian was held by all the Court to be a man of extraordinary honeſtie, and in the praſtiſe of his profeſſion moſt admirable. Sundry were the diſcourſes, that were made vpon ſo remarkeable a matter. But *Apollo* deſiring to know of the *Spaniſh Monarchy* her ſelfe the true cauſe of ſo grievous a reſentment, that mighty Queene told him, how aboue forty yeares ſince, vpon occaſion of ſome accidents that befell her, and other ſignes, which ſhe had diſcouered, ſhe feared that in proceſſe of time, ſhe ſhould catch ſome dangerous *French* diſeaſe from the Royall Houſe of *Burbon*, and therefore, to provide for the inconuenience which ſhee foreſaw, ſhe had demanded counſell of her Phiſitian, who preſcribed her a long

faſtidious, and chargeable purgation, compounded of
 divers Oyles of Holy Leagues, of inſurrections of peo-
 ple, of rebellions of Nobilitie, of Cauntries, and other
 very bitter ingredients, whereby ſhe had ſpoiled her ſto-
 mach, weakened her ſtrength, and altogether loſt her
 appetite; and that the infinite quantitie of Syrrupes, and
 the many medicines which ſhe had taken with ſuch an-
 guish, had wrought no other effect, but the acceleration
 of the diſeaſe, which without that unlucky and unſeaſo-
 nable purgation peradventure ſhe ſhould neuer haue had:
 Moreouer, that the many Leaches which were applied
 to many parts of her body, had in ſuch manner ſucked
 the beſt vitall bloud of the Gold of that *Spayne*, that
 thorough the weakneſſe of her complexion, ſhe was not
 able to euacuate thoſe euill humors of *Flanders*, which
 had held her, and doe hold her oppreſſed. By which diſ-
 orders, all occaſioned through the naughty counſell of
 that imprudent Phyſitian, ſhe was ſo exaſperated againſt
 him, that ſhe had ſolemnely ſworne to throw him out of
 the window, if to free her from future infirmities, he
 euer after ordained her any purgation; And that percei-
 uing, how the paine which ſhe hath at this inſtant in the
 ſhoulder of *Holland*, vvas an apparent *Lues Gallica*, ſhe had
 demanded counſell of the ſame Phyſitian for to cleare
 her ſelfe of it; who vnmindfull of his former errors, had
 fooliſhly ordayned the ſecond purgation, wholly and
 altogether like the former, and that therefore being
 ouercome with paine, ſhe had throwen him out of the
 Window; ſo puniſhing him at once for both the faults he
 had committed: for it ſeemed vnto her, that he had well
 deſerved the miſfortune of that reſentment, ſeeing that
 by the accidents following, with ſuch infelicitie of her
Spaniards,

Spaniards, he had not learned to know, that purgations made before their time for diſeaſes that are feared, doe not worke thoſe good effects, which either the Phyſitian beleeverh, or the Patient deſireth.

CHAP. 12.

*Moſt of the States of the World are
cenſured in Pernaſſus for their errors.*

A Pollo carefull of nothing more, then to ſee that the Princes of the World, ſhould in the vpright gouernment of their States, giue the people ſuch ſatisfaction as they ought, introduced into *Pernaſſus* (many ages ſince) this admirable Cuſtome: That euerie yeare, the names of the chiefeſt Potentates of the earth, written vpon litle ſchedules, ſhould be put into an Vrne, and then being drawn forth one by one, the publicke Cenſor of Politicall matters ſhould (in the preſence of the ſacred Colledge of the Learned) record the diſorders, which he had obſerued in the gouernment of their States; whereupon thoſe Princes were bound either incontinently with ſatisfying reaſons to defend ſuch things as were objected againſt them, or els within a Moneth to reforme them.

An inſtitution no doubt very noble, and holy; for it hath effected, that in the progreſſe of ſo many ages, ſince firſt it was vſed, Princes haue corrected an infinitie of errors: beſides, knowing that they are to be called to ſo ſtriſt an accompt, it maketh them endeouour to liue ſo

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virtuously, that in the presence of so many Princes they need not to blush. Vpon the day appointed then, most of the Potentates of the World appeared before *Apollo*: And Count *Baldazar Castiglione* the *Politicall Censor*, said vnto the reuerend Lord *Giouanni dalla Casa*, Nuntio for the Sea Apostolicall in this State, which was first drawn out of the Vrne; That it seemed vnto him a most scandalous matter, and indeed vnworthy the Greatnesse, and Maiestie of the Popes, that in *Rome* should be seene some potent Families, vnto whom it served in stead of a rich patrimony to be dependant on forraigne Princes, not very well affected to the greatnesse of the Apostolicke Sea, which in euery occasion were apt with the power of their Factions to giue the Popes much trouble; And that he might truly say, how in all his time he had not seene a more foule and execrable thing, then that which the Emperor *Charles* the fifth did, when with the noble Charge of the Kingdome of *Naples* he rewarded the cruell seditions, and shamefull treacheries, which the Cardinall *Pompeo Colonna* vsed against the High Bishop *Clement* the seuenth. Then the Lord *Giouanni* demanded of the Count, how long it was, since he had conuersed in the *Romane* Court; who answering, Some seuentie yeares past: the Nuntio replied, that returning thither now, he should find, how by reason of the abundance of vertu-juice, which the *Pompei*, *Fabritij*, *Prosperi*, *Ascanij* of the family of *Colonna*; the *Virginij*, and other more principall Barons of the House of *Orsina* had eaten; the teeth of their Nephewes, and Grand-children were so set on edge, that they could hardly chaw ther broth: for the Popes, which had tyed those exorbitances about their fingers, knew so excellently how to practise the *Tarquinian* pre-cept.

cept, that they haue reduced those Poppies, which heretofore were as high as Cedars, to the humble stature of ridiculous dwarffes.

This answere satisfied the Count, who turning to the *Romane* Empire, next drawen out of the Urne, he said vnto him, That the present disorders, which were seene not only in the great patrimony of the House of *Austria*, but in all *Germany*, proceeded from the negligence of the present Emperor *Rodolphus*, and therefore he much desired, that that Maiestie would with more care embrace the government of his so many States; remembring, that Princes, rulers of mankind, bore vpon their shoulders the heaviest weight, and had in their hands the most laborious worke, that any the painefullest day-labourer whatsoever could exercise. The *Censor* vvas exceedingly thanked by the *Romane* Empire for this aduise; whereunto with much grauitie he answered, That it was a disgrace common with all Princes, to be accused of negligence, when scandals arose in their States, although it notoriously appeared, that in regard they were occasioned by the practices of more mighty enemies, they could not possibly be avoyded by an vnderstanding Prince.

Wherefore it was to be considered, That the monstrous felicities, which the most mighty House of *Austria* haue had by inheriting with their Matches, the States of *Flanders*, the Kingdomes of *Spaine*, of *Naples*, *Sicilia*, *Bohemia*, *Hungarie*, and *Portugall*, haue giuen all the Princes of *Germany*, of *Italy*, and of *Europe* such diabolically jealousies, that they haue caused both the passed and present ruines, now beheld in their ancient patrimony: Whereunto the Emperors, which haue raigned since *Maximilian* the first of famous memory, albeit they were reputed

most valorous & prudent princes, could neuer after apply any ſalue, that did not infinitely exaſperate the ſore of the diſorders of *Germany*, wherein had concurred ſuch abundance of malignant humors, that it might truly be ſaid, it was immedicable. Further, it was to be remembered, what ſmall authoritie, the moderne Emperors haue had in *Germany*, ſo that it were not only a diſcourteſie, but open iniuſtice to will one, that hath his hands faſt bound behind him, to performe the acts of *Orlando*. Moreouer, the qualitie of the Empire was to be regarded, which being electiue, they that ſerued, had more authoritie in it, then they that commanded. Beſides, the preſent weaknes of the Houſe of *Austria* in *Germany*, from whom (with the ſeditions of Religion) the hearts of their ſubiects are ſtollen; a theft ſo important, that they may well abandon thoſe States as loſt, wherein ſuch dangerous ſeed is ſowen. Whereupon the preſent Emperor ſeeing himſelfe deſtroyed of the obedience of his ſubiects, deſireth euery one to reflect vpon the qualitie of the Couſins, which the Houſe of *Austria* hath in *Spayne*, and they ſhall finde, that the people of *Almaine* borne for their libertie, to ſecure themſelues from the monſtrous power of ſuch a Family, take impious and wrongfull reuenges euen on thoſe, which ſhall not be free from the ſervitude of the *Spaniards*, if for the ſinnes of men they euer arriue to that point of commanding ouer the World; from which (by the meere goodnes and mercy of God) they are put off as farre, as by their many deuises they haue labored to come neere it. That alſo it was to be thought vpon, how the firſt that in *Italy*, and abroad, diſinherited with all kind of irreuerence, and diſreſpect the Maieſtie of the Empire, were thoſe their Couſins of *Spayne*, as
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clearly appeared by the vsurpation of *Finale*, and other Imperiall feudes by them possessed. All which things, moouing dangerous humors without dissolving them afterwards, do cause the House of *Austria* in *Germany*, to be cruelly scourged by most powerfull enemies, whilst the *Spaniards* with their only menaces seeke to put the whole vworld into suspition and distaste. And for conclusion, he desired all the sacred Colledge to consider, that to the miserable sterilitie of children, which is seene in the present Emperor, is adioyned a lamentable fertilitie of brethren; one of which incited by the most violent spurre of ambition, hath not doubted at last to goe about to ouerthrow his owne House, vvhich is ready to fall. All accidents so vnhappy, that they vvould make euen *Salomon* himselfe seeme to the World a very foole.

These replies, which to all the Assistants seemed very weighty, satisfied the *Censor*, who turning him to the vvarlike *French Monarchy*, said vnto her, How all the *Vertuous of Pernassus* much desired of her, that she vwould rule the furious, vnquiet, capricious, and exceeding impetuous dispositions of her *French*, reducing them to those termes of prudence, aduisednesse, and stayednesse of minde, which are scene in the noble *Italian*, and *Spanish Nations*; & how it much blemished her reputation, that the Kingdome of *France*, which holdeth a first place amongst the most principall Monarchies of the World, should be inhabited by men so infinitely rash. To this aduertisement the *French Monarchy* replied, That the *Censor* not well informed of the interests of her Kingdome, had censured for defects the chiefeest vertues, vvhich she loued in her *French*. Folly, lightnesse, vnadvisednesse, and a precipitous nature were they, which had made her so

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feared, and formidable a *Queene*, because her *French* with vnſpeakeable alacritie and forwardneſſe, would vpon the leaſt nodde of hers, expoſe themſelues to thoſe perils, whereunto other Princes could not with the rope, the cudgell, and the cruelleſt kinds of puniſhment compell their wiſe, aduiſed, and circumspect ſubiects: And that in the many warres, which ſhe had held with moſt valorous Nations, ſhe had learned to know, how an army framed of ſouldiers, which had litle braine, and much courage, ſo that they are ledde by a valiant, and diſcreet Generall, doth carry away the victorie from thoſe people, who profeſſe more circumspection, and wiſedome. This anſwere of the Monarchy of *France*, was ſo much the more commended of *Caſtillion*, by how much, regarding the qualitie of a mighty Kingdome, he knew that the *French* poſſeſſed all thoſe endowments and vertues, vvhich vvere requiſite in a Nation, for to found, amplify, and maintayne a great Empire.

Then the *Cenſor* turning to the powerfull Monarchy of *Spayne*, layd vnto her, how it vvas evident, nothing gaue greater ſatiſfaction to all people in generall, but more particularly to thoſe which were ſubject to ſtrange Nations, then the humanitie, and affable cariage of ſuch as governed them; whereas ſhe ſending to the governments of *Naples*, *Milan*, and *Sicilia*, none but her owne *Spaniards*, they with their ordinary *Caſtillian* ſtatelineſſe, and inſupportable *Spaniſh* pride, without all compariſon farre exceeding that, which the Kings of *Spayne* themſelves either could, or would haue vſed in thoſe States, did ſo exaſperate even their good and faithfull ſubiects, that the *Spaniſh* Dominion was growen infinitely odious: And that further, both in vveighty, and ſleight affayres he deſired
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more quicke expeditions from her, seeing that by her too much delay, and perplexitie in the deliberation of important matters, shee had lost many fayre occasions, that had presented themselves vnto her, for the enlarging of her Empire. The Monarchy of *Spayne*, very much thanked the *Censor* for the advertisements he had given her, and in her excuse answered, how that honorable Gentleman, which had a young vvife, beyond all expression fayre, but of a disposition enclyned to lasciviousnesse, should shew himselfe very discrete, if he desired, that a proper handsome servant, whom he kept in his house, should bee rather extreameely hated, then any whit affected by his wife: and that vnto the delay in the resolution of her affayres, which she knew to be vitious and prejudiciall, it lay not in her power to give remedy: for almighty God having not without important occasions created her *Spaniards* wholly and altogether quite different in disposition from the *French*, whilst they in the deliberation of businesses were rather precipitous, then executive, she in her beeing so slow, and irresolute, obeyed the will of God, vvho would haue it so.

The next drawn out of the Urne vvvas the Monarchy of *Poland*; vnto vvhom Count *Baldasars* sayd, How all the Princes of *Europe* could haue vvished, that the present King *Sigismond* had vsed towards those seditious Nobles, which last rebelled against him, some severitie worthy so grievous a fault, onely to the end, that by their example, other Lords might have beene deterred from committing the like. To this the *Polack* Monarchy answered, That those chastisements given to the Nobility, which in an hereditarie State would be commodious, haue alwayes proved in her electiue Kingdome prejudiciall:

And how that Kingdome, which another receiveth in gift from a Nobility, in whose power is the election of the King, cannot without evident perill of falling from his greatnesse, be governed with that rigour, which in other hereditarie States is necessary; for that Senate, which out of an election of love giveth another a Kingdome, if it be provoked by the powerfull passion of hate, knoweth also how to re-assume it, in regard well-advised Senators are vvont to reserve vnto themselves those necessary instruments, vvhereby vpon every occasion of evill satisfaction, they may recall their vsed liberalitie: And that the present King *Sigismond* beeing the first of his House, vvhich had raigned in *Poland*, he vvvas to direct the ayme of all his thoughts to no other scope so much, as by an extraordinary indulgence to vwinne the hearts of the Nobilitie of his State, that so vvith a gratefull memorie of his clemency, he might perpetuate the succession of such a Kingdome in his Bloud. An advertisement, most necessary for *Sigismond* his King, by reason the *Polachs*, although their King be elective, do never defraud the Royall Bloud of the succession, if he that raigneth, can tell how to get the generall loue of the Nobilitie. For the *Polonians* being a Nation, that know not how to liue in an absolute libertie, do so abhorre all manner of servitude, that that King among them (a matter common to all elective Princes) shalbe most oculatiue, and vigilant in the matters of his State, that least seemeth either to see or know any thing. Not only the *Censor*, but the whole Colledge of the *Vertuous*, admitted the justification of the *Polach* Monarchy for excellent.

Hereupon, the Count turning hemselfe to the vast
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Ottoman Empire, ſaid vnto him, That the crueltie, which he vſed, onely vpon light ſuſpitions, againſt his chiefeſt miniſters, was held by all the world to bee a bloody courſe; it being a received opinion, that men of extraordinary valour and merit, ſhould not be layd hands on, but for great and prooved offences: And that when the *Ottoman* Princes did even juſtly take away the lives of their miniſters, the cuſtome of ſeizing vpon their Eſtates to their owne uſe, and thereof vtterly depriving the children, did ſcandalize all good juſtice, becauſe it ſeemed, that with ſuch cruell rigour, the Eſtates, rather then the faultis of the delinquents, were hunted after. To this ſo open a correction, the *Ottoman* Empire answered with admirable gravity, That hee was growen to that greatneſſe wherein hee was ſeene, by the onely two moſt powerfull meanes of reward without meaſure, and puniſhment without end: And that the ſole foundation of the quiet of every State, being placed in the fidelity of the moſt important miniſters, Princes were not to ſeek any thing with more care, then with immense rewards to allure them vnto faithfullneſſe, and vvith infinite puniſhments to terrifie them from trecheries: That thoſe miniſters vvhich have in their power the forces, Command, and Governments of States, nor being able to erre, but in moſt important matters, it vvere the counſell of a fooliſh Prince, vpon ſuſpition of that moment to arraigne, accuſe, and heare the juſtification of the offender; but in ſuch a caſe, the Prince which will runne no danger, ought to endeavour to ſurpriſe his miniſter vpon the ſudden, and to deale ſo ſecurely, that the execution of the puniſhment may precede even the accuſation it ſelfe: That many times it had fallen out, that

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he with a suddaine chastisement had preuented the consummation of most foule treasons: Which resolution, though he acknowledged to be most seuerer, yet he knew it had so wrought, that there were neuer seene in his State any Counts *St Paul*, Princes of *Orange*, Dukes of *Guise*, *d'Aumale*, *du Maine*, *de Mercure*, and other foule monsters of disloyaltie, vvhich, vvith the shame of those Princes, that vvith halters, poynards, and axes knew not how to preuent such dangerous offences, haue beene seene otherwhere: It being a rule in matters of State as common, as secure, That that minister, which giveth to his Prince the least shadow of suspicion of his faith, incurreth a capitall paine, because those Captaines which haue the care of Armies in their power, are bound, like the wives of Honorable personages, to liue with such puritie of minde, that they be free not only from blame, but from the least suspicion of a blame-worthy thought. That touching the seizure of his *Bashawes* estates after their death, he thought he might truly say, that the entertainements, gifts, and wealth, wherewithall other Princes rewarded their ministers, in comparison of those inexhaustible riches which he bestowed on his well-deseruing Officers, were vile, and poore, as those Royall Treasures, which *Rusten*, *Mahomet*, *Ibrahim*, and infinite others left behinde them after their decease, haue fully testified: That the greatest regard, which a Prince ought to haue in rewarding his ministers, consisteth in providing, that the vnmeasurable riches, wherewith he bought of them infinite fidelitie, may not possibly at any time be conuerted to the prejudice of him, that vsed the liberalitie: That from the grieuous disorders fallen out in the States of other Potentates he had found it to be a
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matter moſt pernicious vnto Princes, that the extraordinary riches left by a deſeruing miniſter ſhould paſſe vnto his children, not hauing firſt deſerved it (by their vertue, valour, and fathers ſaid fidelitie) of the Prince: That he had not out of couetouſneſſe, as many miſjudged, conſiſcated the great inheritances of his *Baſhawes*, but that by the comoditie thereof, thoſe ſubjects ſhould not be idle, & conſequently vicious, which being deſcended of fathers of notable valour, gaue the Prince aſſured hope they would imitate the vertues of their Progenitors: That the gate of his Treafure ſtood perpetually open to the heyres of his miniſters, to reſtore them their fathers enheritances twice doubled, when they with their fidelitie, and valour ſhould deſerue them; and how much the riches of men vicious, and ſubject to ambition were apt to diſturbe the peace of any Kingdome how great ſoeuer, well appeared by the freſh examples, which he had ſeene both in *France* and *Flanders*.

Whiſt the *Ottoman* Empire ſpake in this manner, he obſerued that the renowned *French* Monarchy with the ſhaking of her head, ſeemed to declare, that ſhe no way approued thoſe reaſons, whereupon ſomewhat the more moued, he ſaid thus: Mighty Queene, my cuſtome in ſeizing vpon the eſtates of my *Baſhawes*, is profitable for the greatneſſe, and quiet of my State; and in regard of the frienſhip that is betwixt vs, I would to God, the ſame courſe were obſerued in your *France*; for you know full well, to what uſe *Henry* the Duke of *Guize* conuerted the exceeding riches, wherewithall the liberall Kings *Francis* the firſt, and *Henry* the ſecond rewarded the merits of Duke *Francis* his father. You, and I, and all thoſe that raigne do know, how the ſweeteſt bayte that can allure

men, is a Crowne, and there beeing no man, which for to taſte neuer ſo little of it, but would hold it a great pleaſure for to expoſe euen his life to manifeſt danger of loſing it, Princes ought to be moſt vigilant in keeping with extreameſt ſeueritie the paſſages thereunto cloſed vp againſt all men: nay, they ought to accomodate their affaires in ſuch ſort, that no priuie man whatſouer ſhould once hope to taſte of ſo ſweet a thing: And I tell you freely, that if your Duke of *Guize* had in my State but only thought that, which with ſuch publike ſcandall he boldly put in execution in your Kingdome of *France*, I wold the very firſt day haue given him that blow, wher-vnto your King *Henry* the third, although hee were incited vnto it by the greater part of the Princes of *Italy*, could neuer be drawen, vntill the very laſt hower of his ſhamefull diſgraces, and euen at that inſtant, when the ſore of the *French* vprores, vvas become an incurable vicer; for where ambition raigneth among Nobles, Princes are conſtrained to ſhew themſelues all ſeueritie, continually keeping ſcaffolds in readineſſe, and prepared, to puniſh the ſeditious, and rebellious; and their Treafury open, to reward the quiet, and the loyall; that Prince beeing vnworthy to command, that hath not the vnderſtanding how to make himſelfe be obeyed; neither can there be a more ſcandalous matter ſcene, or met withall in a State, then that the Prince ſhould lue in iealouſy of an Officer, which ought to tremble before him. But it is the propertie of you the Princes of Chriſtendome, making profeſſion of Learning, and directing your ſelues by rules of Policie, to call me Barbarous, and my ſecure way of proceeding, Tyrannicall, whilſt in the meane time yee ſuffer your ſelues to be reduced by your heroicall

vertues

vertues of clemency, and gentlenesse, to shamefull termes of enduring vnworthy things.

It is not possible to deliver, how much the *Ottoman* Empire offended all the *Vertuous* of the sacred Colledge with his discourse, who standing vp, told him in great disdain, how they could proove vvith present reasons, that all which he had said, were most wicked conceits, vnworthy to be spoken by any person that had a soule, or to be heard of men, that made profession of honour. Whereunto the *Ottoman* Empire answered smiling, That others in the government of Kingdomes might haue regard to *Vertue*, and I know not what, but for his part he would neuer be perswaded, but that the quiet and peace of States ought to be preferred before all other humane interests whatsoever.

Then the *Censor*, to cut off so odious a dispute, turning to the great Dutchy of *Moscovy*, said vnto him, That the most noble prerogative of raigning ouer people, which vvere louers of Learning, and excellently *Vertuous*, vv as the second amongst the greainesses of a Prince: Whereas hee by so endeavouring to bring vp his subjects in a grosse ignorance, reaped no small blame, if not much disreputati on; because euery one scorned him, for that, expelling the famous liberall Arts out of his State, he had only permitted his people to learne the benefite of vvriting and reading. To this Censure the Dutchy of *Moscovy* answered, That the dreadfull fire, vv which he had obserued, Learning had euer kindled in those States, where it had beene admitted, had made him resolute not to suffer in any sort, that so scandalous a Gockle should be sowed in his Dutchy, for men beeing the heads of Princes, as sheepe the flocks of priuate per-

sons, it vvere extreame folly to arme those gentle sheepe their subjects with the malice, which Learning engrateth into their dispositions, that attaine vnto it; whereas otherwise, in regard of that harmelesse simplicitie, where-with Almighty God hath created them, they may be comodiously ruled and gouerned, be they never so many in number, by one Prince alone: And how he held for infallible truth, that if the *Germanes*, and *Hollanders* had beene maintained by their Princes in the simplicitie of their ancient ignorance, and withall it had beene prohibited, that the pure minde of those Nations might not haue beene contaminated with the plague of *Greeke* and *Latin* learning, without all doubt they had neuer had the judgement, with such a ruine of their old religion, and destruction of many Princes, that before ruled ouer those Prouinces, to know how to frame those perfect formes of Commonweales in their Countries, where-vnto neither the vvitt of *Solon*, the vvisedome of *Plato*, nor all the Philosophy of *Aristotle* could euer arriue.

This answer so mooued the *Censor*, and all the sacred Colledge of the Learned, that with threameing looks they said, how the reasons alledged by the Great Dut-
chy of *Moscouy*, were open blasphemies; and it seemed the Learned were ready to make good their vvords with deeds, when the greater part of the mightiest Monar-
chies were seene to betake themselues to their vveapons, for defence of the *Moscouite*; vvho growing more auda-
cious vpon the forward assistance of so many Potentates, boldly said, If any one would deny, that Learning did not infinitly disturbe the quiet, and good gouernment of States; and that a Prince might not with more facilitie rule a million of ignorants, then an hundreth learned,
that

that were made to command, and not to obey, he lied in his throte. The *Vertuous* vpon this daring defiance grew extremely incensed, and stoutly replied, That the *Moscovite* had spoken with an insolence, worthy of an ignorant, and how they could also proue vnto him, that men without Learning were asses and calues with two legges.

Now were they almost ready to goe together by the eares, when the *Censor* cryed out, Forbeare, and carry due respect to this place, where we are assembled to amend disorders, and not to commit scandals; vwhereupon such vvas the reuerence euery one bare to the Maiestie of the *Censor*, that both the Princes, and the Learned, although they were transported with anger and disdain, became suddainly pacified.

All beeing quiet, then the *Censor* said vnto the famous *Venetian* Libertie, which next was drawn out of the Urne, That the hardest matter to be found in an Aristocracie, as she well knew, was to restrain the young Nobilitie, who vvith their licentiousnesse distasting the better sort of Citizens, had many times occasioned the ruine of most famous Commonweales; And that he to his great grieve had heard, how the young Nobilitie of *Venice* vvith their proud demeanour had offended many honorable Citizens of that State; who exceedingly complained, that vvilst the insolency of the Nobilitie increased, the chastisements for it decreased; And that therefore he remembered her, that it vvas a dangerous point in an Aristocracie, when those vvich vvere to glory for that they were farre from those daingers, vvherunto such are subiect, as are to obey the humor of a Prince, be heard to complaine, that they are oppressed by many Tyrants. Hereunto the *Venetian* Libertie answered,

red, That the diſorder recounted by the *Cenſor* vvas true, and vvitall dangerous; but that the autheritie of commanding, vvas ſo annexed to pride and inſolencie, that they ſeemed to be borne both at one birth: And that the licentiousnelle, vvhich the Nobilitie of all Aristocracies vſeth towards the Citizens, vvas by all the greateſt men, that haue diſcourſed of Commonweales, reputed a deſperate cure; for although it vvas moſt neceſſary, that inſolencies ſhould be reſtrained vvitth ſeuere paines, yet on the other ſide, an Aristocracie vvas to abſtaine as much as poſſibly might be from publike puniſhments of Noble men, albeit ſeditious; to the end that their ſhamefull ſuffering might not be an occaſion to diſinherit the vvhole Nobilitie it ſelfe of that reſpect vvhich is due to them from the people; for hauing the gouernment of the State in their hands, the intereſt of the publike conſervation thereof requireth, that they be held in higheſt reputation: And although in her *Venice*, diſobedient, and inſolent Noblemen vvere not ſeene to be ſo often puniſhed, betweene the two pillars in the *Piazza* of *St. Marke*, as it ſeemeth many deſired, yet by the great Councell, the *Pregadi*, the Colledge, and other ſupremer Magiſtrates, that diſpence the publike Charges, thoſe ſeditious Noblemen, vvhich vvere diſcovered to carry a tyrannicall mind, were cruelly afflicted vvitth the torment of ſhamefull repulſes: And that many ſubiects of moſt noble Houſes are ſeene in *Venice*, vvhole ancient reputation for their demerits vvas maimed by Arquebuſes charged vvitth bullets of paper; and that beeing ſtrucken downe vvitth ſuch kinde of ſhot, they could neuer riſe ſince to honors and dignities; things vvherein conſiſteth the life of the Noblemen of
an

an Aristocracie : And that to excruciate a body, a greater torture could not be devised, no not by *Perillus* himselfe, then that vvhich once a Nobleman of *Venice* experienced, vvhen in a concurrence of the Honorablest Charges, he saw one younger then himselfe passe before him, only because he vvvas knowen to the Senate to be more deleruing. *Castiglione* did not only admit the justification of the *Venetian* Libertie, but also did infinitely commend the circumspection, and severitie, which she vsed in punishing her Nobilitie vpon occasion of any demerit, or defect.

Then the *Censor* said vnto the Dutchy of *Savoy*, That his State beeing seated in the Confines of *France* and *Italy*, he vvvas necessited with all carefulnesse to maintaine himselfe neutrall betweene those Princes, vvith whom he confined; but in those last rumors of *France*, by discovering himselfe openly to be wholly *Spanish*, he had put, not only his owne, but the States of all the Princes of *Italy* in great trouble : And that whilst vvith the bellows of his forces he blew the fire of the *French* vprores, kindled by the *Spaniards* ambition, he ought to beleeve, that that flame vvvas to burne vp friends and kintred, before ever it could get to the other *Italian* Potentates that vvcre enemies. The Dutchy of *Savoy* answered the *Censor* very readily, That the adherence of his last Duke to the *Spaniards*, vvvas true, but the faire occasion he had of thre sevens in his hand, euen forced him to set vp his rest, hoping to encounter the most famous *Primiera*, that cuer any other Prince vvhatsoever had at Cards; to vvvhich venture he vvvas the rather carried, because he vvvas assured he could lose but that mony, which at that game he had wonne before : That afterwards, though by

his ill luck the fourth Card, vvhich was dealt him, proued to be a Conte of affront, vvhherewith he had made the vvorst hit, that could be encountred on the whole packe of Cards, neuerthelesse he knew, that the braneft mindes vvould confesse, that albeit the resolution was very dangerous, yet not to vvrong the Cards, they vvould haue played no otherwise themselves. The *Censor* apprehending the Metaphor, very much commended the magnanimous resolution of that Duke; vvho, for that he might from a small feaver haue received in gift the Empire of the greater part of the World, not only without any note of imprudence, but to his infinite glory, at such time as so resolutely he cast the Dye of all the greatnesse of his fortune vpon the table of Chance, he might well speake those famous vvords anew, *Or Caesar, or nothing.*

Then the *Censor* turned him to the noble Great Dutchy of *Toscan*, and sharply reprehending him, for going vvith his Galleys, at it vvhere prouoking of Waspes, he recorded vnto him, the miserie and calamities, vvwhich the Kingdms of *St. Iohn* suffered at *Rhodus*, at *Tripoli*, and the great danger, that lastly they ranne at *Malta*, only because they vvould inoradently haue tyed squibbes to the Balstaile; And that every vvise Christian Prince ought rather to fauour the present carelesnesse of the *Turks*, then to waken them with injuries of litle profit; nay, such as brought others much damage, and necessite them to apply their mindes anew vnto maritime affaires, which in these times they had euen abandoned: Also he remembered him, how infinite people daily complained, for that, by his hindering *Italy* of the trade of the commodities of the *Leuant*, all Drugges, that came from beyond
the

the Seas, were growen to an excessive rate. To this correction the great Dutchy of *Toscan* answered, That the power of a Prince could not be termed perfect, which with a number of armed Vessels had not some Dominion on the Sea: And that his Gallies were not only very necessary for the *Toscan* greatnesse, but also for the securitie of the Libertie of all *Italy*, as serving for a Schoole of Mariners, for a Seminary of Captaines, and souldiers at Sea: That he confessed the dammage, which they did to the trade of merchandise, but withall, he desired it might be considered, that the mysterie of Warre, either by Land, or Sea, could not be learned by souldiers, nor exercised by Princes without prejudice to others: And that *Toscan* breeding much filthinesse of fantastick vnquiet braines, and exravagant humors, he had therefore great occasion for those Gallies, that might serve, as it were, to carry forth all the filth of his State, and thereby keepe it cleane, employing such only for gally-flaues in them, as had done euill before, and that in regard of their vnquiet nature, were like to doe worse after.

This excuse of the Great Dutchy of *Toscan* was approved both by the *Censör*, and all the sacred Colledge. Whereupon the Count said vnto the Libertie of *Genoua*, vvhich was last drawn out of the Vrine, That the excessive vse of exchanges, which she permitted vnto her Nobilitie, caused that great disorder of enriching the priuate, and withall of empouerishing the publike, vvhose revenues would haue risen to huge summes of Gold, if the reall riches of her Nobilitie had bene employed in a iust trade of merchandise.

The *Genouese* Libertie with a readinesse, that gaue a particular gust to all the Learned, answered, How it was

true, that exchanges doe worke that effect, which the *Cenſor* had mentioned, and therefore were moſt pernicious in any Monarchy whatſoeuer; howbeit that notwithstanding they might be permitted in a well-ordered Commonwealth without any prejudice of the publique intereſts; becauſe the richeſt, and ſecureſt Treasures of a free State, are the riches of the Nobilitie, and Citizens together; a matter, which falleth not out in a Monarchy, where betweene the commings in of the Prince, and the meanes of private men, there runneth a long wall of eight ſtories high built by *Mine*, and *Thine*: Further, that in a Monarchy the mutation of the State commonly followeth with little, or no prejudice to the people, only changing the name of *Mathew*, to that of *Martin*; but in the ſubverſions of Commonweales, where libertie is changed into ſervitude, there the proper ſubſtance of private men is the publique treasure; for then will they profuſely ſpend all that ever they haue, for to defend their owne libertie euen to the laſt gaspe.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

*The Duke of Guiſe his Secretary is
punished for ſpeaking amiſſe.*

SOME two dayes ſince my Lo: of *Guiſe* his Secretary, talking vvith certaine *French* Barons, about the paſſed tumults of *France*, in making mention of his Maſters partie, he called it the *holy League*, vvhich beeing reported to his Maſteſtie, he preſently commanded the Strappado to be given him thrice in publike, and then vvilled him to be told, that for the time to come he ſhould learne how to ſpeake, when he named a diabolical Rebellion.

K 3

CHAP.

C H A P. 14.

*Certaine Persons for example vnto
others, are shewed vnto the
People*

Apollo, with much displeasure, came to know, how the greater part of moderne Princes, to preuaile ouer their enemies, doe not according to the manner of the ancient Heroes, vse open force of Armes, but (for the most part) fraude; in the practise whereof they are so vnderstanding, that vvith that only powerfull meane they haue brought to passe most important enterprises; vvhence it is, that the first vveapon, vvich they employ against their enemies is that same shamefull corrupting the faith of their male-contented subjects, and stirring vp the Nobilitie to rebellion. To remedy then such grievous disorders, about thirtie yeares past his Maiestie commanded, that the infortunate Count *St. Paul*, the Prince of *Orange*, and the Duke of *Guize* should be closely carried in a Caroch by *Gio: Francesco Lottini*, the secret Register of Morall precepts in this Court, vnto the porch of the *Delphicke* Temple; vvhere those three great Princes, vvith their hands, without fingers, and all so foully torne, as if they had beene gnawen with dogges, vvere shewed by *Lottini* to the people, vvich came in and out at the Temple; vnto whom

vvhom vvith a lowd voyce he said : Yee faithfull *Ver.*
snous, devoted vnto Learning, and holy Morall pre-
cepts, by this so miserable calamitie of these vnhappy
Princes, deprived of the vse of their hands, which
God preserue vnto you, take example, and
learne vvhat it is for a man to suffer
himselfe to be carried to such sim-
plicitie, as to plucke Crabbes
out of their holes with his
owne hands, for the
benefit of ano-
ther.

K 4

CHAP.

CHAP. 15.

*The Monarchy of Spayne inviteth the
Cardinall of Toledo to be her Theologian,
which he refuseth, and why.*

THe report goeth in this Court, that the Mighty Monarchy of *Spayne*, by her chiefe Secretarie invited the worthy Cardinall of *Toledo*, vvith allowance of a large pension, to assist as her Theologian in the Royall Councell of State, to the end that nothing should be determined there, vvhich might be against his conscience: This matter filled the vvhole Court vvith marvaile, in regard euery one knew how little that Prelate in the rebenediction of the most Christian King *Henry the 4.* favoured the affaires of his Prince, for vvhich cause no man could imagine the occasion, vvherefore so vvise a Queene in a businesse of such weight, should vse the service of so diffident a subiect. Those vvhich make profession best to vnderstand the manner of proceeding of the advised *Spanish* Nation, even in this resolution acknowledged the inveterate prudence of the Kings of *Spayne*, vvwhose proper custome it is never to be at quiet, vntill that vvith pensions, vvith honorable Charges, with all kinde of loving demonstrations, and humane deuises, they haue drawen vnto their partie all such great subiects, as they see to be alienated from their Interest, and from vvhom they know, that one day yet they may receive services. The chieffest Confidants of so great a Cardinal, deliuer, that his Lordship very gladly accepted the noble Charge propounded
vnto

vnto him; howbeit vvith this condition, (vvhich by the Spaniards vvas presently rejected) that whensoever vvith the authoritie of the sacred Scriptures, vvith the Doctrine of the holy Fathers, vvith the ordinances of the Cannons, he should make the Royall Councell capable, how the resolutions made in it, yvere disagreeing from the Lawes of God, and men; he alone then vvould haue power to hinder the execution of them; and all to the end, the World might know, That the Royall Theologian in that Councell was only to helpe the conscience of his King vvith the will of God, not to serve for a maske to establish the Dominion of Kingdomes over men; for it seemed too shamefull a matter vnto him, that such a one as he should be employed to authorise the diabolicall impietie of the moderne *reason of State*, and to make most stinking *Assa fetida* appeare vnto simple people very excellent Muske.

CHAP. 16.

The Spaniards attempt the acquisition of Savoy, but doe not pre-vaile.

Seeing that for to draw the *French* naile out of the table of *Milan*, vvhether it vvas fixed, the ill-advised *Italian* Princes had made vse of the *Spanish* pickaxe, which entred in such manner into the very table it selfe, that it was neuer possible since to draw it forth with any kinde of pincers whatsoever, all the Potentates of *Europe*, and especially the *Italian* Princes, which perceived, that the *Spaniards* after the servitude of the *Milanese*, openly aspired to the absolute Dominion of all *Italy*, to the end they might secure that remainder of libertie, which is yet resting in her, agreed amongst themselves, that every five and twentieth yeare, the Chaine vvhich the *Spaniards* haue forged for the *Italian* servitude, should vvith exact diligence be measured by persons thereunto deputed. And comming (a few daies since) accordingly to measure it, the *Italian* Princes to their infinit amazement found, that so odious a Chaine vvas encreased vvith five most prejudiciall linkes; presently whereupon the Politicall Smithes were called, who very carefully made an assay of the yron added to the Chaine, and they found that the first linke vvas forged at *Piombino*, the other

other at *Finale*, the third at *Correggio*, the fourth at *Porto Lungone*, and the laſt at *Monaco*. Greatly did the Princes marvaile at the ſtrangenefſe of this accident, and many of them were aſhamed, that thorough their careleſſe ſimplicities the *Spaniards* had encreaſed the Chaine of the *Italian* ſervitude, much more in peace, then they could haue done in warre with foure Armies. With theſe ſtrange exorbitances, the *Italian* Princes were ſo incenſed againſt the *Spaniards*, that they told them freely, how if they did not containe themſelues within the bounds of honeſtie, and modeſtie; if the *Italian* ſiles would not ſuffiſe to reduce that miſerable Chaine to his due meaſure, they would make uſe of the *French*; and if with them neither they could obtaine their intent, they would procure enough from *England*, and *Germany*; yea, and in caſe of deſperation they would not ſticke to furniſh themſelues with thoſe excellent damaſked ones, that are made in *Turkie*. Whilt the *Italian* Princes were in this conteſtation, there arrived a Poſte, which in all haſt had beene diſpatched out of *Italy* vnto them with this certaine aduertifement, That the *Spaniards* were forging another linke in *Savoy*, to be added vnto the Chaine of their ſervitude: in regard of which newes, the renowned *Venetian* Libertie inſtantly opened her famous Arſenall, and all the Princes of *Italy* ranne to arme themſelues; the warlike *French* Monarchy comanded her Nobilitie to horſe, all *Germany* put themſelves in order to paſſe the mountaines, and the numerous Fleetes of the *English*, and *Hollanders*, ſet ſaile towards the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*; when juſt in the nicke, even as all the World was in Armes, a new Poſte arrived, vvho pa-

cified the minds of men with this intelligence, that
indeed it was true, how the *Spanyards* had labou-
red vvith all possible industry to forge that
most important Linke of *Savoy*,
but that they had sweat
in vaine, because in
the foldering, it
broke.

CHAP.

C H A P. 17.

*The Duke d'Alva beeing arrived at
Pernassus, in complementing with Prospero
Colonna, they fall foule about de-
frauding the Colonels of
their Titles.*

DOn *Hernando de Toledo* Duke d'Alva, a few dayes
since, arrived at *Pernassus*, and by expresse order
from *Apollo*, a diligent examination of his actions
beeing made by the militarie men, he was found wor-
thy to be admitted into *Pernassus* amongst those famous
Captaines, which without effusion of bloud, knew how
to vanquish an enemy, more by patience, and art, then
by open force; or valour; that durst hazard the fortune of
Kingdomes vpon the doubtfull chance of a Battaile. But
because *Lodovico Guicciardino*, an vnderstanding Writer
of the affaires of *Flanders*, had preferred a Complaint,
how that for certaine matters not very pleasing, vvch
he had written of the Duke, he had beene ill entreated
by him, therefore he stayed a long time to cleare him-
selfe of such an imputation; for there was an Edict of
Apollo very rigorously observed in *Pernassus*, whereby that
Prince, or private man, was declared to be infamous,
which durst offer any wrong to any Historian, or other
Writer, for things written by him not very honorable, but
yet true: Howbeit, of such power were the Dukes friends
that *Guicciardino* was contented to revoke his complaint.

whereupon withall the greatest solemnitie he was admitted into *Pernassus*, and had a place in his Majesties Company of men at Armes, which was commanded by that famous *Quintus Fabius Maximus*; who for the excellencie of his well-advised warinesse, was surnamed *Cunctator*. And it happened, that amongst the other Princes, and Captaines, which the said Duke visited, one was the most excellent Lord *Prospero Colonna*, by whom he was receiued with all kind of honour; and so much the more, because he vnderstood that the Duke made a publicke profession of being the disciple, follower, and imitator of his slow, but sure way of making warre. Howbeit, a strange and troublesome accident fell out in this visitation; for at the first meeting, the Duke having given the Lord *Prospero* the Title of *your Honour*, he was so incensed with disdain, that taking himselfe to be highly wronged by so vile a title, with an angry voyce he said; Duke, I had thought thou wert come hither, to honor one that is greater then thy selfe, not to vnderualew him; but because it is the fashion of the *Colonesi* to answer the injuries of words with deedes, goe out of this house, and in the street (with my sword in mine hand) I will prooue vnto thee, that all those, vvhich vse such base termes to men of my ranke, deserve not to be admitted into the Company of honourable persons. The Duke remained much astonished to see that great Captaine take the matter so hainously at his hands; and going to withstand the Lord *Prospero*, who offered to thrust him out of the chamber, they fell to grapple one with another: And because the *Spanyards*, which were in company with the Duke, seeing him in such termes
 vvith

with *Colonna*, entred into the chamber to assist him : the *Italians* which belonged vnto the Lord *Prospero* did the like; whereupon in regard of the number of persons in so streit a place, there ensued a cruell fiey ; the noyse whereof comming into the street, was the cause that the newes of so dangerous an accident was suddainly carried to *Apollo*; who in all hast dispatched thither the Regent of the *Vicaria* vwith the guard of Archers, who freed the Duke out of the Lord *Prosperoes* hands : and the vprore beeing quieted, hee commanded the *Spaniards*, that had beene very ill handled, to returne home to their houses; Thereupon the Lord *Prospero*, to prevent any sinister information that might haue beene given against him, presented himselfe before *Apollo*, vnto whom (the same goeth) with a troubled countenance he vsed these vvords : Sir, it is well knowen, that men of the family of *Colonna*, of the qualitie I am of, haue alwaies enjoyed the title of Excellencie, *antequam Abraham feret*, and ere the *Spaniards* were *in rerum natura* ; Wherefore for that Nation to abuse a man of my ranke, as the Duke *d'Alva* did me but now, is most insupportable ; for if the vilenesse of him that offendeth, doth infinitely aggravate the iururie vwith him that is offended, how is it possible, that an *Italian* Baron of my qualitie, should containe himselfe within the bounds of modestie, seeing himselfe vnderualewed by that Nation, whose miseries, not aboue foure dayes agoe to speake of, so mooved the whole World to compassion, that throughout all Churches they were recommended to the charitie of well-disposed Christians, of whom almes were gathered, to free them from the miserable seruitude, wherein they were

ſo grievouſly oppreſſed by the of *Moore*s of *Granada*. The *Spaniards* enjoy the dominion of the greater part of *Italy*; where, by ſuch as I am, notwithstanding that daily they threaten it vvith a cruell, and vniverſall ſervitude, they are loved, honoured, and even ſeryed. With their prodigious avarice they haue deprived vs of our wealth; and in that lamentable ſacke of *Rome* vvith their vnexprefſable luſt they violated the honour of our chaſteſt *Matrons*. And now, in exchange of ſo abject a patience, they would alſo take from vs this litle honour of breath wee enjoy, and theſe miſerable Titles, the vnhappy remains, and deplorable reliques of the *Italian* reputation: Which is a matter ſo hard to be digeſted, that by every honourable *Italian* Baroñ it ought to be revenged, not vvith complayning words, as I doe, but vvith daggers points.

It is reported by them that vvere then preſent, how all the while the Lord *Proſpero* was ſpeaking, *Apollo* did nothing but ſmile, and that when vpon his concluſion he buiſt out into thoſe words, how the *Spaniards* abuſes towards the *Italians* vvere to be revenged with daggers points, he fel to laughing out-right, and ſaid, *Proſpero*, thou art, and ever wert too much given over to choller: and I am inforced to tel thee, how it infinitely miſlikes me, that ſuch a one as thou, who haſt alwaies made a particular profeſſion of prudence, ſhoudeſt marvaile, that ſlaves, which for twentie yeares together have beene fedde in the Gallies vvith courſe, and mouldy Biſker, when they light vpon a batch of new white Manchet, ſhould fill their bellies till they are ready to cracke againe: Whereas that raging appetite of theirs, and every other diſhoneſt

neſt act, vvvhich they vſe, to aſſwage their hunger, ought to be ſo farre from ſeeming odious vnto honeſt men which behold it, that it ſhould rather moove them to pittie. Therefore do yee *Italians* likewise permit, that the *Spanyards*, men but new in this World, and lately got out of the ſervitude of the *Moore*s of *Granada*, may glut themſelves with meate ſo delicate to their taſte, as are the honourable Titles, vvvhich they haue found in *Italy*: for I aſſure thee, that vvhen they ſhalbe cloyed vvith ſuch vanities they alſo vvill become, as the *French* are, ſuch curteous Gallants, that they vvill vvillingly giue the Title of *Excellency* even to their horſe-boyes, much more to ſuch as thou art. And I tell thee, that if thou hadſt that prudence, and that perfect knowledge of the World, as I vvish thou haddeſt, thou vvouldeſt very well perceiue, that thoſe exorbitances, and that ſo odious manner of proceeding, which the *Spanyards* vſe in *Italy*, whereof thou ſo complaineſt, is even as ſo much ſweet ſuger for you *Italians*, and bitter poyſon for the *Spanyards*; who if to their valour, to their adviſedneſſe, and vnſpeakeable ambition vvvhich they haue to raigne, they had affable and curteous manners annexed, vvith the vtter deſtruction of that remnant of Libertie, which is yet out of the Lyons jawes, they would ſoon become abſolute Maſters of the World. All which are inſolencies, that vvith daggers points, not by you *Italians*, but by the Monarchy of *Spayne* herſelfe, ought to be revenged vvith all kinde of crueltie on her *Spaniſh* Miniſters, who with their vanitie diſtaſte the good ſervants of ſo great a Queene, and make her government nothing acceptable to her ſubjects: A diſorder that bringing much difficultie to the ſubſtance of that Vniuerſal Monarchy, wherunto it is not

possible she can arrive vwith the publike hatred of all *Italy*, hath high need of remedie.

With this answere *Apollo* returned the Lord *Prospero* exceeding well satisfied to his house, after whom the Duke *d'Alva* appeared before his Majesty with all his family wonderfull melancholy, vvhich cast such milke in their faces, that the *Spanyards* seemed not so blacke, as ordinarily those *Moores* that come out of *Granada* vse to be. Then *Apollo* interrupting the complaint vvhich the Duke was about to make against the Lord *Colonna*, said; Duke, I am much displeased vwith the disorder, vvhich I vnderstand hath happened, and so much the more, by how much the cause of such an vprore is not very just, nor vwithall very honourable on thy side: And vpon this occasion it pleaseth me to remember vnto you *Spanyards*, that to be not only niggards, as to all men ye are knowen, but not to vse prodigalitie in giving vnto others those Titles, vvhich are desired, is a manifest signe of malignitie, because the ingenuous nobilitie of a Baron is knowen, by shewing little covetousnesse in receiving Titles, and much liberalitie in giving them: For even by over much, not by due honour, doth greater reputation accrew to him that giveth, then to him that receiveth it. And you *Spanyards*, that vse such austeritie in desiring great Titles onely for your selves, are not avvhit encreased in reputation, but rather are become so odious, and ridiculous to all men, that the *Italians* in their Comedies, haue deservedly introduced the personage of the *Spanyard* to represent vnto the World a perfect *Braggadochia*. I wonder yee should not preceive, that in thinking to arrive vnto the Dominion of the earth by abusing men, is the vvrong way to the wood; The mindes of men (Duke)
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are taken vvith the baite of humanitie , vvith the whistle of gratitude, of courtesie, of gentlenesse; and that Fowler would shew himselfe very ignorant, that should goe with a drumme into a Dove-house for to take Pigeons, as I see you *Spanyards*, foolishly doe. Moreover, I tell you , that if ever any Nation vvere to make a baite of dignities, for to allure the *Italians* to fall into the nets of your Dominions, and light vpon the Lime-bush of your servitude , it is you *Spanyards* , for the ends vvich yee haue vpon *Italy* : Withall yee are to consider, that the States, vvich yee possesse, of *Naples*, and *Milan*, are fastned vnto you with Waxe; for yee shall command over those two members no longer, then till the *Italians* resolve to chase you from thence; who if they could be assured, that after your ruine, they should not fall into the power of the *French*, ye should quickly know , that only vvith a litle disturbance, vvich they could give you in the Port of *Genoua* , they would put you into a thousand intricate difficulties : all matters, that should admonish you to give satisfaction , at leastwise in vvords, to them, whom in regard of your Interests in *Italy*, yee are obliged to respect. As for the injurie, vvich you say you have received from the Lord *Prospero*, I tell you plainly, that whatsoever affront shalbe done you vpon any such like Titular occasion, I vvill not onely be insensible of it, but I vvill thinke you haue desirously sought it. Then the Duke would have excused himselfe vvith saying, that from his King he had instruction how to carry himselfe towards the *Italian* Barons in the particular of Titles, vvhen *Apollo* told him, that the *Spanish* abuses to the *Italians* were not to extend but only to the *Neapolitans*, and *Milanesi*; and his Majestie also added, That if

much passion did not blind the *Spanyards*, they might easily see, how their *Grandes*, whom *Spayne* it selfe could not containe, and that in *Italy*, would play the Gyants, compared with the *Romane* Barons; and those of meane stature would prove but dwarffes. Herevpon a cloude, as white as snow, beginning by litle and litle to cover the person of *Apollo*, the Priests that were about him perceived how his Maiestie would prophecie; so that every one falling prostrate on the ground, and vvith the rest, the Duke and his followers; out of that hollow cloud proceeded the divine voyce of his Majestie, which with a pleasing sound spake in this sort: I fortell vnto you, *Spanyards*, that vvith your rough and odious manner of proceeding, yee vvill one day compell the *Italian* Nobitie; which is the Mistres of the cruell *Sicilian Vespres*, to plot some bloody *Neapolitan Even-song* against you; it beeing the proper custome of the *Italians*, with greater rage to revenge the abuses of words, then the offences of blowes; as they that having short patience, and long hands, are borne not only with an heart most inclined to great resolutions, but that doe not vse to revenge injuries with all kind of crueltie, before they are quite forgotten by those that did them. And with your owne ruine, you vvill then finde them, with swords in their hands, to be *Paladine Orlandoes*, when ye shall perswade your selves, they are become most suffering Asses.

The Poste of Pernassus
to the Reader.

THese Papers comming by chance into my hands,
I perceived there was something in them that I
could not perceive ; wherefore I thought best to
communicate them with better vnderstandings : for my
part I could see no hurt in them, but did imagine by that
little good vvhich I saw, there was much more that I
could not see, and therfore judged them fit for all mens
eyes. Yet finding the names of *Spayne* and *Austria*, or
Austria and *Spayne*, (pardon me, politicke Reader, for I
am not certaine vvhich should have priority; and I know
in such Catholike points, a little error is deadly) so often
inferted, I durst not be too bold with sacred things. For
I well saw those two names joyntly considered, are now
growne of such estimation, as all Nations and Kings
bend their knees, and doffe their Bonnets at the naming
of them; more superstitiously for destroying, then reve-
rently at the Name of Iesus for saving. Therefore I could
not resolve, vvwhether it were treason or sacriledge, or I
wot not what greater sinne, to touch sacred things pro-
fanely with common and vnwasht hands; especially
when I saw all such as had done the like, or lesse then
thus, made miserable examples of disobedience, as if they
had offended *Adam* himselfe, or a house miraculously
rayfed vp by God, or rather originally created in nature,
to rule over all the vvhorld in *Adams* stead; and that to be

The Poste of Pernassus

the sonne of a King, could not protect an offender in this kind from punishment, yea, from being cast out of his Paradise. O (thought I) vvhhen I saw this, how worthy is he, that doth thus to be counted onely the Catholique King: for he is a King of kings indeed, fit to be the executioner of his Holinessse diuine Decrees, and to consume all vvith Lightning, vvhere the sacred fulminations vvient before. Tremble all Princes, and looke to your Crownes; especially you petty ones in *Germany*, that are but fatted to be swallowed one after another, as his stomacke can digest, or your turne comes to bee served vp. You see it is safer beeing his servant, then the sonne of any Potentate besides. Therefore strive for place and preferment there, and helpe vvith all the speed yee may, to betray one another to ruine. You that are Protestants or *Lutherans*, it is no matter for Religion; hold some the stirrop, and let others lift *Spayne* into the saddle, to ride one another like Poste-horses by turnes. You see how honourably hee deales with that Prince, whose peaceable patents made him easie entrance; and how fauourably vvith the *Palatinate*, vvhom hee rides in bloud, and spur-galls on both sides, vvhilst you stand laughing on, and see not that your day is comming.

Thus I thought, and thought withall to be silent, and to keepe these Papers from flying abroad, for feare of having my owne vvings clipt. But vvhen I saw in defect of greater, God had raysed vp petty Princes to defend the Faith, and put that spirit into the Prince of *Orange*, the Count *Mansfelt*, and the Duke of *Brunswicke*, vvhich hee had taken from *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, and others, it made me resume courage, beholding the immediate hand of God in this vvorke, and to thinke, surely God vvill have

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to the Reader.

all the glory to himselfe, that hee employes such instruments, vvwhose estates, in comparison , are but drops to the *Spanish* Ocean: I vvill not therefore be guilty of so much cowardize, as to reserve my selfe, vvhere these men fight, and seeme prodigall of their owne lives; or at least, not of so much dishonesty, as to conceale what God hath sent into my hands, perhaps to publish for the generall information and benefit of all Christendome. Goe out therefore, and prosper in Gods Name.

FINIS.

